13. Dr. 12. 1799. Dr. 7. 1817.



RARE BX



Presented to the
LIBRARY *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by

Prof. Hans de Groot

nx.xx

4 wk | 45.11



The Right Reverend Father in God
GILBERT LORD BISHOP of SARVM,
& Chancellor of y^e most Noble Order of y^e Garter.
Obijt 17. Mar. 1714/15 Ætat. 73.

D^ns Hoadly Pinx. *I. F. Ravenet Sc.*

BISHOP BURNET's

HISTORY

OF

His own Time.

FROM THE

RESTORATION of King CHARLES II.

TO THE

CONCLUSION of the TREATY of PEACE at UTRECHT, in the Reign of Queen ANNE.

To which is prefixed,

A SUMMARY RECAPITULATION of Affairs in Church and State, from King JAMES I. to the RESTORATION in the Year 1660.

Together with

The AUTHOR's LIFE, by the EDITOR. And some EXPLANATORY NOTES. The whole revised and corrected by him.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.
MDCCLIII.

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR:

By the EDITOR

THOMAS BURNET, Esq;

IT were to be wished, that the Author himself had lived to have compleated his whole Design, and as he made Thuanus his Pattern in History, like him to have closed his Work with an Account of his own Life: That he intended so to have done, is evident both from his last Will, and from a rough Draught or imperfect Sketch of this nature, left behind him. He acted so considerable a Part in the World, in so many different Stations; he met with so large a share of Favour from some, and so much Censure from others; and in a Life, where the Scenes were so various, there must be so many Occurrences, which will be both useful and entertaining; that I feared the Publick would scarce forgive me, as an Editor, if I should not endeavour to supply this only Part of the Author's Plan, which he himself did not live to execute.

Tho' the producing Authorities for the ſeveral facts, aſſerted in the following Sheets, might perhaps have exempted a writer from future cavils: yet the inſerting vouchers for every particular*, would have rendred a work of this nature both dry and tedious; I have only done it, where the matter related ſeemed very eſſential, and the original papers themſelves might prove an agreeable entertainment. I have carefully avoided repeating all thoſe parts of the Author's Life, which are already related in the Hiſtory of his own Time: They are only tranſiently mentioned here, ſo as to continue the thread of my narration, and the Reader is referred, for farther information, to the Hiſtory itſelf.

The author's birth and parentage.

Our Author, Dr. GILBERT BURNET, was born at Edinburgh on the eighteenth day of September in the year 1643. His father was the younger brother of a family, very conſiderable for its antiquity as well as intereſt, in the ſhire of Aberdeen; and was bred to the civil law, which he ſtudied for ſeven years in France. His exceſſive modeſty ſo far depreſs'd his abilities, that he never made a ſhining figure at the bar, tho' he was univerſally eſteemed a man of judgment and knowledge in his profeſſion; he was eminent for probity and generoſity in his practice; inſomuch that near one half of it went in acts of charity and friendſhip: From the poor he never took a fee, nor from a Clergyman, when he ſued in the right of his Church. In the year 1637, when the troubles in Scotland were breaking out, he was ſo diſguſted at the conduct of the governing Biſhops there, he cenſured them with ſo much warmth, and was, at the ſame time, ſo remarkable for his ſtrict and

* Thoſe facts for which no vouchers is alledged, are taken from the Biſhop's manuſcript notes of his own life. And can be further ſupported by other Teſtimonies, if occaſion ſhould require.

exemplary

exemplary life, that he was generally called a Puritan: But when he ſaw, that inſtead of reforming abuſes in the Epiſcopal Order, the Order itſelf was ſtruck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and conſtancy; as he did to the rights of the Crown, without once complying with that party, which afterwards prevailed in both nations. For tho' he agreed with Barclay and Grotius (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their notions of reſiſtance, where the laws are broke through by a limited ſovereign; yet he did not think that was then the caſe in Scotland.

Our author's mother was very eminent for her piety and virtue; ſhe was a warm zealot for the Preſbyterian Diſcipline; her education that way had been very ſtrict: ſhe was ſiſter to the famous Sir Archibald Johnſtoun, called Lord Warriſtoun, who, during the civil wars, was at the head of the Preſbyterians; and was too often hurried away, by his attachment to them, into exceſſes that were not ſuitable to his natural temper; which was juſt, generous and ſelf-denying: Inſomuch that he left behind him but a very ſmall proviſion, for a family of thirteen children, though for many years he had been entruſted with the whole government of Scotland. He was ſo zealous in the intereſts of his party, that neither friendſhip nor alliance could diſpoſe him; to ſhew favour to thoſe, who refuſed the ſolemn league and covenant. Our author's father therefore, perſiſting in this refuſal, at three ſeveral times was obliged to quit the kingdom, and at one of them to remain an exile for five years: And, when his return was afterwards connived at, as his principles would not permit him to renew the practice of the law, much leſs to accept of the preferments in it, offered him by Oliver Cromwell, he lived retired in the country upon his own eſtate, till the Reſtoration; when he was made one of the Lords of the ſeſſion.

His Education.

His father's retirement from buſineſs proved a conſiderable advantage to our author's education, which was wholly under his care, and ſo managed by him, that at ten years old his ſon was maſter of the Latin Tongue: he was ſent at that age to the college of Aberdeen, where he perfected himſelf in Greek, and went through the common methods of the Ariſtotelian Logick and Philoſophy with applauſe; he commenced Maſter of Arts before he was fourteen, and then applied himſelf to the Law, much to the regret of his father, who had always deſigned him for a Clergyman. He continued ſtudying the Civil and Feudal Law for above a year, by which he laid in ſuch true notions of ſociety and government, as are ſeldom found amongſt Divines; he then changed his reſolution, and determined wholly to dedicate himſelf to the Church: Thereupon he purſued a very hard courſe of ſtudy; he went through the Old and New Teſtament, with all the ſeveral commentaries upon the different parts of it, then in repute; he examined into the moſt noted authors in controverſy, and read Bellarmine and Chamier, in oppoſition to each other, quite through; he peruſed ſome of the moſt received ſyſtems of School-Divinity, but was ſoon diſguſted at the ſubtlety of thoſe writers, and readily obſerved, how little all their diſputes, which the jargon of the ſchools rendred endleſs, could tend towards making men wiſer or better. In his hours of amuſement, he ran through many volumes of hiſtory: And it is ſcarce conceivable, what a progreſs he had made in theſe ſtudies, before he was eighteen, by an application, which ſeldom fell ſhort of fourteen hours in a day.

He is admitted as a Probationer.

At that age, he was put upon his trial, as a Probationer or expectant preacher; who, after having paſs'd examination, is at liberty to preach wherſoever he is deſired, but has no particular Church,

Church, to which he is attendant. This is the firſt ſtep in Scotland, towards an admiſſion into orders, and was practiſed both under the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian Oeconomy. The method obſerved in it has ſomething ſo different from what is cuſtomary in England, that it may perhaps be worthy the reader's notice. Theſe Probationers are firſt appointed to preach practically on a text aſſigned them; next, critically upon another, the ſenſe of which is controverted; and then a mixed Sermon, of criticiſm on the text, and practical inferences from it, is expected from them. After this, the examiners allot a head of Divinity to each, on which they are to make a Latin oration, and to give out Theſes upon it, which they undertake to defend in publick: Then a Hebrew pſalm and a portion of the Greek Teſtament is given them, to render into Engliſh extempore; and laſt of all comes the queſtionary trial, in which every miniſter of the diſtrict is at liberty to put ſuch queſtions to the perſon under examination, as occur to him, out of the Scripture or Body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he muſt produce a teſtimonial of his good life from the miniſter of the pariſh where he lives; and if during his trial, which laſts for three months, any ſcandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aſide as unfit for the Church.

This probation our author went through, at the age of eighteen; about which time his father was made a Lord of the Seſſion, and his Couſin German, Sir Alexander Burnet, gave him the preſentation to a very good benefice, where his family reſided, and which lay in the center of all his Kindred. There is no law in Scotland, that limits the age a Miniſter muſt be of; but our author thought his own ſo unfit for a Cure of Souls, that he abſolutely refuſed to accept of it, notwithſtanding the repeated importunities of all his

Refuſes a preſentation to a living.

relations, except his father, who left him wholly to his own diſcretion.

His father's death, and his further purſuit of his ſtudies.

In the year 1661, his father died; and ſoon after his brother Robert, who was then become very eminent at the bar, as his other brother Thomas was afterwards in Phyſick: Upon the occaſion of his brother's death, our author was much ſollicited, by his mother's relations, to return to his former ſtudy of the law, wherein he was aſſured of the greateſt encouragement; but he perſiſted in his former reſolution, of devoting his life to the ſervice of the Church, in which he was confirmed by Mr. Nairn, Miniſter of the Abbey Church at Edinburgh. Mr. Nairn was then the admired preacher of that country, remarkable for accuracy of ſtyle, as well as ſtrength of reaſoning and ſublimeneſs of thought: Him our author purpoſed to make his pattern, in this branch of the Paſtoral Office; and was not a little ſurprized to find, that he always preached extempore. For though all Sermons in Scotland were delivered without book, yet were they premeditated Diſcourſes, firſt written and then learn'd by heart; which was a loſs of time Mr. Nairn could not ſubmit to, and he ſoon put our author upon attempting the ſame method of preaching, which he continued to practiſe all the reſt of his life *.

He

* I ſhall only mention two remarkable inſtances in relation to his preaching without book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the deprivation of the Nonjuring Biſhops, were filled up, Biſhop Williams was appointed to preach one of the conſecration ſermons at Bow-Church. But being detained by ſome accident, the clerk had twice ſet the pſalm, and ſtill the preacher did not appear. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired Dr. Burnet, then Biſhop of Sarum, to ſupply his place, which he did; and, as the Archbiſhop declared, gave them the beſt ſermon he ever heard him preach. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thankſgiving Sermon before the Queen at St. Paul's; and it was the only diſcourſe he had ever wrote beforehand, ſo this was the only time that he was ever at a

pauſe

He attained to an eaſineſs in it, chiefly by allotting many hours of the day to meditation upon all ſorts of ſubjects, and by accuſtoming himſelf, at thoſe times, to ſpeak his thoughts aloud, ſtudying always to render his expreſſion correct. Mr. Nairn led him likewiſe into a new courſe of reading, by recommending to his peruſal Smith's Select Diſcourſes, Dr. Moore's Works, and the Writings of Plato and his followers; but no book pleaſed him more than Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity, from the principles of which he never departed.

In the year 1662, the Scotch Biſhops, who had been conſecrated at Weſtminſter, made a pompous entry into Edinburgh, and, by the pride of their firſt appearance, gave no good omen of their future conduct. Biſhop Leightoun, though one of their number, would have no ſhare in the ſtate they took upon them, on this occaſion: He ſoon became acquainted with our author's growing fame, and as he conceived a great affection for him, he took a peculiar pleaſure in overlooking his ſtudies. By his advice, he became converſant with all the Primitive Writers, going through the apologies and other treatiſes of the Fathers of the three firſt centuries, and Binnius's Collection of Councils, down to the ſecond Council of Nice.

At the ſame time, our author contracted an intimacy with another eminent Divine, Mr. Charteris, a man of great prudence, joined to an unaffected ſimplicity of Behaviour: He was not only very knowing in his own profeſſion, but was likewiſe a great Maſter of Hiſtory, both antient and modern, of Geography and Books of Travels, and not a little ſkilled in Mathematical Learning. Theſe three perſons, by their converſation and advice,

paufe in preaching, which on that occaſion laſted for above a minute. Theſe two incidents were ſo publickly known and ſpoke of, that I think it needleſs to alledge any particular authority for them, unleſs they ſhould be queſtioned.

contri-

contributed towards finiſhing an education, which had been ſo happily begun. And indeed, what might might not be expected from ſuch early helps, where nature had lain in materials, ſo fit to be wrought upon? For there was a robuſt conſtitution, capable of the hardeſt labour and ſtudy, an apprehenſion that took things quickly, and a memory that retained them long, an imagination rather too lively, and a natural fluency of expreſſion.

His journey to England.

In the year 1663, our author took a ſhort tour into England: He firſt viſited the two Univerſities; at Cambridge, he had an opportunity to know and admire the extenſive learning of Dr. Cudworth, the judgment and moderation of Dr. Pearſon, the fine luxuriant imagination of Dr. Burnet (Author of the Theory) and the Free-thinking of Dr. Henry More, one of whoſe ſayings, with relation to rites and ceremonies, then made great impreſſion on him; "None of theſe," ſaid he, "are bad enough to make men bad, and "I am ſure none of them are good enough to "make men good." At Oxford our author was much careſs'd, on account of his ready knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, eſpecially by Dr. Fell, and Dr. Pocock, that great maſter of Oriental Learning; he was much improved there in his Mathematicks and Philoſophy by the inſtructions of Dr. Wallis, who likewiſe gave him a letter of recommendation to the learned and pious Mr. Boyle at London. Upon his arrival there, he was introduced to all the moſt noted Divines, ſuch as Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Whitchcot, and Wilkins, whoſe characters are faithfully drawn by him in the hiſtory. But no converſation proved a greater advantage to him, than that of Sir Robert Murray, not only as he brought him into the beſt company, but as he alſo acted the part of a faithful monitor, in reproving him for any errors or indiſcretions his youth might betray him into.

After a ſtay in England of about ſix months, which, being ſpent in the manner I have mentioned, could not but be highly uſeful, he returned to Scotland, where he was again preſs'd to enter into Orders, and accept of one of the beſt benefices in the Weſt.

Delays accepting a good Benefice.

Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, who, during his ſtay at Paris, had received many obligations from his Father, hearing ſo great a character of the ſon, invited him down to his ſeat, and had no ſooner heard him preach, than he offered him that Church, the Miniſter of it being nominated to one of the vacant Biſhopricks. Our author would have excuſed himſelf, as having determined for ſome months to travel beyond Sea; and ſollicited the Living for his friend Mr. Nairn; but Sir Robert would admit of no denial; and as the preſent incumbent was not to be conſecrated immediately, reſolved to keep the Benefice vacant, till his return from his Travels.

His Travels into Holland and France.

It was in the year 1664, that our author went over to Holland; where, after he had ſeen what was remarkable in the Seven Provinces, he fixed his reſidence at Amſterdam. There, by the help of a learned Rabbi, he perfected himſelf in the Hebrew Language; he likewiſe became acquainted with the leading men of the different Perſuaſions tolerated in that Country; as the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Browniſts, the Anabaptiſts, and the Papiſts: Amongſt each of whom, he uſed frequently to declare, he had met with men of ſuch real piety and virtue, that there he became fix'd in that ſtrong principle of univerſal Charity, and of thinking well of thoſe that differed from him, as likewiſe in an invincible abhorrence of all ſeverities, on account of religious diſſenſions, which hath often drawn upon him the bittereſt cenſures from thoſe, who, perhaps by a narrower Education, were led into a narrower way of Thinking.

From

From Holland he paſt through the Netherlands into France; he remained for ſome time at Paris, and converſed often with the two famous miniſters of Charenton, Daillè and Morus; the one renowned for his learning and judgment, the other for his bright parts and eloquence. He thought there entered too much of the geſture of the theatre into Morus's delivery; his ſermons were full of fire and of turns, which being out of the common road, at once ſurpriſed and pleaſed his audience; but when theſe flights, which paſt current in a pathetick diſcourſe, came to be coolly conſidered, they would hardly bear the teſt: So that as our author found in him much that deſerved imitation, there was ſtill more that required correction. His ſtay in France was the longer, on account of the great freedom and kindneſs, with which he was treated by the Lord Holles, then Ambaſſador at the French Court. Towards the end of the year he returned to Scotland through London, where he was introduced, by the Preſident Sir Robert Murray, to be a member of the Royal Society.

Is ſettled as Miniſter at Saltoun, and his conduct there.

Soon after his arrival at Edinburgh, Sir Robert Fletcher came thither, and carried him down to Saltoun, giving him the Preſentation to that Church; but he declined taking it abſolutely at firſt, and reſolved to continue there four months, performing all the functions of a Miniſter, without engaging himſelf to the Pariſh, till he ſhould have the joint requeſt of all the pariſhioners; which he afterwards had, without one ſingle exception; and thereupon he was ordained a Prieſt by the Biſhop of Edinburgh in the year 1665. During the five + years he remained at Saltoun, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the week days; he catechiſed three times a week, ſo as to examine every pariſhioner, old or young, thrice over in the compaſs of a year; he went round his pariſh, from houſe to houſe, inſtructing, reproving

or

or comforting them, as occaſion required; thoſe that were ſick, he viſited twice a day; he adminiſtred the Sacrament four times a year, and perſonally inſtructed all ſuch, as gave notice they intended to receive it; all that remained above his own neceſſary ſubſiſtence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in charity. A particular inſtance of his generoſity that way, a perſon * (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his ſervice at Saliſbury) uſed to recount: One of his pariſhioners had been in execution for debt, and came to our author for ſome ſmall relief, who enquired of him, how much would again ſet him up in his trade; the man named the ſum, and he as readily called to his ſervant to pay it him. "Sir, "ſaid he, it is all we have in the houſe." "Well, "well, ſaid our author, pay it this poor man; "you do not know the pleaſure there is, in making "a man glad." Thus as he knew the concerns of his whole pariſh, as he treated them with tenderneſs and care, and as he ſet them a fair example of every article of that duty, which he taught them, he had ſoon gained the affections of them not excepting the Preſbyterians; tho' he was then the only man in Scotland, that made uſe of the prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of England.

As his ſtudies were chiefly bent upon the paſtoral care, in which he endeavoured to inſtruct himſelf from the beſt writers, concerning the conſtitution of the Primitive Church, during the firſt Centuries, among whom St. Cyprian was the chief; he obſerved, that the Biſhops, who governed in Scotland, though they derived the ſtrongeſt arguments for their order, from theſe very books, yet neglected all the rules preſcribed in them. He therefore drew up a memorial of their abuſes, of which ſome relation is given in the Hiſtory, as

* This was a ſtory commonly well known at Saliſbury, and which the Editor learnt from Mr. Waſtefield, a Gentleman now living there.

likewiſe

likewiſe of the harſh treatment he met with, upon that occaſion. However, as this ſtep had made ſome noiſe, and might be imputed to ambition, or a deſire of becoming popular; he reſolved to live in a more retired manner, than he had done hitherto; and abſtracting himſelf from all mixt company, confining himſelf wholly to ſtudy and the duties of his function, he entred into ſuch an aſcetick courſe, as had well nigh put an end to his life; for his bad diet, joined to hard ſtudy, had ſo corrupted the maſs of his blood, that in two ſucceſſive fevers he was given over by the Phyſicians.

Much conſulted by the Miniſtry in Scotland.

In the year 1668, as the government of Scotland, both in Church and State, was put into the hands of moderate men, among whom Sir Robert Murray was a principal leader, our author was frequently ſent for and conſulted by them; he was afterwards employed, as one of the chief managers for the Church, in negociating the ſcheme of an accommodation, between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian Parties; of which a full account is given in the Hiſtory. He was, upon that occaſion, introduced to the Dutcheſs of Hamilton; who, though her inclinations lay toward Preſbytery, profeſſed herſelf a friend to moderate Counſels. By her he was invited, the year following, to Hamilton, where he contracted an acquaintance with the Regent of the Univerſity of Glaſgow; who conceived ſuch an eſteem for him, that, their Chair of Divinity being vacant, he propoſed our author, as the perſon moſt proper to fill it; and he recommended this in ſo effectual a manner, that in a few days after, he brought over to Hamilton, the Decree of the Univerſity, electing him their Profeſſor. As this matter had been wholly tranſacted without his knowledge, ſo was he, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe what reſolution to take; his friends were all earneſt in perſuading him to accept of it, his pariſhioners at Saltoun, for whom

Is made Profeſſor of Divinity at Glaſgow.

he

he had a moſt tender regard, were no leſs anxious to retain him: At length the authority of Archbiſhop Leightoun prevailed, and he removed to Glaſgow in the year 1669, where he continued four years and a half, in no ſmall exerciſe of his patience. The Preſbyterian zealots hated him, as apprehending that his ſchemes of moderation would, in the end, prove the ſure way of eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy amongſt them: The Epiſcopal party, on the other hand, could not endure a man, who was for exempting the Diſſenters from their Proſecutions.

His conduct in that ſtation.

As his principal care, in this new ſtation, was to form juſt and true notions in the Students of Divinity; he laid down a plan for that purpoſe, to which no other objection could be offered, but that it ſeemed to require the labour of four or five, inſtead of one man; yet he never failed executing every part of it, during his reſidence at Glaſgow. On Mondays he made each of the ſtudents, in his turn, explain a head of Divinity in Latin, and propound ſuch Theſes from it, as he was to defend againſt the reſt of the Scholars; and this exerciſe concluded with our author's deciſion of the point, in a Latin Oration. On Tueſdays he gave them a Prelection in the ſame language, wherein he purpoſed, in the courſe of eight years, to have gone through a compleat Syſtem of Divinity. On Wedneſdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a critical commentary on St. Matthew's Goſpel, which he finiſhed before he quitted the chair. On Thurſdays the exerciſe was alternate; one Thurſday he expounded a Hebrew Pſalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgar and the Engliſh Verſion; and the next Thurſday, he explained ſome portion of the Ritual and Conſtitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apoſtolical Canons his Text, and reducing every article of practice, under the head of one or other of thoſe Canons. On Fridays he made each of his Scholars, in courſe, preach a ſhort Sermon,

Sermon, upon ſome Text he aſſigned; and when it was ended, he obſerved upon any thing, that was defective or amiſs, ſhewing how the text ought to have been opened and applied. This was the labour of the mornings; in the evenings, after prayer, he every day read them ſome parcel of Scripture, on which he made a ſhort diſcourſe, and when that was over, he examined into the progreſs of their ſeveral ſtudies, incouraging them to propoſe their difficulties to him, upon the Subjects they were then reading. This he performed, during the whole time the Schools were open; thereby anſwering the duty of a Profeſſor, with the aſſiduity of a School-maſter: and in order to acquit himſelf with credit, he was obliged to ſtudy hard from four till ten in the morning; the reſt of the day being of neceſſity allotted, either to the uſe of his pupils, or to hearing the complaints of the Clergy; who, finding he had an intereſt with the men in power, were not ſparing in their applications to him.

He undertakes to write the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

In times of vacation, our author made frequent viſits to Hamilton; and was eaſily engaged by the Dutcheſs to undertake the taſk, of examining and putting in order all the papers that related to her Father's and her Uncle's Miniſtry: ſhe had kept theſe carefully together, but had not hitherto found a perſon, whom ſhe thought ſafe to be entruſted with the peruſal of them; yet now ſhe had ſo entire a confidence in him, that ſhe put them all into his hands. The Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale no ſooner heard that he was compiling Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, than he wrote to Scotland, earneſtly preſſing him to come up to Court, in order to receive ſuch informations from himſelf, concerning the Tranſactions of thoſe times, as he was able to furniſh. Our author thereupon went to London, where he was received, by the Earl of Lauderdale, with ſuch marks of confidence, as made it evident, that had he

he purſued the common methods of cultivating an intereſt, he might have raiſed himſelf to a great fortune: But as he was a conſtant enemy to all thoſe artifices of a Court, whereby men uſually riſe, ſo was he naturally of too frank a ſpirit, to bear with the Earl's imperious temper. All the uſe therefore he made, of his freedom of acceſs, was in negotiating and concluding a reconciliation, between him and Duke Hamilton; who had aſſignations given him, on the revenues of the Crown, in ſatisfaction of thoſe pretenſions, of which our author had found authentick vouchers, among the papers entruſted to his care; and the Duke, in return, promiſed to concur with the meaſures of the Court, in the enſuing Parliament. Four Biſhopricks in Scotland becoming vacant at this time, our author was offered his choice of them; but he declined accepting a ſtation, for which he thought his years were unfit, in which he foreſaw, he ſhould be much entangled, and in all probability would be capable of doing little good.

He refuſes a Biſhoprick in Scotland.

Soon after his return to Glaſgow, he married the Lady Margaret Kennedy, a Daughter of the Earl of Caſſilis, who lived in great intimacy and friendſhip with the Dutcheſs of Hamilton: She was a Lady of diſtinguiſhed piety and knowledge; her own ſentiments inclined ſtrongly towards the Preſbyterians, with whom ſhe was in high credit and eſteem; yet was ſhe far from entering into the rigid and narrow zeal of ſome of their leaders. As there was ſome diſparity in their ages, that it might remain without diſpute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage, our author delivered the lady a Deed, whereby he renounced all pretenſion to her fortune, which was very conſiderable, and muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, ſhe herſelf having no intention to ſecure it.

His marriage with the Lady Margaret Kennedy.

In the year 1672, Duke Lauderdale was ſen down, as the King's Commiſſioner, to hold a Parliament in Scotland, and our author was conſidered as the Perſon, who had the greateſt influence over him; which was wholly employed in doing good offices to needy ſuitors, and in preventing a breach between him and Duke Hamilton; for which he was much exclaimed at, by the party then oppoſing the Court, who could have no hopes of prevailing, unleſs the latter would put himſelf at their head. About this time, he publiſhed his "Vindication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and "Laws of the Church and State of Scotland;" wherein he ſtrongly maintained the cauſe of Epiſcopacy, and the illegality of reſiſtance, merely on account of Religion. This was thought, in that juncture, ſuch a publick ſervice, that he was again courted to accept of a Biſhoprick, with the promiſe of the next Archbiſhoprick, that ſhould be void; but he ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal.

Again refuſes a Biſhoprick, with the promiſe of the next Archbiſhoprick.

His favour at Court.

In 1673, he was obliged to take another journey to London, in order to obtain a Licence, for publiſhing his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton; he went likewiſe with a full deſign, to break off from farther meddling in matters of State; he ſaw that Popery was at bottom the prevailing intereſt at Court, and that the Sacramental Teſt, whereby the Duke of York, the Lord Clifford, and other Papiſts in employment had been excluded, was a meer artifice of King Charles, to obtain money for carrying on the war that ſummer with Holland. He ſuſpected that the deſigns of the Court were both corrupt and deſperate; he therefore uſed all the freedom, he decently could, with the Duke and Dutcheſs of Lauderdale; he pointed out to them the errors of their management in Scotland, and the ill effects it would have, both upon themſelves, and upon the whole nation; and when he ſaw no diſpoſition to rectify their meaſures, he rejected all offers of preferment made

to

to himſelf; though he could not decline being ſworn one of the King's Chaplains, which, as it was a poſt of no profit, ſo it was confer'd upon him at his Majeſty's expreſs nomination, upon having heard him preach. As Duke Lauderdale's enemies were ſoon informed of the frankneſs with which he had remonſtrated to his Grace, againſt the methods of Adminiſtration, he was then purſuing; and as they knew his friendſhip and attachment to the Hamilton family, they induſtriouſly magnified his credit in Scotland, to ſuch a degree, that his Majeſty often ſent for him in private, and the Duke of York much oftner. He made no other uſe of the high favour ſhewn him by the latter, than firſt to introduce Dr. Stillingfleet to him; and afterwards to propoſe a conference, to be held in his Royal Highneſs's preſence, between them two and the chief of the Romiſh Prieſts: though there was little reaſon at that time to hope, that any arguments would be able to effect the Duke's Converſion, and the very propoſal of ſuch a diſpute, was in a great meaſure renouncing all pretenſions to preferment. He likewiſe ſought no other advantage, from the great freedom with which the King received him, than only to awaken in that Prince a Senſe of Religion, and to rouſe him from that lethargy of vice and indolence, in which his natural great talents ſeemed wholly buried. This is ſo much the reverſe of the conduct of aſpiring Clergymen, it lies ſo directly out of the road to power, riches, or dignity, that I hope it may acquit him from all imputation of ambition.

His breach with Duke Lauderdale.

As ſoon as the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton were licenſed by Mr. Secretary Coventry; which was the longer delayed, becauſe the King and many of the Miniſters were deſirous to read them in manuſcript; our author returned to Scotland: And on his arrival at Edinburgh, finding the animoſity between the Dukes of Hamilton and Lauderdale, riſen to a height not to be compoſed,

he retired to his ſtation at Glaſgow, and refuſed to ſtir from thence all that winter. This, joined to the jealouſy, the favour ſhewn him at London had raiſed, drew upon him a ſtorm, which purſued him for many years after, with the utmoſt violence. The meaſures of the Court proving unſucceſsful in Parliament, Duke Lauderdale threw the load of his own miſcarriage upon our author, whom he repreſented as the cauſe and inſtrument, under hand, of all the oppoſition he had met with. This accuſation made it incumbent on him, once more to return to Court in the year 1674. The King received him coldly, and ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of Chaplains; yet, at the Duke of York's intreaty, he admitted him to offer, what he thought proper in his own juſtification: He thereupon gave his Majeſty ſo clear and ſatisfactory an Account of his conduct, appealing for the truth of all his aſſertions to Duke Hamilton, that in the end the King ſeemed convinced of his innocence, and ordered him home to Glaſgow. But the Duke of York diſſuaded him from returning thither, 'till his Peace ſhould be entirely made; for he aſſured him, that otherwiſe he would be clap'd up in priſon, and detain'd there perhaps as long as the ſame intereſt prevailed at Court; his Royal Highneſs likewiſe uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke Lauderdale; but that he found impracticable: the latter inſiſting, that our author ſhould abandon his beſt friends, and diſcover all the Secrets he had hitherto been in; and the other, as firmly perſiſting in his adherence to thoſe, who had ſhewn him friendſhip, or repoſed a confidence in him.

Is forced to quit his profeſſorſhip at Glaſgow.

Thus it became neceſſary either, by going back to Scotland, to put himſelf in the power of enemies, who were not likely to treat him with any regard to juſtice or his own innocence, or elſe to reſign his Profeſſor's Chair, and ſettle in England. He choſe the latter, if it may be called a choice;

and ſought an eſtabliſhment in London: in which he met with all the oppoſition, the Miniſtry could give him; particularly in one Church (as he himſelf relates it in the Hiſtory) where the Electors were diſpoſed to have choſen him, had they not been deterred by a very ſevere meſſage, in the King's name. Though the being thus in a manner turn'd a-drift, could not at the time but ſeem a misfortune, yet he ever ſpoke of it as the happieſt event of his life. He was but thirty years old, and though the charms of ambition had not that influence over him, which is uſual at thoſe years; yet he thought it a ſignal bleſſing, that any accident had diſentangled him, from the ſnares of ſo corrupt a Court, in whoſe ſervice he had been ſo far engaged, that he could not otherwiſe have been eaſily delivered from them.

Refuſes a good Benefice at London.

The ſituation he was now in, might ſurely have excuſed his embracing the firſt proviſion that offered; yet he could not be tempted by it, to overlook the niceſt punctilio's of juſtice or honour; reſolved rather to ſuffer the utmoſt perſonal difficulties, than purchaſe preferment at the leaſt expence of his character. He therefore generouſly declined accepting the living of St. Giles's Cripplegate, which about this time was vacant *; it was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, who had expreſſed ſome inclination to beſtow it upon Dr. Fowler (afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter) but being made acquainted with the circumſtances of our author, and the hardſhips he had undergone, they ſent him an offer of the Benefice: He thanked them for the favour, but ſaid, that as he had been informed of their intention of conferring it upon ſo worthy a Divine, he did not think himſelf at liberty to take it. After this, in the year 1675,

* This fact Mr. Mackney, a Gentleman now living at Saliſbury, aſſured me he had from the Biſhop's own mouth And the ſame was confirmed to me by the Reverend Mr. John Craig, who lived with Dr. Burnet at the time when it happened.

he was recommended by the Lord Holles to the friendſhip of Sir Harbottle Grimſton, Maſter of the Rolls, by whom he was appointed preacher to the Chapel there; and though the Court ſent firſt a Biſhop, and then Mr. Secretary Williamſon, to perſuade Sir Harbottle to diſmiſs him, as one highly unacceptable to the King, yet he perſiſted in the nomination he had made. By this means, our author obtained a ſettlement in London, in which he continued above nine years; he was ſoon after choſen a Lecturer at St. Clement's, and grew to be one of the moſt followed Preachers in town. His Sermons had not in them the ſtudied phraſes or the rounded periods, which were then too much in vogue; but there was a force in his reaſoning, a warmth in his expreſſion, and a dignity in his manner, joined to a gracefulneſs in his perſon, which commanded attention; and as the heart always ſpoke in him, ſo it ſeldom failed of ſpeaking to the hearts of his audience.

Is made Chaplain at the Rolls, and Lecturer at St. Clements.

As the apprehenſions of Popery grew daily ſtronger, the moſt eminent Divines of the Church of England ſignalized themſelves in the Romiſh Controverſy: Nothing of that kind was more taken notice of, than the Account our author printed in the year 1676, of a Conference, which himſelf and Dr. Stillingfleet were engaged in with Coleman and the principal of the Romiſh Prieſts: This made him conſidered, as one who ſtood in the very front of the Oppoſition to Popery. His reputation, upon that account, was ſoon after raiſed to the higheſt pitch, by that great performance, The Hiſtory of the Reformation; in which, as he took a method wholly new, ſo was it univerſally applauded. The firſt volume lay near a year, after it was finiſhed, for the peruſal and correction of friends; ſo that it was not publiſhed till the year 1679, when the affair of the Popiſh Plot was in agitation. This Book procured our author an Honour, never before or ſince paid to any writer;

Writes the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

he had the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, with a Deſire that he would proſecute his undertaking and compleat that valuable Work. Accordingly, in leſs than two years after, he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame general approbation, as the firſt: and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that he wrote the hiſtorical part, in the compaſs of ſix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order.

His converſion of Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter.

As our author, though he had at this time no Parochial Cure, refuſed not his attendance to any ſick perſon, who deſired it; he was ſent for, amongſt others, to one, who had been engag'd in a criminal amour with Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter: The manner he treated her in, during her illneſs, gave that Lord a great curioſity of being acquainted with him: Whereupon, for a whole winter, in a Converſation of at leaſt one evening in a week, he went over all thoſe Topicks with him, upon which Scepticks and Men of looſe Morals are wont to attack the Chriſtian Religion. The effect this had, firſt in convincing that Earl's judgment, and afterwards in making him a ſincere penitent, is ſo fully related in the account of it publiſhed in 1681, that it will be needleſs to add any thing here upon that Subject *.

During

* The Editor here ſubjoins a letter from that Lord, before his death; the original of which is in his hands.

Woodſtock-Park, 25 June, 1680.

" My moſt honoured Dr. Burnet,

" My ſpirits and body decay ſo equally together, that I ſhall " write you a letter as weak as I am in perſon. I begin to " value Churchmen above all Men in the world, and you above " all the Churchmen I know in it. If God be yet pleaſed to " ſpare me longer in this world, I hope in your converſation to " be exalted to that degree of piety, that the world may ſee, " how much I abhor, what I ſo long loved, and how much I " glory in repentance, in God's ſervice. Beſtow your prayers " upon me, that God would ſpare my life, if it be his good " will, to ſhew a true repentance and amendment of life for the

Refuſes the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter.

During a great part of the time, when the enquiry into the Popiſh Plot was on foot, our author was frequently ſent for by King Charles, and conſulted by him as to the ſtate of the nation: His Majeſty made him an offer of the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter then vacant, provided he would "entirely come into his intereſts." He anſwered, "That he did not know what might be meant by "that expreſſion; and he was unwilling to ſuffer "any one, even to deceive themſelves by what he "ſhould ſay. He knew the Oaths he was to "take on ſuch an occaſion, theſe he would re"ligiouſly obſerve; and deſired to be excuſed "from any further engagements or general pro"miſes, which were liable to different con"ſtructions." But if his free acceſs to the King did not procure him that preferment, which very few with the ſame opportunities would have miſs'd; it engaged him to write his Majeſty ſuch a Letter, as may perhaps offend the delicacy of ſome, yet in juſtice to his memory ought not to be ſuppreſs'd.

29 Jan. 16$\frac{7}{8}$$\frac{9}{0}$.

May it pleaſe Your MAJESTY †,

His letter to the King.

"I Have not preſumed to trouble Your Majeſty "for ſome months, not having any thing "worthy your time to offer; and now I chooſe "rather this way, ſince the infinite duty I owe you

"time to come. Or elſe, if the Lord pleaſeth to put an end "to my wordly Being now, that he would mercifully accept of "my death-bed Repentance, and perform that promiſe he hath "been pleaſed to make, That at what time ſoever a ſinner doth "repent, he would receive him. Put up theſe prayers, moſt "dear Doctor, to Almighty God, for

"Your moſt obedient, and
"languiſhing ſervant,
"ROCHESTER."

† The original of this Letter is now in the Editor's hand, wrote by the Biſhop, with a memorandum how it was delivered, and when; And how it was received.

"puts

" puts me under reſtraints in diſcourſe, which I " cannot ſo eaſily overcome. What I ſhall now " ſuggeſt to your Majeſty, I do it as in the pre- " ſence of Almighty God, to whom I know I " muſt give an account of all my actions: I there- " fore beg you will be graciouſly pleaſed to accept " this moſt faithful zeal of your poor ſubject, who " has no other deſign it, than your Good, and the " diſcharge of his own conſcience.

" I muſt then firſt aſſure your Majeſty, I never " diſcovered any thing like a deſign of raiſing " Rebellion, among all thoſe with whom I con- " verſe; but I ſhall add, on the other hand, that " moſt people grow ſullen, and are highly diſ- " ſatisfied with You, and diſtruſtful of You. " Formerly your Miniſters, or his Royal High- " neſs, bore the blame of things that were un- " grateful; but now it falls upon Yourſelf, and " time, which cures moſt other diſtempers, en- " creaſes this. Your laſt Speech makes many " think, it will be eaſy to fetch up petitions from " all parts of England: This is now under con- " ſultation, and is not yet determined; but I find " ſo many inclined to promote them, that as far " as I can judge, it will go that way. If your " Majeſty calls a new Parliament, it is believed, " that thoſe who have promoted the Petitions will " be generally elected; for the inferior ſort of " People are much ſet upon them, and make their " judgment of men, from their behaviour in that " matter. The ſoberer ſort of thoſe, who are ill " pleaſed at your Conduct, reckon that either the " ſtate of your affairs beyond Sea, or of your " Exchequer at home, will e'er long neceſſitate " your meeting your Parliament; and that then " things muſt be rectified: and therefore they uſe " their utmoſt endeavours to keep all quiet. If " your Majeſty has a ſeſſion in April, for ſup- " porting your allies, I find it is reſolved by many, " That the money neceſſary to maintain your Al-

" liances,

" liances, ſhall be put into the hands of the Com-
" miſſioners, to iſſue it as they ſhall anſwer to the
" two Houſes: and theſe will be ſo choſen, that
" as it is likely, that the perſons will be very un-
" acceptable to You, ſo they being truſted with
" the money, will be as a Council of State, to
" controul all your Councils. And as to your
" Exchequer, I do not find any inclination to
" conſider your Neceſſity, unleſs many things be
" done to put them into another diſpoſition, than
" I can obſerve in them. The things that will be
" demanded, will not be of ſo eaſy a digeſtion, as
" that I can imagine You will ever be brought to
" them, or indeed that it will be reaſonable or
" honourable for You to grant them. So that,
" in this diſorder of affairs, it is eaſy to propoſe
" difficulties, but not ſo eaſy to find out that, which
" may remove them.

" There is one thing, and indeed the only
" thing, in which all honeſt men agree, as that
" which can eaſily extricate You out of all your
" troubles; it is not the change of a Miniſter, or
" of a Council, a new alliance, or a ſeſſion of
" Parliament, but it is (and ſuffer me, Sir, to
" ſpeak it with a more than ordinary earneſtneſs)
+ " a change in your own heart, and in your
" courſe of life. And now, Sir, if You do not
" with indignation throw this paper from You,
" permit me (with all the humility of a ſubject
" proſtrate at your feet) to tell You, That all the
" diſtruſt your people have of You, all the ne-
" ceſſities You now are under, all the indignation
" of Heaven, that is upon You, and appears in
" the defeating all your Councils, flow from this,
" That You have not feared nor ſerved God, but
" have given yourſelf up to ſo many ſinful pleaſures.
" Your Majeſty may perhaps juſtly think, that
" many of thoſe that oppoſe You have no regard
" for Religion, but the Body of your people con-
" ſider it more than you can imagine. I do not

" deſire

" deſire your Majeſty to put on a hypocritical
" ſhew of religion, as Henry the Third of France
" did, hoping thereby to have weathered the
" ſtorms of thoſe times. No! that would be
" ſoon ſeen through, and as it would provoke
" God more, ſo it would encreaſe jealouſies. No!
" Sir, it muſt be real, and the evidences of it
" ſignal: All thoſe about You who are the occa-
" ſions of ſin, chiefly the women, muſt be re-
" moved, and your Court be reformed. Sir, if
" You will turn You to Religion ſincerely and
" ſeriouſly, You ſhall quickly find a ſerene Joy
" of another nature poſſeſs your mind, than what
" ariſes from groſs pleaſures; God would be at
" peace with You, and direct and bleſs all your
" Counſels; all good Men would preſently turn
" to You, and ill men would be aſhamed, and
" have a thin party. For I ſpeak it knowingly,
" there is nothing has ſo alienated the body of
" your people from you, as what they have heard
" of your life, which diſpoſes them to give an
" eaſy belief to all other ſcandalous reports.

" Sir, this Counſel is now almoſt as neceſſary
" for your affairs as it is for your ſoul; and though
" You have highly offended that God, who has
" been infinitely merciful to You, in preſerving
" You at Worceſter fight, and during your long
" exile, and who brought You back ſo miracu-
" louſly, yet he is ſtill good and gracious; and
" will, upon your ſincere repentance, and change
" of life, pardon all your ſins and receive You
" into his favour: Oh, Sir, what if You ſhould
" die in the midſt of all your Sins? at the great
" Tribunal, where You muſt appear, there will
" be no regard to the Crown You now wear; but
" it will aggravate your puniſhment, that being
" in ſo eminent a ſtation, You have ſo much
" diſhonoured God. Sir, I hope, You believe
" there is a God, and a Life to come, and that
" Sin ſhall not paſs unpuniſhed. If your Majeſty

" will

" will reflect upon your having now been twenty " years upon the throne, and in all that time " how little You have glorified God, how much " you have provoked him, and that your ill " example has drawn so many after You to sin, " that men are not now ashamed of their vices, " You cannot but think, that God is offended " with You: And if You consider how ill your " Councils at home, and your Wars abroad have " succeeded, and how much You have lost the " hearts of your people, You may reasonably " conclude, this is of God, who will not turn " away his anger from You, till You turn to " him with your whole heart.

" I am no enthusiast, either in opinion or temper; " yet I acknowledge, I have been so press'd in " my mind to make this address to You, that I " could have no ease till I did it: And since " you were pleased to direct me to send You, " through Mr. Chiffinch's hands, such informa- " tions as I thought fit to convey to You, I hope " your Majesty will not be offended, if I have " made this use of that liberty. I am sure I can " have no other design in it, but your good; for I " know very well, this is not the method to serve " any ends of my own. I therefore throw myself " at your feet, and once more, in the Name of " God, whose servant I am, do most humbly be- " seech your Majesty, to consider of what I have " written, and not to despise it for the meanness " of the person, who has sent it; but to apply " yourself to religion in earnest: And I dare " assure you of many blessings both temporal and " spiritual in this life, and of eternal glory in the " life to come: But if You will go on in your " sins, the judgments of God will probably pursue " You in this life, so that you may be a Proverb " to after-ages; and after this life, You will be " for ever miserable; and I, your poor subject " that now am, shall be a witness against You in

" the

" the great day, that I gave you this free and
" faithful warning.

" Sir, no perſon alive knows, that I have written
" to You to this purpoſe: and I choſe this evening,
" hoping that your exerciſe to-morrow may put
" you into a diſpoſition to weigh it more carefully.
" I hope your Majeſty will not be offended with
" this ſincere expreſſion of my duty to You; for
" I durſt not have ventured on it, if I had not
" thought myſelf bound to it, both by the duty
" I owe to God, and that which will ever oblige
" me to be,

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty, &c."

This is the letter, of which ſome mention is made in the ſecond Volume of the Hiſtory, as likewiſe of the effect it produced: It conveys to the reader a much ſtronger idea of the author's character, than any deſcription can give and I preſume, it will ſcarce be thought a ſtep, which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at preferment than the ſtrict diſcharge of his duty.

The unprejudiced part our author acted, during the whole time that the nation was inflamed with the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot; his candid endeavours to have ſaved the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, both zealous papiſts; his temperate conduct in regard to the excluſion of the Duke of York, and the Scheme of a Prince Regent, propoſed by him, in lieu of that excluſion; are all ſufficiently related in the Hiſtory: This only may be farther obſerved, that his behaviour, in this critical juncture, was ſo impartial, as to diſpleaſe both the Court and the Country Party; which, when animoſities run high, will always be the fate of thoſe few, who follow the dictates of their own judgment and conſcience, without entring into the concerted meaſures of any one ſet of Men. A character as valuable as it is rare.

In

His firm adherence to his friends.

In 1682, when the adminiſtration was wholly changed, in favour of the Duke of York, the Courtiers thought themſelves at liberty to rail at our author; as if his writings and ſermons againſt Popery had been only calculated to facilitate the project of the excluſion. Yet ſo little did the Court regard the reflections which were thrown upon him, that it being likely the Maſterſhip of the Temple would be ſoon vacant, the Earls of Halifax and Clarendon obtained the King's promiſe of it for him: Upon which he was again ſent for by his Majeſty, and received with peculiar marks of favour and kindneſs. But theſe were ſoon withdrawn, and he himſelf waved the promiſe made him; when he found it was expected, he ſhould break off correſpondence with ſome of his beſt friends. And as, during the debates concerning the Excluſion, he had loſt all his intereſt with Lord Shafteſbury and the country party, on account of his intimacy with the Earl of Halifax, and his endeavours to juſtify, or at leaſt excuſe the Earl's conduct in that affair: So now he choſe rather to ſacrifice all the advantages, he might reap from that Lord's great power at Court, than to abandon the ſociety of the Earl of Eſſex, the Lord Ruſſel, and Sir William Jones. As he was, at this time, much reſorted to by perſons of all ranks and parties, in order to avoid the neceſſity of returning viſits, he built a Laboratory, and for above a year went through a courſe of chemical Experiments; which, as it ſerved to enlarge his Philoſophical Notions, and was in itſelf an uſeful, as well as an innocent Amuſement, ſo it furniſhed him with a proper excuſe for ſtaying much at home. The Earl (ſoon after created Marquis) of Halifax complains of this retirement in a letter, which I ſhall here inſert.

"SIR,

"SIR,* Oct. 16, 1682.

"THough I was tender in adviſing you to "wave any thing you might think advan- "tageous for you, yet ſince you have thought fit "to do it, I am at liberty to approve it: And I "only deſire you will not make too haſty reſo- "lutions concerning yourſelf, and not be carried "ſo far by the ſudden motions of a ſelf-denying "generoſity, as to ſhut the door againſt thoſe ad- "vantages, which you may expect with juſtice, "and may receive without indecency. Only a "little patience is requiſite, and in the mean time "no greater reſtraint upon your behaviour and "converſation, than every prudent man, under "your character and circumſtances would chuſe "voluntarily to impoſe on himſelf. For what "concerns me, or any part I might have, in en- "deavouring to ſerve you, I had rather you "ſhould hear it from any body, than from myſelf; "and though you ſhould never hear it from any "body, I expect from your juſtice you ſhould ſup- "poſe it. Your withdrawing yourſelf from your "old Friends, on this corrupted ſide of the "Town, is that which I can neither approve for "my own ſake, nor for yours: For beſides many "other objections, ſuch a total ſeparation will "make you by degrees think leſs equally, both "of men and things, than you have hitherto pro- "feſſed to do, in what relates to the Publick. I "have no jealouſies of this kind for myſelf in par- "ticular, being reſolved, at what diſtance ſoever, "to deſerve your believing me unalterably

"Your faithful humble ſervant,

"HALIFAX."

* The original letter is in the Editor's hands.

Not

Refuſes a living on the terms of not reſiding there.

Not long after this, a living worth three hundred pounds a year, which was in the gift of the Earl of Eſſex, becoming void, he offered the preſentation to our author, upon condition he would promiſe ſtill to reſide in London; adding, "That in "the preſent poſture of affairs, his friends could "not permit him to be abſent from the Town." He thereupon told the Earl, "That in caſe he was "preſented to a Cure of Souls, he muſt think him-"ſelf under ſuch an obligation to reſidence, as no "other conſiderations could diſpenſe with." And for this reaſon the Benefice was given to another.

How he avoided being involved in any plots.

In the year 1683, when the Rye Plot broke out, and the Earl of Eſſex and Lord Ruſſel were taken into cuſtody, all who knew his long and ſtrict friendſhip with thoſe Great Men, concluded he would have been involved in the ſame accuſation. But as it had been his conſtant principle, that reſiſtance was not lawful, on account of ſingle acts of injuſtice or oppreſſion, unleſs the very baſis of the Conſtitution was ſtruck at; ſo in order to avoid being drawn into ſecrets he could not approve, he had declared to all thoſe he convers'd with, that 'till he ſhould be convinced that reſiſtance was warrantable, he ſhould think it his duty to diſcloſe all conſultations, which he was made privy to, tending to that end. By this declaration, his moſt intimate friends, when they entered into cabals of this nature, were ſufficiently warned againſt communicating their deſigns to him. And this now proved his ſecurity.

His behaviour at the Trial of the Lord Ruſſel; his attendance on him in priſon, and afterwards upon the ſcaffold, at the time of his execution; the examination he underwent before the Council, in relation to that Lord's Dying Speech, and the boldneſs with which he there undertook to vindicate his memory; as alſo the indignation the Court expreſs'd againſt him, upon that occaſion; are all fully ſet forth in the Hiſtory. Thither I muſt likewiſe

wiſe refer the reader, for an account of the ſhort tour our author took to Paris, and of the unuſual civilities there ſhewn him, by the King of France's expreſs direction. His friends at Court would indeed have perſuaded him to a longer ſtay there; they apprehended great ſeverities were preparing for him at home, which they repreſented in the ſtrongeſt light: But neither their intreaties, nor the menaces of his enemies could prevent his returning to London. He ſaid, "That as he was conſcious "of no crime, which could be truly laid to his "charge, ſo he would not alarm himſelf, with the "continual apprehenſion of what falſe witneſſes "might invent againſt him: That how fatal ſo-"ever his return might prove, he could not think "himſelf at liberty to be abſent from the duties "of his function." This objection was indeed ſoon after removed; for he was, that very year, diſcharged from his Lecture at St. Clement's, in purſuance of the King's mandate to Dr. Haſcard, Rector of that pariſh: And in December 1684, by an extraordinary Order from the Lord Keeper North to Sir Harbottle Grimſton, he was forbid preaching any more in the Chapel at the Rolls.

Is diſmiſſed from his lecture, and from the Rolls.

Thus at the time of King Charles's death, he was happily diſengaged from all thoſe ties, which might have rendered his ſtay in England any part of his duty. Upon King James's acceſſion to the Crown therefore, he deſired his leave to go out of the Kingdom; which the Marquis of Halifax eaſily obtained, the Court regarding him as one, whom they had no proſpect of gaining, and whom it was their intereſt therefore to keep out of the way. He firſt went to Paris, where he lived in great retirement, in order to avoid being involved in any of the Conſpiracies, which the Duke of Monmouth's friends were then forming in his favour. When that rebellion was at an end, having contracted an acquaintance with Brigadier Stouppe, a Proteſtant Officer then in the French ſervice, he

His travels beyond ſea.

was prevailed upon to take a journey with him into Italy; though many of his friends thought it a bold venture, conſidering how remarkably he had ſignalized himſelf, in the controverſy with the Romiſh Church. But as he was not himſelf of a Conſtitution, very ſubject to fear, ſo the advice of the Lord Montague, who was then at Paris, encouraged him to embrace this opportunity of ſeeing Rome.

The relation of theſe travels is ſo amply given, in the Letters our Author publiſhed in the year 1687, that there will be no occaſion to add any thing here concerning them; except as to one particular, which may ſerve as a proof, both of the great regard paid him abroad, and of his own uniform zeal for Toleration. He was much careſſed and eſteemed by the principal men of Geneva: He ſaw they inſiſted ſtrongly upon their Conſent of Doctrine *, which they required all thoſe to ſubſcribe, who were admitted into Orders. He therefore employed all the eloquence he was maſter of, and all the credit he had acquired amongſt them, to obtain an alteration in this practice: He repreſented to them the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch ſubſcriptions; whereby the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were frequently reduced to the neceſſity of quitting their native Country, and ſeeking a ſubſiſtance elſewhere; whilſt others of leſs virtue were induced to ſubmit, and comply againſt their conſcience, and even begin their miniſtry with mental equivocations. The warmth, with which he expreſſed himſelf on this head, was ſuch, and ſuch was the weight of his character, that the Clergy at Geneva were afterwards releaſed from theſe ſubſcriptions, and only left ſubject to puniſhment or cenſure, in caſe of writing or preaching againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine.

* This is a Formulary commonly known by the name of the Conſenſus.

After

After a tour through the Southern parts of France, then under perſecution upon the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, through Italy, Switzerland, and many places of Germany, our author came to Utrecht in the year 1686, with an intention to have ſettled in ſome quiet retreat within the Seven Provinces: But at his arrival there he found Letters, from ſome of the principal Miniſters of State at the Hague, intreating him to fix upon no ſettlement, 'till he ſhould have ſeen the Prince and Princeſs of Orange. When he was firſt admitted to an audience of them, he perceived that his friends in England, eſpecially the Marquis of Halifax, and the Lady Ruſſel, had given him ſuch a character, as not only enſured him a moſt gracious reception, but ſoon after procured him an entire confidence. When he was made acquainted with the ſecret of their Councils, he adviſed the putting the Fleet of Holland immediately into ſuch order, as might give courage to their friends in Great Britain, in caſe matters there ſhould come to extremities; he prevailed upon both their Highneſſes, to write a letter to King James, in favour of the Biſhop of London, who was then under ſuſpenſion; he ventured to propoſe to the Princeſs, the explaining herſelf, upon that nice but neceſſary point, of the ſhare the Prince was to expect in the Government, in caſe the Britiſh Crown ſhould devolve on her; and when it was determined to ſend over Mr. Dyckvelt, as Ambaſſador to England, our author was employed to draw his ſecret inſtructions, of which the rough draught is ſtill extant, in his own hand.

Is well received by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

The high favour now ſhewn him at the Hague, alarmed King James, who was much incenſed againſt him, for the account he had printed of his Travels; in which he had ſo ſtrongly diſplayed the miſeries, thoſe nations groan under, where Popery and Arbitrary Power prevail, that it ſeemed to have a ſenſible effect on the people of England.

King James inſiſts on his being forbid that Court.

land. The King wrote two ſevere letters againſt him to the Princeſs of Orange; and when the Marquis d'Albeville was ſent Envoy to Holland, he had orders to enter upon no other Matter of Treaty, 'till our author was firſt forbid the Court there; which, at his importunity, was done; but he continued to be truſted and employed in the ſame manner as before; Halewyn, Fagel, and the reſt of the Dutch Miniſters conſulting him daily.

Is proſecuted in Scotland and England for high-Treaſon.

The report, that he was then on the point of marrying a conſiderable fortune at the Hague, having reached the Engliſh Court; in hopes to divert this, a proſecution of High-Treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him in Scotland. Before notice of this proſecution came to the States, he had been naturalized in order to his marriage: When therefore he undertook, in a letter to the Earl of Middletoun, to anſwer all the matters laid to his charge, he added, "That being now naturalized "in Holland, his allegiance during his ſtay there, "was transferred from his Majeſty to the States." This expreſſion was immediately laid hold of. So that dropping the former proſecution, they now proceeded againſt him for theſe words, as guilty of High-Treaſon; and a ſentence of outlawry paſs'd on him. D'Albeville thereupon, firſt demanded him to be delivered up; and when he ſaw this demand was like to prove ineffectual, he inſiſted that he ſhould be baniſhed the Seven Provinces, in purſuance of an article in the laſt treaty between the two Nations, which related to Rebels and Fugitives, though it could not be pretended that he came within either of theſe deſcriptions. The States, in their anſwer to the Britiſh Envoy's Memorial, ſaid, "That as Dr. Burnet, by Natu-"ralization, was become a Subject of their own, "they could not baniſh him, unleſs ſome crime "was legally proved upon him; if his Britannick "Majeſty had any thing to lay to his charge, they "would compel him to anſwer it; and if his

The States refuſe to deliver him up.

Judges

" Judges pronounced him guilty, they would " puniſh him according to their Laws; this was " all that in reaſon or juſtice could be demanded " of them." As this anſwer put an end to all farther application to the States, ſo it gave occaſion to ſome unwarrantable deſigns of ſeizing his perſon, and even deſtroying him if he could not be taken. Of this our author had notice given him from ſeveral hands, and one in particular, by the following Letter from Captain Baxter, a Gentleman of unqueſtioned honour and reputation, whoſe father was at that time ſteward to the Duke of Ormond's Eſtate.

Deſigns to ſeize upon him.

" Dear SIR, * Hague, March 14, 1688.

" THough I have no acquaintance with you, " yet the eſteem I have for your character, " and the benefit I have received by your works, " obliges me to tell you the proceedings againſt " you in England. I happened the other day to " go into the Secretary's Office, where I ſaw an " order for three thouſand pound, to be paid the " perſon, that ſhall deſtroy you. I could hardly " believe my eyes, that I ſaw the paper, it ſeemed " ſo ſtrange to me: This I communicated in pri- " vate to my Lord Oſſory, who told me, it was " true, for he had it from Prince George. My " Lord deſired me to be private in the thing, 'till " I came to Holland; and then, if I pleaſed, to " tell you of it. Sir, I am your friend, and my " advice to you is, to take an eſpecial care of " yourſelf, for no doubt but that great ſum will " meet with a mercenary hand. Sir, you ſhall " never want a friend, where I am.---"

Some months before this, our author had married Mrs. Mary Scott, a Dutch Lady of a large

His Marriage to Mrs. Sco

* This letter is in the Editor's hands, with the Biſhop's own memorandum how he came to the knowledge of the perſon who wrote it, and of his character.

fortune and noble extraction. Her anceſtor, on the father's ſide, was a younger brother of the family of Buccleugh, who, upon a quarrel in Scotland, went over to Holland; his ſon was a Brigadier-General at the ſiege of Middleburgh in the year 1574, and afterwards Deputy for the Province of Zealand in the Aſſembly of the States General; his grandſon, Apollonius Scott, who was this Lady's Grandfather, was Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice at the Hague, and by marriage allied to the nobleſt Houſes in Zealand: On the mother's ſide, who was a De Ruyter, ſhe was related to the principal families in Guelder. With theſe advantages of birth, ſhe had thoſe of an extremely agreeable perſon: ſhe was well ſkilled in all ſorts of muſick; drew and painted in great perfection; ſhe ſpoke Dutch, Engliſh, and French equally well; ſhe had a fine underſtanding, and a ſweetneſs of temper, that charmed all her acquaintance; her knowledge in matters of Religion was ſuch, as might rather be expected from a Student in Divinity, than from a Lady. In her, our Author, during the whole courſe of her life, found a religious, diſcreet and loving friend, a dutiful wife, a prudent miſtreſs of his family, a careful manager of his affairs, and a tender mother of his children.

His conduct at the Revolution.

The important ſhare our Author had in the whole conduct of the Revolution; his ſeaſonable Counſels in every ſtep of that great affair; the early notice he gave of it to the Court of Hanover, intimating that the ſucceſs of this enterprize muſt naturally end, in an entail of the Britiſh Crown upon that illuſtrious Houſe; the unreſerved confidence repoſed in him, both by the Prince of Orange, and by the malecontents in England; the aſſiſtance he gave in drawing that Prince's Declaration, and the other publick Papers, written to juſtify the undertaking; his courage in bearing a ſhare in the hazard of that expedition, notwithſtanding the

peculiar

peculiar circumſtances of danger he was in; the Aſſociation propoſed and drawn by him at Exeter; the good offices he endeavoured to do King James, while detained at Feverſham in the hands of a rude multitude; the care he took to protect the Papiſts and Jacobites, from the inſults of the army and populace, when the Dutch Troops arrived at London; his faithful adherence to the intereſts of the Princeſs of Orange, in the affair of the Settlement of the Crown: Theſe, as well as the other ſignal ſervices, our Author rendered his Country, when the Abdication of King James made it requiſite to eſtabliſh a new Government, are too fully related in the Hiſtory, to need any farther mention here.

Declines the offer of the Biſhoprick of Durham.

Dr. Crew, then Biſhop of Durham, had acted ſuch a part in the High Commiſſion in King James's Reign, that he thought it would be no ill compoſition, if he could indemnify his Perſon at the expence of his Spiritual Preferment; which he purpoſed to reſign to our Author, truſting to his generoſity for an allowance of a Thouſand Pounds a-year out of the Epiſcopal Revenue, during his life: He ſent the Lord Montague * with this propoſal to the Prince of Orange; but when the meſſage was carried to our Author, he abſolutely refuſed to accept of the See upon thoſe terms, which he thought might juſtly be conſtrued criminal. He was indeed ſo little anxious after his own Preferment, that when the Biſhoprick of Saliſbury became void, as it did ſoon after King William and Queen Mary were eſtabliſhed on the Throne, he ſollicited for it, in favour of his old friend, Dr. Lloyd then Biſhop of St. Aſaph: The King anſwered him in a cold way, "That he had another "perſon in view;" and the next day he himſelf was nominated to that See.

* This is taken from the Biſhop's MS. notes; and is confirmed by a letter, from one who was Secretary of State, in King William's reign.

When the famous Bill, for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, was brought into the Houſe of Lords, as our Author had firſt intimated to the Houſe of Hanover the probability of a limitation in their favour, King William, in preference to all his Miniſters, appointed him to be the Perſon, that ſhould propoſe the naming the Dutcheſs (afterwards Electreſs) of Brunſwick, next in Succeſſion after the Princeſs of Denmark and her Iſſue. Tho' this Settlement did not then take effect, otherwiſe than as it ſeemed imply'd in the excluſion of all Papiſts; and was not explicitly eſtabliſhed till after the Duke of Glouceſter's Death in 1701, (when our Author had the farther merit of being Chairman of the Committee, to whom the Bill was referred) yet it made that illuſtrious Houſe from thenceforth conſider him, as one firmly attach'd to their intereſts, and with whom they might therefore enter into the ſtricteſt confidence. Accordingly, from that time her late Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Sophia began a correſpondence with him, which laſted to her death, and of which above fifty letters are extant, all written in her own hand. Two of theſe I ſhall here inſert, the one written in 1689, ſoon after the propoſal of naming her in the Act of Succeſſion had been made; the other in 1701, when that nomination took effect.

His ſervices to, and his correſpondence with the Houſe of Hanover.

" Monſieur, *

" COmme j'ai tou-
" jours eu une eſ-
" time tres particuliere,
" pour le merite de votre
" reverence, & que j'ai
" cru la connoitre par
" ſes ecrits, V. R. pourra
" aiſement juger par la,
" com-

" My Lord,

" AS I ever had a
" moſt particular
" eſteem for your merit,
" and have fancied my-
" ſelf acquainted with
" you by your writings,
" you may eaſily judge
" by that, how agreeable
" the

* The original letter is in the Editor's hands.

" combien les marques
" de votre amitie m'ont
" été agreables. Je vous
" asſeure, que je les
" eſtime tres particulie-
" rement, & que je ſuis
" fort reconnoiſſante de
" la Ferveur, qu'il vous
" a plû temoigner pour
" mes intereſts, ce qui
" eſt une auſſi grande
" ſatisfaction pour ma
" perſonne, que ſi vos
" bonnes intentions
" euſſent mieux reüſſi.
" Car je ne ſuis plus
" d'une age à penſer à
" d'autre royaume, que
" celui des Cieux; &
" pour mes fils, ils doi-
" vent toujours eſtre de-
" diez au Roy & au
" Royaume. Monſieur
" Schutz m'a mandé que
" V. R. etoit perſuadé,
" que ſa Majeſté auroit
" pour agreable, que
" j'en fis voir un en An-
" gleterre; & comme
" mon ſecond fils m'a
" voit deja mandé, qu'il
" ſeroit bien aiſe d'al-
" ler, apres la cam-
" pagne, pour feliciter
" le Roi, ſur ſon avene-
" ment à la Couronne,
" & qu'il en demande-
" roit la permiſſion à
" l'Empereur, dont il
" eſt major-general;

" the marks you have
" given me of your
" friendſhip muſt have
" been. I aſſure you I
" eſteem them in a very
" particular manner, and
" am very grateful for
" the warmth, you have
" been pleaſed to teſti-
" fy for my intereſts,
" which is as great a
" perſonal ſatisfaction to
" me, as if your good
" intentions had been
" more ſucceſsful. For I
" am no longer of an age
" to think of any other
" kingdom, than that of
" heaven; and as for my
" ſons, they ought al-
" ways to be devoted to
" the King and king-
" dom. Mr. Schutz has
" informed me, that you
" were of opinion, that
" his Majeſty would be
" pleaſed, if I ſent one
" of them into Eng-
" land; and as my ſe-
" cond ſon had already
" acquainted me, that
" he ſhould be glad to
" go, after the cam-
" paign, to congratu-
" late the King, upon
" his acceſſion to the
" crown, and that he
" would aſk the Em-
" peror's leave for it,
" being a Major Ge-

" neral

" j'oſe prier V. R. de
" l'aſſiſter de vos con-
" ſeils, pour bien faire
" ſa cour, lors qu'il fe-
" ra ce voyage. S'il
" eut voulu changer de
" Religion, il auroit fort
" bien reüſſi dans ces
" affaires aupres de
" l'Empereur, mais il a
" trop de ſon oncle,
" le Prince Rupert,
" pour n'eſtre pas ferme
" dans ſa Religion. Il
" eſt vray qu'elle porte
" le nom de Luthere,
" mais nos Eccleſiaſ-
" tiques d'Hanovre la
" diſent conforme à la
" Religion Anglicane,
" & auroient voulu me
" donner le Saint Sa-
" crement, dans la
" Croyance où je ſuis.
" Mais je n'ai pas vou-
" lu donnier de ſcan-
" dale à ceux de ma
" Religion, dont je
" crois que V. R. ap-
" prouvera. Cependant
" je dois la feliciter,
" qu'il a plu à Dieu de
" vous donner un Roi
" & une Reine d'un
" merite infini: Je le
" prie de vous les con-
" ſerver, & de donner
" à moi la ſatisfaction,
" de temoigner à vous;
" & à tout ce qui vous
" ſera

" neral in his ſervice;
" I dare beg you to aſ-
" ſiſt him with your
" advice, how to make
" his Court well, when
" he takes that journey.
" If he would have
" changed his Religion,
" he might have ſuc-
" ceeded well in his af-
" fairs at the Imperial
" Court, but he has
" too much of his un-
" cle Prince Rupert,
" not to be firm in his
" Religion. It is true,
" it bears the name of
" Luther, but our Di-
" vines at Hanover ſay,
" 'tis conformable to
" that of the Church
" of England, and
" would have given me
" the Holy Sacrament
" in the Belief I am in.
" But I would not give
" any ſcandal to thoſe of
" my Religion, which
" I believe you will ap-
" prove. However, I
" ought to congratulate
" you, upon its having
" pleaſed God to give you
" a King and a Queen
" of infinite merit: I pray
" him to preſerve them
" to you, and to give
" me the ſatisfaction of
" teſtifying to you, and
" every one that is dear
" to

" eſt cher, par des ſer-
" vices agreables, com-
" bien je ſuis
" Tres Affectionée
" à vous ſervir,
" SOPHIE PALATINE.

" to you, by agreeable
" ſervices, how much
" I am
" moſt affectionate
" to ſerve you,
" SOPHIA PALATINE.

* Herenhauſen, 22 Juin, 1701.

" VOUS avez bien
" de la bonté,
" Monſieur, de prendre
" part a tout ce qui re-
" garde la grandeur de
" la maiſon, où je ſuis
" entrée : Et je dois
" vous remercier en par-
" ticulier de l'affection,
" que vous m'avez te-
" moigné, dans l'affaire
" de la ſucceſſion, qui
" exclut en meme temps
" tous les Heritiers Ca-
" tholiques, qui ont
" toujours cauſé tant de
" deſordres en Angle-
" terre. Je ſuis par
" malheur trop vielle,
" pour pouvoir jamais
" etre utile à la nation
" & à mes amis, ce qui
" me feroit pourtant
" beaucoup aimer la vie.
" Cependant je ſouhai-
" terois, que ceux qui
" viendront apres moi,
" ſe rendiſſent dignes
" de l'honneur, qu'ils
" auront : Et que je

Herenhauſen, 22 June, 1701.

" YOU are very ob-
" liging, Sir, to
" take part in every
" thing, that regards
" the grandeur of the
" houſe, into which I am
" married ; and I ought
" to thank you in par-
" ticular for the affec-
" tion, which you have
" teſtified to me, in the
" affair of the ſucceſſion,
" which excludes at the
" ſame time all Catho-
" lick Heirs, who have
" always cauſed ſo many
" diſorders in England.
" I am unfortunately
" too old, ever to be
" uſeful to the nation,
" and to my friends,
" which if I could be, it
" would make me much
" in love with life. How-
" ever, I ſhall wiſh, that
" thoſe who are to come
" after me, may render
" themſelves worthy of
" the honour they will
" have : And that I

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

may

" puiſſe au moins trou-	" may at leaſt find ſome
" ver lieu de vous te-	" occaſion of teſtify-
" moigner, par des ſer-	" ing, by my ſervices,
" vices, l'eſtime que j'ai	" the eſteem I have for
" de votre merite.	" your merit.
SOPHIE ELECTRICE.	SOPHIA ELECTRESS.

Our author maintained an unſhaken credit with King William and Queen Mary, during their whole reign; indeed the King's favour was ſometimes interrupted, with ſhort diſguſts, at the uncourtly liberty he took of ſpeaking his mind, even upon ſome ſubjects that he perceived were diſagreeable; but the real eſteem thoſe Princes had for him, will appear beyond conteſt, from ſeveral facts in the Hiſtory, too numerous to be recapitulated here, and from ſome others, which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention. The uſe he made of this credit, is the principal point, a writer of his life muſt be concerned for: It is that alone, muſt ſettle his real Character, which I am ſatisfy'd has been too commonly miſtaken; and never more egregiouſly, than by thoſe who have repreſented him as an inveterate Party-man. That he was ſtedfaſt to his firſt principles; that in all his conduct relating to the Publick, he was rigidly ſtrict to theſe; is a truth too much to his honour, for me to diſpute: But it will be eaſy to demonſtrate, that his own particular way of thinking, as to Party-Matters, had no influence over him, either in his friendſhips, in his charities, or in his preferments, where the Publick was not immediately concerned. It might be tedious, I am ſure it would be voluminous, here to inſert all the evidences in my hands, from whence it appears, how frequently his whole intereſt was exerted in favour of men, who neither from their publick nor their private conduct, had any reaſon to expect ſuch ſervices from

His character as to Party-Matters.

from him. * Some inſtances of this nature, I ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to produce; but I ſhall content myſelf here with one, which is very remarkable, and may alone be ſufficient to eſtabliſh his reputation on this head. Some of the harſheſt treatment, he had met with in the two former Reigns, had paſs'd through the hands of the Earl of Rocheſter; no two men ever differed more widely in their principles, both in Church and State; yet the firſt good offices done that Earl, with the King and Queen (after all other applications for introduction had failed) their entire reconciliation to him, and the firſt advantages he reaped in conſequence of that reconciliation, were owing to our Author. And when the Earl of Clarendon was afterwards unhappily engaged in the conſpiracy, againſt the Government, in 1690; and ſome hotter Whigs were for the ſevereſt methods, the Biſhop became a hearty and ſucceſsful advocate in his favour. Theſe matters are but curſorily mentioned in the Hiſtory, but will more fully appear from the four following original Letters; the firſt written by the Counteſs of Ranelagh, the other three by the Earl of Rocheſter himſelf.

* The hiſtory mentions the ſhare the Biſhop had in Sir John Fenwick's trial; this Letter, of which the original is in the editor's hands, ſhews how ready he was to do acts of perſonal kindneſs to thoſe whoſe deſigns he had the greateſt averſion to.

" My Lord, Newgate, January 20.

" My wife has acquainted me with your charitable aſſiſtance " yeſterday, for an order for Biſhop White to come to me, for " which I humbly thank your Lordſhip; but much to my trou- " ble to day, ſhe tells me, I am refuſed him. I cannot think the " King would do ſo hard a thing to a dying man, as to refuſe " him one, he can have moſt ſatisfaction in, for the good of " his Soul. Since I did not intend any offence to the Govern- " ment in aſking for him, your favour in procuring an order " for him to come to me will much oblige

" Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,

J. Fenwick.

My

My Lord, *

"YOUR Lordſhip knows that by my Lord "Rocheſter's deſiring me to help him to thank "you, for your forwardneſs to do him favours "with their Majeſties, (out of the ſenſe he had, "that he ought to be more grateful for them, "becauſe he had not at all deſerved them from "your Lordſhip) he had informed me, that you "had done him ſuch favours: And when, pur-"ſuant to his deſire, I began to give you hum-"ble thanks for him (who is a perſon in whom I "can be very ſenſibly obliged) I told your Lord-"ſhip I was pleaſed in paying this duty, as "much upon your account, as upon his Lord-"ſhip's, as having attempted to conquer him by "weapons, fit to be uſed by one of your pro-"feſſion and character; and I hoped he might "be advantaged, as well by being gained by "you, as by reaping good fruits of your Media-"tion, with their Majeſties. And now I preſent "your Lordſhip, in the encloſed, with what ap-"pears to me an Evidence; that my hopes of "his making ingenuous returns, for your gene-"rous advances towards a friendſhip with him, "were not groundleſs. Since he would ſure ne-"ver have pitched upon you, to manage an appli-"cation of his, about an intereſt wherein the viſible "ſubſiſtence of his family is ſo deeply concerned, "if he did not firmly believe the reality of your "intentions towards him; though he have no "merits of his towards you, or any thing elſe, "but your Chriſtian beginnings towards him, "to build that faith upon. Nor can he, in my "poor opinion, give you a clearer proof of his "being already overcome by you, than in chu-"ſing you to be the perſon, to whom he would "in ſuch an intereſt be obliged: Since he there-"by puts himſelf upon the peril of being faith-

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

"fully

" fully yours, or a very unthankful man; which " I do ſo much aſſure myſelf he will not be, " that I humbly beg your Lordſhip to put this " obligation upon him, to perfect what you have " already begun to do for him, of a like nature, " and to the ſame Royal Perſon. Who would " not, I think, act unbecoming herſelf, nor the " eminent ſtation, God has placed her in, in " aſſiſting five innocent children, who have the " honour to be related to her Royal Mother, " who did ſtill, with great tenderneſs, conſider " her own family, when ſhe was moſt raiſed " above it; eſpecially when, in aſſiſting them, " her Majeſty will need only to concern herſelf, " to preſerve a property, made theirs by the " Law of England, which as Queen of this " kingdom ſhe is obliged to maintain.

" I ſend your Lordſhip my Lord Rocheſter's " letter to me, that you may ſee he has thoughts " that juſtify what I have ſaid here for him, and " has expreſs'd them much better than I can do; " ſo that as an argument to gain your pardon, " for this confuſed ſcribble of mine, I preſent you " with his good writing. I am,

Your Lordſhip's humble and
affectionate Servant,
July 13th, 1689. K. Ranelagh.

My Lord, *

" THE good offices, your Lordſhip has told " me, you have endeavoured to do me " with the Queen, of your own accord and ge- " neroſity, incline me to be deſirous to be obli- " ged to your Lordſhip, for the favour of pre- " ſenting the encloſed Petition to her Majeſty. " Your Lordſhip will ſee, by the reading it, the " occaſion and the ſubject of it; and I am ſure

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

" I need

" I need not ſuggeſt any thing to your own kind " thoughts, to add at the delivery of it, ſave " only this, which I thought not proper to touch " in the Petition, that I have certainly as good a " title in law to it, as any man has to any thing " he poſſeſſes; as likewiſe that the Penſion is ap- " propriated, to be paid out of a part of the " revenue, which never was deſigned by any " Act of Parliament, for any publick Uſe of the " Government: which I think has ſomething of " weight and reaſon, to diſtinguiſh it from thoſe " Penſions, that are placed on the more publick " branches of the Revenue.

" I know not, whether the Queen can do me " any good in this affair, but I will believe her " Majeſty cannot but wiſh ſhe could; however, " I think, I ſhould have been very wanting to " my Children, if I had not laid this caſe moſt " humbly before her Majeſty: Leſt at one time " or other, ſhe herſelf might ſay, I had been too " negligent in not making applications to her; " which having now done, I leave the reſt, with " all poſſible ſubmiſſion, to her own judgment, " and to the reflections, that ſome good-natured " moments may incline her to make towards my " family. I ſhould ſay a great deal to your " Lordſhip, for my own confidence, in addreſ- " ſing all this to your Lordſhip, ſome paſſages " of my Life having been ſuch, as may very " properly give it that name: But, I think, " whatever you would be content to hear on that " ſubject, will be better expreſſed by the Perſon, " who does me the honour to deliver this to your " Lordſhip, from

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient Servant,

July 13. 1689. Rocheſter.

" My

" My Lord,*

" UPON what account ſoever it is, that " your Lordſhip is pleaſed to let me " hear from you, I take it to be ſomething of " good fortune, whatſoever ill cauſe there may be " in it too. Therefore I humbly thank your " Lordſhip for the honour of yours of the 18th " from Saliſbury; which was ſent me to this " pretty Place, where I love to be, as much as " you do at your Palace; and though I cannot " do ſo much Good to others, as your Lordſhip " does there to all that are near you, yet I do " more to myſelf, than I can do any where elſe. " Quid ſentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari? " Sit mihi quod nunc eſt, etiam minus, ut mihi " vivam Quod ſupereſt ævi. Forgive this tranſ- " greſſional Rapture, and receive my Thanks, " which I pay your Lordſhip again, for your " kind Letter. For indeed I do take it very " kindly, that you were ſo much concerned, as " to give me a kind hint of that unſeaſonable " Diſcourſe, you came to be acquainted with, " when you were laſt in London: I will make " the beſt uſe of it, I can; to prevent the like " for the future, if I have any Credit. And in " the mean time I muſt make uſe of this oppor- " tunity, to calm and ſoften your Reſentments, " towards this Friend of mine, as you call him " in the beginning of your Letter. I will allow " you as a Servant to the King and Queen, and " a Subject to their Crown, to have as great a " deteſtation of the contrivance, as you can " wiſh; and upon my word, I can accompany " you in it. But when I conſider you, as once " you were, a concern'd Friend of this Lord, to " have a reſpect for his Family, and particu- " larly for my Father, who loſt not only all the " honours and preferments of this World, but

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

" even the comforts of it too, for the integrity
" and uprightneſs of his Heart: You muſt for-
" give me, if I conjure you, by all that's ſacred
" in this generation in which we live together, by
" the character that you bear, and by the re-
" ligion you profeſs, that you do not (as much
" as in you lies) ſuffer this next Heir of my
" good Father's name and honour, to go down
" with ſorrow to the grave. I would not flat-
" ter myſelf, that your Lordſhip ſhould be
" moved with any fondneſs of mine, to endea-
" vour to bring to paſs, what is not fit for a
" wife and a good man to propoſe; that would
" be to make a very ill uſe of your friendſhip to
" me, and I would rather be corrected myſelf in
" my own deſires, than expoſe your Lordſhip
" on ſuch an account. But I hope that they,
" who are the ſupreme directors of this matter
" under God, may in their great wiſdom and
" goodneſs judge, that it may prove as much
" to their honour and ſafety too, to paſs over
" this particular, as if they ſhould purſue the
" ſtricteſt meaſures of juſtice in it. Though I
" am a brother, if I did not, upon the greateſt
" reflection I can make, think I ſhould be of the
" ſame opinion, if I were none, I would not
" preſs this matter upon you. For I cannot but
" think, that the Queen would do, and would
" be glad to avow it too, a very great thing
" for the memory of that gentleman, ſo long
" in his grave. It is upon his account, I am
" begging of your Lordſhip, to do all that's
" poſſible, to preſerve every part and branch
" and member of his family, from the leaſt tran-
" ſient ſtain of infamy and reproach. And if
" God was prevailed with by Abraham, to have
" ſaved a whole City for the ſake of ten righ-
" teous men, I hope there may be as charitable
" an inclination, to ſpare the *Debris* of our bro-

ken

" ken family, for the ſake of him who was the
" raiſer of it.

" I aſk your Lordſhip's pardon, for being thus
" importunate; for I have great need of your
" help, and I hope I ſhall have it from you.
" Loſſes of many and good friends I have born,
" and ſubmitted with patience to the pleaſure of
" Almighty God: But a calamity of this nature,
" that I now deprecate, has in it ſomething ſo
" frightful, and on ſome accounts ſo unnatu-
" ral; that I beg you for God's ſake, from an
" angry man yourſelf, grow an advocate for me
" and for the family on this account. I am
" ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful
humble ſervant,

New-Park, March 21. 1690-91. ROCHESTER.

" My Lord,*

" I Was warm, I confeſs, in the laſt letter I
" gave your Lordſhip the trouble of, and I
" thank you for reproving the vehemence of my
" ſtile, in your laſt of the 28th; I am grown
" cooler, and acknowledge my fault; neither
" did I commit it with an apprehenſion that
" your Lordſhip was inexorable, or that it would
" be ſo much as needful to deſire your aſſiſtance
" in that matter. But you may remember, you
" had uſed a word to me, when you were here,
" *an attainder*; that I acknowledge ſounded very
" harſh to me, and when I had reflected a little
" more upon it, as likewiſe that your Lordſhip
" did not uſe to ſpeak by chance, and conſe-
" quently that you had good ground for what
" you ſaid, I own it heated me all over; which
" made me expreſs my thoughts to you, with

* The original is in the editor's hands.

" more tranſport than was fit, and I will ſay no
" more of them, for fear of running into new
" exceſſes. What your Lordſhip propoſes for
" my Lord Clarendon to deſire, is perfectly
" agreeable to my mind; but I know not, whe-
" ther it be not a little too early, and that ſuch
" a petition might be preſented with a better
" grace, if he were once out of the Tower upon
" bail, than it would be while he is under this cloſe
" confinement. But as your Lordſhip ſays,
" the affair of Mons muſt for the preſent put a
" ſtop to every man's private thoughts, for that
" is a matter of ſuch vaſt importance to the
" Publick, that it is but very fit, that all par-
" ticular conſiderations ſhould give way to it,
" and wait the determination of that great point;
" I cannot but believe the French are maſters
" of it before now, becauſe all the letters, that
" came by the laſt poſt, that I could hear of,
" looked upon it, as a thing impracticable to
" relieve it, but we have had no letters ſince
" Saturday. What the French will do next,
" whether ſend their men into quarters for two
" months, or try to follow their blow, is what
" men are now moſt anxious about. One of my
" old friends, with whom of late I have renewed
" my acquaintance, ſays upon all theſe mighty oc-
" caſions, Prudens futuri temporis exitum Caligi-
" noſa nocte premit Deus Ridetque ſi mortalis ultra
" Fas trepidat. But I confeſs to you, I cannot be
" quite ſo overcome with philoſophy, as not to be
" concerned beforehand, at what this dark night
" is to bring forth. One private concern, in the
" midſt of all theſe publick ones, has given me
" a great deal of uneaſineſs, and I doubt not
" will do ſo to your Lordſhip, when I tell you
" how very ill my Lady Ranelagh has been theſe
" two or three days, with a fever, which has
" almoſt quite deſtroyed her; I am afraid ſtill

for

" for her: the laſt night ſhe had a little reſt;
" but ſhe is ſo weak, and, you know, of late has
" been ſo very tender, that I am in great pain for
" her. I know your Lordſhip will be troubled to
" loſe a very good friend and humble ſervant
" of your own, as well as a moſt wonderful
" good perſon, to all that knew her. For my
" own part, I know no body alive, to whom I
" have ſo many obligations, which I am ſorry to
" ſee how little I can return, when there is moſt
" need of ſerving her. Amongſt all her favours,
" one that I ſhall never forget was, her deſire and
" endeavours, not only to renew for me the ac-
" quaintance, I formerly had with your Lordſhip,
" but to knit it cloſer into a friendſhip; in which
" I am always to own your Lordſhip's ready con-
" currence; and I hope, I ſhall not fail, as faith-
" fully to perform all the part, that belongs to,

" My Lord,
" Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful
" humble ſervant,

April 2, 1691. " ROCHESTER."

Hitherto the reader has view'd our author, as a Divine, only in the private character of a Miniſter in his Pariſh, a Profeſſor in his Chair, or a Preacher in his Lecture; but we muſt now obſerve his conduct in a higher function. As ſoon as the Seſſion of Parliament in 1689 was ended, he went down to his Dioceſe; where he formed ſuch a plan, for executing the duties of his Epiſcopal Office, as he ſeldom afterwards had occaſion to alter.

His primary viſitation could only be regulated, by the practice of his predeceſſors, who contented themſelves with formal Triennial viſitations of their Dioceſe, in which they uſed always to confirm; but when he perceived the hurry, the diſorder and noiſe, that attended theſe publick meetings, he thought them wholly unfit for ſolemn acts

His labours in his Dioceſe, and Epiſcopal function.

of Devotion: They ſeemed much properer, for the exerciſe of an Ordinary's Juriſdiction according to Law, than for the performance of the more Chriſtian functions of a Biſhop: Theſe were inconſiſtent with that pomp and ſhew, which perhaps the other required. He had always looked upon Confirmation, as the likelieſt means of reviving a Spirit of Chriſtianity; if men could be brought to conſider it, not as a mere Ceremony, but as an act whereby a man became a Chriſtian from his own choice; ſince upon attaining to the uſe of reaſon, he thereby renewed for himſelf a Vow, which others had only made for him at Baptiſm. He wrote a ſhort Directory, containing proper rules how to prepare the Youth upon ſuch occaſions; this he printed, and ſent copies of it, ſome months beforehand, to the Miniſter of every Pariſh, where he intended to confirm. He every ſummer took a tour, for ſix weeks or two months, through ſome diſtrict of his Biſhoprick, daily preaching and confirming from Church to Church, ſo as in the compaſs of three years (beſides his formal Triennial Viſitation) to go through all the principal livings in his Dioceſe. The Clergy, near the places he paſſed through, generally attended on him; therefore, to avoid being burthenſome in theſe Circuits, he entertained them all at his own charge. He likewiſe for many years, entered into conferences with them, upon the chief heads of Divinity: One of which he uſually opened at their meeting, in a diſcourſe that laſted near two hours; and then encouraged thoſe preſent, to ſtart ſuch queſtions or difficulties upon it, as occur'd to them. Four of theſe diſcourſes againſt Infidelity, Socinianiſm, Popery and Schiſm, were printed in the year 1694. When our Author had publiſhed His Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles, conferences of this nature ſeemed in ſome meaſure needleſs: He therefore diſcontinued them, in order to apply himſelf wholly to the Work of Confirmation. To be

be more uſeful in it, he diſpoſed his annual progreſs, during the laſt ten years of his life, in the following manner. He went through five or ſix of the conſiderable Market-towns every year: he fix'd himſelf for a whole week in each of them: and though he went out every morning to preach and confirm in ſome Pariſh, within ſeven or eight miles of the Place; yet at the Evening-prayer, for ſix days together, he catechiſed the youth of the town, in the principal Church there, expounding to them ſome portion of the Church Catechiſm every day, 'till he had gone through the whole: And on Sunday, he confirmed thoſe, who had been thus examined and inſtructed, and then inviting them all to dine with him, he gave to each a uſeful preſent of Books. As the Country flocked in, from all parts to hear him; he was in hopes this would encourage the Clergy to Catechiſe more, and would raiſe an emulation in Chriſtian Knowledge, among the inferior ſort of people, who were ignorant to a ſcandal.

In the intervals of Parliament, when the Biſhop was not upon this progreſs, his uſual reſidence was at Saliſbury; there he preached the Thurſday's lecture, founded at St. Thomas's Church, during the whole time of his ſtay; he likewiſe preached and confirmed every Sunday Morning *, in ſome Church of that City, or of the neighbourhood round about it: And in the evening he had a

* He was ſo punctual in this, that no change of Weather could ever induce him, to diſappoint any Congregation where he was expected: And this aſſiduity had well nigh coſt him his life, in the year 1698. For having appointed to preach and confirm, at the Pariſh Church of Dinton, within twelve miles of Saliſbury, on a prefixed Sunday; the Rains, that fell on that day, and for ſome days before, had ſo ſwelled a Brook, which he was to croſs, that his coach was over-turned in the water, and his own life hardly ſaved by a Miller, who jumped in and drew the Biſhop out of the water; for which ſeaſonable ſervice, our Author paid him a yearly gratuity all the reſt of his life.

lecture in his own Chapel, to which great crouds reſorted, wherein he explained ſome portion of Scripture, out of the goſpels and epiſtles in the liturgy. He generally came down from London, ſome days before Lent, on purpoſe to prepare the youth of the two great Schools for Confirmation; by catechizing them every Week, during that ſeaſon, in the Cathedral Church, and inſtructing them in the ſame manner, as he did thoſe in the other Towns of his Dioceſe. And to render this taſk of inſtruction more eaſy to the reſt of his Clergy, he at length publiſhed an Explanation of the Church-Catechiſm in the year 1710.

The Biſhop's conſiſtorial court, being much cry'd out againſt, as a grievance both to the Clergy and Laity, he endeavoured to reform it, and for ſome years went thither in perſon; but though he might do ſome little good by this attendance, it was ſo little, that he at laſt gave it over; for the true foundation of complaints was, the dilatory courſe of proceedings, and the exorbitant fees, which the Biſhop had no authority to correct: Nay, he could not even diſcharge poor ſuitors, who were oppreſs'd there with vexatious proſecutions, any otherwiſe than by paying their fees himſelf, as he frequently did.

No part of the Epiſcopal Office was more ſtrictly attended to by him, than the examination of thoſe, who came for Orders: in this matter the Law has left the Biſhop entirely at liberty, to admit or refuſe. He never turned them over to the care of a Chaplain or Archdeacon, farther than to try their ſkill in the learned languages. He examined them himſelf as to the proofs of the Chriſtian Religion, the authority of the Scriptures, and the nature of the Goſpel-Covenant. If they were deficient in thoſe, he diſmiſs'd them at once, with proper directions how to be better prepared for a ſecond trial: But if they were competently knowing in theſe eſſential points, he went through the other heads of Divinity

vinity with leſs ſtrictneſs. When he was once ſatisfied with their capacity, he next directed his diſcourſe to their Conſcience: He laid before them the baſeneſs of taking up a Sacred Profeſſion, merely for the lucre or ſubſiſtence it might afford; he gave them a diſtinct view of all the branches of the Paſtoral Care, (of which he publiſhed a Treatiſe, for the uſe of his Dioceſe, in 1692;) and endeavoured ſtrongly to diſſuade them from entring into Holy Orders, unleſs they were firmly reſolved to perform all the duties of their function; more particularly to lead ſuch lives as might not contradict the doctrines, they were to teach. A day or two before Ordination, he ſubmitted all thoſe whom he had accepted, to the examination of the Dean and Prebendaries, that ſo he might have their approbation.

In the admiſſion of Preſentees, he could not be ſo ſtrict; the Law having in ſome meaſure taken the Judgment of their Qualifications out of the Ordinary; yet in this he went unuſual lengths, of which I ſhall mention one ſingular inſtance *. In the latter part of the Reign of Queen Anne, the Lord Chancellor preſented the younger Son of a noble family in Oxfordſhire to a parſonage within his Dioceſe, which was in the gift of the Crown. Upon trial, our author found him ſo ignorant, that he refuſed to inſtitute him; the Miniſtry threaten'd him with a Law-ſuit, but finding him reſolute, they at length acquieſced under the refuſal. Thereupon the Biſhop ſent for the young Gentleman, and told him, "That as his Patrons "had given up the conteſt, and he had no deſign "to do him any perſonal injury, if he could pre-"vail on his friends, to keep the Benefice vacant, "he himſelf would undertake the charge of quali-"fying him for it." Accordingly he took ſuch happy pains in his Inſtruction, that ſome months

* This I had from Mr. Mackney, as a fact well known to himſelf, and to ſome others now alive.

after,

after, the Preſentee paſs'd examination with applauſe, and had inſtitution given him to the Living.

As the Paſtoral Care, and the admitting none to it, who were not duly qualified, was always uppermoſt in his Thoughts, he concluded that he could not render a more uſeful ſervice to Religion, to the Church, and more eſpecially to his own Dioceſe, than by forming under his eye a number of Divines, well inſtructed in all the articles of their duty. He reſolved therefore, at his own charge, to maintain a ſmall nurſery of ſtudents in Divinity at Saliſbury, who might follow their ſtudies, till he ſhould be able to provide for them. They were ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a ſalary of thirty Pounds a-year: They were admitted to him once every day, to give an account of their progreſs in Learning, to propoſe to him ſuch difficulties as they met with, in the courſe of their reading, and to hear a lecture from him, upon ſome ſpeculative or practical point of Divinity, or on ſome part of the paſtoral Function, which laſted above an hour: During the Biſhop's abſence, the learned Dr. Whitby ſupplied his place, in overlooking and directing their Studies. By this means, our author educated ſeveral young Clergymen, who proved an honour to the Church; but as this came to be conſidered as a preſent proviſion, with ſure expectations of a future ſettlement, he was continually importuned, and ſometimes impoſed upon, as to the perſons recommended to be of this number: And the foundation itſelf was ſo maliciouſly exclaimed at, as a deſign'd affront upon the method of education at Oxford, that he was prevailed upon, after ſome years, to lay it wholly aſide.

Our Author was a warm and conſtant enemy to Pluralities of Livings, not indeed where the two Churches lay near each other, and were but poorly endowed, for in that caſe he rather encouraged them;

them; as knowing the "Labourer was worthy "his hire." But whenſoever Non-reſidence was the conſequence of a plurality, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, and in ſome caſes even hazarded a ſuſpenſion, rather than give inſtitution. In his charges to the Clergy, he exclaimed againſt pluralities, as a ſacrilegious Robbery of the revenues of the Church; a remarkable effect of his Zeal upon this ſubject may not be improper to be here related *. In his firſt viſitation at Saliſbury, he urged the authority of St. Bernard, who being conſulted by one of his followers, whether he might not accept of two Benefices, reply'd, "And "how will you be able to ſerve them both?" "I "intend (anſwered the Prieſt) to officiate in one "of them by a Deputy." "Will your Deputy be "damn'd for you too? (cry'd the Saint.) Believe "me, you may ſerve your Cure by proxy, but "you muſt be damn'd in perſon." This expreſſion ſo affected Mr. Kelſey, a pious and worthy Clergyman there preſent, that he immediately reſigned the rectory of Bemerton, worth two hundred pounds a-year, which he then held with one of a greater value. Nor was this Chriſtian Act of ſelf-denial without its reward; for though their principles in Church Matters were very oppoſite, the Biſhop conceived ſuch an eſteem for him, from this action, that he not only prevailed with the Chapter to elect him a Canon, but likewiſe made him Archdeacon of Sarum, and gave him one of the beſt Prebends in the Church.

In the point of reſidence, our author was ſo ſtrict, that he never would permit his own Chaplains to attend upon him, after they were once preferred to a Cure of Souls, but obliged them to be conſtantly reſident at their Livings. Indeed he con-

* This fact was told me by Mr. Waſtefield, and is well known at Saliſbury.

ſidered

ſidered himſelf, as under the ſame obligation, as Paſtor of the whole Dioceſe, and never would be abſent from it, but during his neceſſary attendance on Parliament; from which, as ſoon as the principal buſineſs of the nation was diſpatch'd, he always obtain'd leave to depart, in order to return to his Function. And though King William, upon his going over to Ireland or Flanders, always enjoined him to attend upon Queen Mary, and aſſiſt her with his faithful Council on all emergencies; yet he would not, upon ſuch occaſions, accept of lodgings at Whitehall, but hired a houſe at Windſor, in order to be within his own Biſhoprick, and yet near enough to the Court, to pay his duty twice a week, or oftener, if buſineſs required it.

His univerſal principle of Toleration extends to Nonjurors.

No Principle was more deeply rooted in him, than that of Toleration; it was not confined to any Sect or Nation, it was as univerſal as Chriſtianity itſelf: He exerted it in favour of a Nonjuring Meeting-houſe at Saliſbury, which he obtained the Royal Permiſſion to connive at; and when the Preacher there, Dr. Beach, by a ſeditious and treaſonable Sermon had incurred the Sentence of the Law, our author not only ſaved him from puniſhment, but even procured his pardon, without the terms of a publick Recantation, upon which it was firſt granted; as may be collected from the following letters, the one from the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State, the other from Dr. Beach himſelf.

" My Lord,* Whitehall, 29 March 1692.

" I Have acquainted the Queen, at the Cabinet " Council, with what your Lordſhip writes in " behalf of Dr. Beach; and though her Majeſty " is always inclined to ſhew Mercy, and eſpecially " to ſuch as your Lordſhip recommends to her

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

favour;

" favour; yet since the crime, and the scandal of
" it, has been very publick, her Majesty thinks
" the acknowledgment of it should be so too:
" And therefore would have him make it in the
" Church. When this is done, your Lordship's
" intercession will easily prevail. I am, with great
" respect,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble

" and faithful servant,

" NOTTINGHAM."

" My Lord, *

" WITH all due deference of honour, and
" with all the respectful regard, that can
" be correspondent to the no less generous, than
" acceptable message, which I received from your
" Lordship by Dr. Geddes, I humbly tender this
" to your Lordship, hoping it may be favourably
" received, in lieu of my personal attendance,
" which shall be readily paid (as it is due) at any
" time. Dr. Geddes has delivered me the desirable
" tidings of your Lordship's free resolution, to
" rescue me, from the farther prosecution of that
" unhappy verdict, I labour under. It is my
" desire, being freed from this troublesome storm,
" to live in peace and quiet, without disturbance of
" the government in general, and of any person in
" particular. And I cannot but deeply resent
" your obliging readiness to relieve me, because
" it is not clogged with any bitter conditions or
" reserves, that would lessen the favour. What
" your Lordship has resolved, is what I humbly
" desire, and do not doubt but your Lordship will
" pursue. The sooner the favour can be accom-
" plished, and with the less noise before Term,

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

" the

" the more it will be endeared to, and challenge
" all gratitude from,

" My Lord,

" Your much obliged

" and obedient ſervant,

" WM. BEACH."

Yet when this ſpirit of Moderation, of which the Nonjurors felt the good effects, was extended to the Diſſenters, our Author's enemies repreſented him, as betraying the Church into their hands; though he was really taking the moſt effectual means to bring them over, not indeed by compulſion, but by the more Chriſtian methods of charity and perſuaſion: In which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that many Diſſenting Families, in his Dioceſe, were by him brought over to the Communion of our Church, in which they ſtill continue; and of two Preſbyterian Preachers, who were well ſupported when he firſt came to Saliſbury, one was ſoon after obliged to quit the place, and the other but poorly ſubſiſted in it.

His ſcheme for augmenting poor livings in his own Dioceſe.

He perceived that the chief ſtrength of the Sectaries lay in the market-towns; the livings there were moſt commonly in the gift of the Lord Chancellor; and as the Lord Somers, during his enjoyment of the Seals, left the nomination to thoſe in the Dioceſe of Sarum, to the Biſhop; he endeavoured to place in them none but learned, pious, and moderate Divines, as being the beſt qualified to prevent the growth of Schiſm. But as the Benefices were generally ſmall, and a poor Church will be too often ſerved by as poor a Clerk; our Author determined to obviate this difficulty, by beſtowing upon theſe Cures the Prebends in his gift, as they became vacant; and till ſuch a vacancy happened, out of his own income he allowed the Miniſter of every ſuch Church a penſion of

twenty pounds a-year *: When the Prebend itſelf was conferred upon him, the Biſhop inſiſted on his giving a Bond to reſign it, if ever he quitted the Living. Though this matter had been laid before the moſt eminent Prelates and Divines of our Church, as well as the moſt learned among the Canoniſts, who highly approved the deſign; yet it was ſo warmly oppoſed by ſome of the Clergy, that in order to raiſe no farther ſtrife in the Church, our Author was prevailed on to relinquiſh this project, and give up all the bonds he had taken. But as he could not, without the tendereſt concern, behold the deſtitute condition of theſe poor Benefices, moſt of which were attended with the largeſt Cure of Souls; ſo his diſappointment in this ſcheme, he had formed for his own Biſhoprick, only gave occaſion to a more univerſal plan, which he projected for the improvement of all the ſmall Livings in England, and which was liable to no exception. This he preſſed forward with ſo much ſucceſs, that it terminated at length in an Act of Parliament, paſs'd in the ſecond year of Queen Anne, "for the Augmentation of "the Maintenance of the poor Clergy."

His ſcheme for augmenting all the poor livings in England.

He had firſt laid this propoſal before Queen Mary, who had undertaken to obtain the King's approbation and conſent; after her death, the proſpect of Peace in 1696, and the actual concluſion of it in 1697, ſeemed to furniſh a proper opportunity, for offering the ſame Scheme to King William, which he did by the two following Memorials.

* This appears from his Steward's accounts, and was confirmed to me by Mr. Waſtefield.

MEMO-

MEMORIAL concerning the firſt Fruits and Tenths. Given in to the King in January 1696 *.

" THE Tenths and Firſt Fruits were firſt " laid on by Popes, on pretence of ſupport- " ing the Holy War; in the twenty-ſixth year of " the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, theſe " were given to the Crown; and ſince that " time have been granted away in Penſions, by " dormant warrants. They are now in the hands " of the Duke of St. Albans, Counteſs of Pli- " mouth, Counteſs of Briſtol, Earl of Bath, Earl " of Oxford, and a few others. This revenue may " juſtly be called in queſtion, as unlawful and ſa- " crilegious in its nature; the applying it to a " good uſe is the beſt way to juſtify it.

" The condition of many Livings in this king- " dom is moſt miſerable; many have not twenty " pounds, and in ſome places, three of them put " together do not amount to forty pounds a-year. " A poor Clergyman may be ſcandalous, but he " muſt be contemptible and ignorant. To this, " in a great meaſure, we owe the Atheiſm and " Impiety, the Sects and Diviſions, that are ſpread " over the nation.

" It would be a noble demonſtration, both of " zeal for the honour of God and Religion, and " affection for the Church of England, if the King " would appropriate this revenue, to the raiſing of " the Livings in this nation to ſome juſt propor- " tion, beginning at thoſe in Corporations, and " thoſe within the King's gift, but not ex- " cluding others, upon condition that the King " ſhall have his turn in preſenting, in proportion " to the augmentation that ſhall be made by this " proviſion.

* The Memorial in the Biſhop's own hand, with a Memorandum when it was delivered, is in the Editor's hands.

" A Cor-

" A Corporation might be ſettled, as was from " the Reign of Queen Elizabeth down to that of " Charles the Firſt, with power to receive the " gifts of charitable perſons, to the ſame pious " end: And all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, " might be obliged to pay towards it a fourth or " fifth of every Fine that they received.

" This, by the Bleſſing of God, would make " the concerns of Religion and of the Church put " on another face, it would much raiſe his Ma- " jeſty's Name and Character in the preſent, and " in all ſucceeding ages; by this the King gives " away nothing, that is in his own poſſeſſion; he " only gives away the power of granting ſuch new " penſions, as may be vacant in his time. And " there is little doubt to be made, (beſides a bleſ- " ſing from God, which may be expected upon " ſo noble a deſign) that this would be made up " to the Crown by Parliament: And would alſo " give ſuch an impreſſion of the King, as would " have good effect on all his affairs."

A Second MEMORIAL concerning the Tenths and Firſt Fruits. Given in to the King in December 1697 *.

" IT is humbly propoſed, that his Majeſty would " be pleaſed to conſider, how proper it will be " at this time, to declare his Reſolution of apply- " ing the Firſt Fruits and Tenths to mending the " ſtate of the poor Livings in England.

" The Peace being now concluded, this will " be a noble beginning of his Majeſty's Reign " in Peace, and a ſuitable return to God, for " his great bleſſings on his Royal Perſon and " affairs; it will gain him the hearts of all " true friends of the Church of England; and

* The Memorial in the Biſhop's own hand, with a memorandum when he delivered it, is in the Editor's hands.

" ſince the Burroughs are generally the worſt " ſerved, their Livings being univerſally very " ſmall, this may probably have a great effect " on all the King's affairs, perhaps on the ſuc- " ceeding elections of Parliament.

" If his Majeſty be reſolved to do it, it is " humbly ſuggeſted, that he would declare his " reſolution in the treaſury, and appoint the Com- " miſſioners to acquaint the Houſe of Commons " with it, who will no doubt very quickly make " it up to the Crown. Upon this, it is propoſed, " that the King will order a Commiſſion for ma- " naging this fund, and making it moſt effectual " to the end intended by it.

" The perſons proper for ſuch a Commiſſion, " would be the two Archbiſhops, with two other " Biſhops, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy- " Seal, the two Secretaries of State, the firſt Com- " miſſioner of the Treaſury, the Chancellor of " the Exchequer, the two Chief Juſtices, the Chief " Baron, and the King's Attorney-General."

Though this Propoſal was highly acceptable to the King; though it was ſtrongly ſeconded by the Princeſs of Denmark, who deſired Copies to be given her of the two foregoing Memorials; yet underhand it met with ſuch oppoſition amongſt the Miniſtry, as for a time obſtructed the execution of it. The Biſhop would not however be diſcouraged in it; but renewed his ſollicitations upon this head, ſo powerfully, in the year 1701, that nothing but the death of King William could have prevented its then taking effect. He had concerted his meaſures upon this occaſion, with the Earl of Godolphin (who afterwards carried this deſign into execution) and with the Lord Somers, whoſe Letter upon that ſubject I ſhall here inſert.

" My

" My Lord,* 22 Nov. 1701.

" I Acknowledge the honour of your Lordſhip's " letter of the 17th, with great thankfulneſs; " I wiſh it may lie in my power to contribute to " the excellent deſign you propoſe; no man will " enter into it more willingly, nor ſhall labour in " it more heartily. The Point of the Firſt Fruits " and Tenths is what I have propoſed ſeveral " times, with much earneſtneſs, but without ſuc- " ceſs. When I have the happineſs of ſeeing your " Lordſhip, we ſhall, I hope, diſcourſe at large " upon the whole ſubject. In the mean time " allow me to aſſure you, that I am with great and " ſincere reſpect,

" My Lord,
" Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient
" humble Servant,
" SOMERS."

Having thus given a ſhort account of every principal part of our Author's conduct, that properly relates to his Epiſcopal Character, of which I thought the reader would be beſt able to judge, if it were laid before him in one general view, without any ſtrict regard to the ſeries of time; I ſhall now return to the thread of my narration, by relating the other remarkable incidents of his life, in the order in which they happened.

The death of Queen Mary and of Archbiſhop Tillotſon.

The year 1694 proved greatly unfortunate to him, I might have ſaid to the whole nation, by the death of Archbiſhop Tillotſon; a name too well known to need an encomium; whoſe funeral ſermon our Author preach'd, and whoſe vindication he undertook, againſt a Writer who had virulently attack'd his memory. This great loſs to the Church was ſoon after followed by a greater, that of the excellent Queen MARY, who had always honoured

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

our Author with a high degree of favour and confidence. The ſtrong impreſſion her uncommon talents and ſhining qualities had made upon him, occaſioned that Eſſay on her Character, which he publiſhed in the year 1695.

He is one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to recommend to preferments.

During her life, the affairs and promotions in the Church had wholly paſs'd through her hands; it was an article of government, for which the King thought himſelf unqualified, yet was unwilling to commit to the care of his Miniſters: Upon her death therefore, a Commiſſion was granted to the two Archbiſhops, to our Author, and to three other Prelates; whereby they, or any three of them, were appointed to recommend to all Biſhopricks, Deaneries, or other vacant Preferments in the Church, ſignifying the ſame to his Majeſty, by writing under their hands: And during the King's abſence beyond Sea, they were empowered, of their own authority, to preſent to all Benefices in the gift of the Crown, that were under the value of an hundred and forty pounds a-year. A like Commiſſion was granted in the year 1700, and the Biſhop of Saliſbury continued ſtill to be of the number. It would be tedious here to enumerate the ſeveral marks King William gave him of his friendſhip, during the whole courſe of his Reign; but tho' he obtained of his Majeſty employments, penſions, and gratuities for others, even to the value of ten thouſand pounds to One Perſon now living; yet there was not one ſingle inſtance, wherein he ſollicited a favour for himſelf or his family: On the contrary, he declined preferment when it was offered to him.

Is made Preceptor to the Duke of Glouceſter

In the year 1698, when it became neceſſary to ſettle the Duke of Glouceſter's family, the King ſent the Earl of Sunderland with a meſſage to the Princeſs of Denmark, acquainting her, "That he "put the whole management of her Son's houſhold "into her hands, but that he owed the care of his "education to himſelf and his people, and there-

"fore

" fore would name the perſons for that purpoſe." Accordingly the Earl of Marlborough being nominated his Governor, the Biſhop of Saliſbury was appointed his Preceptor. He was then retired into his Dioceſe, having lately loſt his Wife by the Small Pox. He took that occaſion therefore to wave the offer of this important charge; though he was aſſured, the Princeſs had teſtify'd her approbation of the King's Choice. He wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, to uſe his intereſt, that he might be excuſed, and in return received from him the following letter.

Which he endeavours to decline.

" My Lord, * June 29.

" I Am extremely troubled for your loſs, it being, " by all that I have heard, a very great one: " But you muſt not leave ſerving the Publick, " upon any private conſideration. I intend to be " in town next week, and if I have any credit at " all, you may be aſſured that you ſhall be ſent " for, and ſhall come thither, unleſs you will fall " out with all your friends, and with the King in " the firſt place. I am, with great truth,

" My Lord,

" Your moſt faithful

" humble Servant,

" SUNDERLAND."

Our Author wrote likewiſe to his friend Archbiſhop Tenniſon, deſiring him to wait on the King in his name, and intreat his Majeſty, to allow him to decline this employment: The Archbiſhop replied, and offered many arguments to perſuade him to accept of it; which only produced a ſecond letter, ſtronger than the former, and to the ſame purpoſe: To which his Grace, by King William's direction, returned the following anſwer.

* The original letter is in the Editor's hands.

" My Lord, * Lambeth, June 28, 1698.

" I Received your ſecond, in which you ſeem to " inſiſt on the contents of the firſt; upon that " account, I waited on the King, not being willing " to decline doing, what you ſo earneſtly preſs'd. " The King expreſs'd himſelf with great tenderneſs " upon this ſubject; he commanded me to let you " underſtand, that he had ſent for you, before this " time, if this misfortune had not happened; and " that he ſtill deſires you to come, as ſoon as with " decency you can. He looks upon you, as a " Divine, who in ſuch caſes had comforted many, " and thinks it will look beſt, not to ſuffer ſuch a " croſs, to get ſuch power over you, as to make " you decline ſo publick a ſervice. He ſpoke to " this effect, without my urging my private opi- " nion, which is, what it was in my firſt. I " heartily pray for you, I pity you as my own " Brother, but I cannot bring myſelf in this, to " be of your Lordſhip's opinion. It is true, if " no ſteps had been made in this affair, your ex- " cuſe would the eaſier have made its way; but " ſeeing things are ſo far advanced, it ſeems not " proper to go back. If upon this, that hopeful " Prince ſhall fall into ſuch hands, as are unfit, " your Lordſhip would then reflect, upon your " having declined the Service, with pain and " grief. Pray, next poſt, let me have ſome an- " ſwer, our good Maſter the King may be pleaſed " with. I am,

" My Lord,

" Your affectionate Brother,

" THO. CANTUAR."

As the reſt of the Biſhop's friends concurred in the ſame ſtrain, earneſtly preſſing him not to refuſe a ſtation, wherein he might do his Country

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

ſuch

ſuch ſignal ſervice, as in the right education of the Duke of Glouceſter; he thought it might be conſtrued obſtinacy not to ſubmit. He therefore ſignified his compliance, in his anſwer to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who thereupon wrote him another Letter, which I ſhall here inſert.

" My Lord,* Kenſington, July 4, 1698.

" LATE laſt night the King ſpoke again about " your coming up; the time you mention " (Friday fortnight) he thinks much too long; he " therefore commanded me to ſend an expreſs to " you, in order to your coming up as ſoon as poſſi- " bly you can: He having time, little enough to " ſettle that matter, before his going beyond Sea; " which will not now be long; becauſe the Parlia- " ment may ſpeedily end, perhaps this day. He con- " ſiders very graciouſly the commendableneſs of " your ſubmiſſion in theſe circumſtances, which is " indeed worthy of you. Pray haſten as much as " you poſſibly can, and may God bring you ſafely " hither. I am

" Your affectionate Brother,

" THO. CANTUAR."

P. S. " The Parliament riſes to-morrow, and the " King goes ſoon to Windſor, where you may " wait on his Majeſty.

† When our Author, upon his arrival at Windſor, had his firſt audience of the King, he aſſured his Majeſty it was no longer his intention to decline ſo honourable an employment, as the educating a Prince ſo nearly related to the Crown, ſince his Royal Maſter thought him worthy of that Truſt; but as the diſcharge of his duty in this

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

† This fact was related to the Editor by Mr. Mackney, who then attended the Biſhop to Windſor, and had it from his own mouth.

ſtation muſt confine him conſtantly to Court, which was inconſiſtent with his Epiſcopal Function, he deſired leave to reſign his Biſhoprick. The King was much ſurprized at the Propoſal, to which he would by no means conſent: However, finding our Author perſiſted in it, he was at length prevailed on, to agree, that the Duke ſhould reſide all the ſummer at Windſor, and that the Biſhop ſhould have ten Weeks allowed him every year, to viſit the other parts of his Dioceſe.

The method he purſued in the Duke of Glouceſter's education, and the amazing progreſs made in it, during the ſhort time that Prince was under his care, are mentioned in the Hiſtory: To which I ſhall only add, that he conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the Princeſs of Denmark ever after retained a peculiar regard for him, of which he received ſome ſenſible marks, when ſhe came to the Throne, even at times when he was engaged in a publick oppoſition to the meaſures of her Miniſters.

His marriage with Mrs. Berkeley.

The aſſiduous attendance our author was obliged to, whilſt he was Preceptor to the Duke, and the tender age of his own children, made it requiſite to look out for a proper miſtreſs to his family. He fix'd upon Mrs. Berkeley, a Lady of uncommon degrees of Knowledge, Piety and Virtue; as may appear from Her Method of Devotion, which bore ſeveral impreſſions in her Life-time; and was reprinted after her death, with an account of her Life, by Dr. Goodwyn, (the late Archbiſhop of Caſhels in Ireland) which renders it unneceſſary here to enlarge upon her character.

He writes an Expoſition of the Thirty nine Articles.

In the year 1699, our Author publiſhed His Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. He was firſt engaged in this undertaking by Queen Mary, who had ſo highly approved of his Four Diſcourſes to his Clergy, and his Treatiſe of the Paſtoral Care, that She, as well as Archbiſhop Tillotſon, judged no man

ſo

ſo proper as himſelf, to render this important ſervice to the Church. At their intreaty therefore, he undertook this laborious taſk, which he perform'd in leſs than the compaſs of a year, though he kept it by him five years, for correction. It was firſt reviſed, and in many places altered by Dr. Tillotſon, whoſe opinion of this performance will beſt be learnt from one of his own letters.

" My Lord,* Lambeth-Houſe, Oct. 23, 1674.

" I Have with great pleaſure and ſatisfaction " read over the great volume, you ſent me; " and am aſtoniſh'd to ſee ſo vaſt a work, begun " and finiſh'd in ſo ſhort a time. In the article " of the Trinity you have ſaid all, that I think " can be ſaid upon ſo obſcure and difficult an " argument. The Socinians have juſt now pub- " liſhed an anſwer to us all; but I have not had " a ſight of it. The negative articles againſt the " Church of Rome, you have very fully ex- " plained, and with great learning and judgment. " Concerning theſe, you will meet with no op- " poſition amongſt ourſelves. The greateſt dan- " ger was to be apprehended from the points in " difference between the Calviniſts and Remon- " ſtrants, in which you have ſhewn, not only " great ſkill and moderation, but great prudence " in contenting yourſelf, to repreſent both ſides " impartially, without any poſitive declaration " of your own judgment. The account given " of Athanaſius's Creed, ſeems to me no-wiſe " ſatisfactory; I wiſh we were well rid of it. " I pray God long to preſerve your Lordſhip, to " do more ſuch ſervices to the Church. I am,

" My Lord,

" Yours moſt affectionately,

" Jo. Cant."

* An atteſted copy of this letter, in the hand-writing of the preſent Archbiſhop of Dublin, is in the Editor's hands.

This

This work was afterwards perused and approved by Archbishop Tenniſon, Archbishop Sharp, Bishop Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Hall and Williams: The laſt of theſe ſtrongly recommended, the conſidering them only as articles of peace, in which men were bound to acquieſce without contradiction; not as articles of faith, which they were obliged to believe. There might perhaps be reaſon to wiſh, that they had only been impoſed as ſuch, but there was nothing in our Conſtitution to warrant an expoſitor, in giving that ſenſe to them: The book likewiſe paſs'd through the hands of many learned men in both Univerſities, and was generally applauded. Upon its firſt appearance in print, it was univerſally well received; thoſe, who had been employed to criticiſe every work the Biſhop had publiſhed for ſome years, were ſilent as to This. Indeed when the Convocation met, and the two Houſes were warmly engaged in diſputes, relating to their reſpective privileges, in which our Author bore a conſiderable ſhare; the Lower Houſe, in reſentment, brought up a general cenſure of his Expoſition, but refuſed to point out the particulars upon which it was grounded: Though the Upper Houſe remonſtrated, how neceſſary that was, in in order to enable them to concur in the cenſure, which they could not pretend to do, till they were informed of the reaſons for it.

For five or ſix years before his death, our Author grew more abſtracted from the world, than the ſituation he had been in, during the former parts of his life, had permitted. To avoid the diſtraction of uſeleſs viſits, he ſettled in St. John's Court in Clerkenwell, and kept up only an intercourſe with his moſt ſelect and intimate acquaintance: Their names will be an honour to his memory, and therefore I beg leave to mention the moſt conſiderable amongſt them. Such were the late Dukes of Marlborough, Newcaſtle

and

and Shrewſbury; the Earls of Godolphin, Cowper and Halifax; the Lord Somers and Pelham: And the preſent Dutcheſs Dowager of Marlborough, the Dukes of Montroſe and Roxburgh; the Lord Townſhend, the Lord King, the Maſter of the Rolls Sir Joſeph Jekyll, the Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre, and Mr. Baillie of Jerviſwood, who, as he was his near relation, ſo he always lived with him in the friendſhip and freedom of a brother.

His diligence in his calling whilſt in London.

I have ſaid nothing in relation to the part our Author acted in Parliament, in Convocation, or in the ſeveral matters of ſtate, wherein he was conſulted and employed; this is fully and impartially ſet forth in the Hiſtory itſelf. Yet I ought to inform the reader, that the Biſhop's neceſſary attendance on the Houſe of Lords, in the winter ſeaſon, was not a means of abating his diligence in the duties of his calling, though it diverted the exerciſe of it, from the proper ſcene, his dioceſe. For whilſt he ſtaid in town, he failed not of preaching every Sunday morning, in ſome church or other in London; and as he was much followed, he was generally engaged for charity ſermons, at which he himſelf was always a liberal contributor: In the Sunday evening, he had a Lecture in his own houſe, upon ſome ſelect portion of Scripture; to which many perſons of diſtinction reſorted, though at firſt it was only intended, for the benefit of his own family.

As he lived to ſee the turn, which the affairs of Great Britain, I might ſay of Europe, took upon the death of Queen Anne, for whom he had always the higheſt perſonal veneration, but whom he thought unwarily engaged in meaſures, which might have proved fatal: I need not ſay, with what comfort he ſaw a ſucceſſion take place, of which he himſelf had been the firſt mover; and a Family eſtabliſhed, in whoſe intereſts he had been ſo ſtedfaſt and zealous, and by whom he had

had been so much entrusted. He published a third Volume, as a supplement to his two former, of the History of the Reformation, at the time of his late Majesty's arrival in England, to whom it was dedicated. And as if his life had only been prolonged to see this great work compleat, and the protestant interest in a fair prospect of security, he died soon after.

Writes a third volume as a supplement to his History of the Reformation.

His domestick character.

Thus I have endeavoured to give some account of our Author's behaviour, in all the different stations he pass'd through in publick: it may be expected, I should say something of him, in domestick life.

His time how employed.

His time, the only treasure of which he seemed covetous, was employed in one regular and uniform manner. His constant health permitted him to be an early riser; he was seldom in bed later than five a-clock in the morning during the summer, or than six in the winter. Private meditation took up the two first hours and the last half-hour of the day. His first and last appearance to his family was, at the morning and evening prayers, which were always read by himself, though his chaplains were present. He drank his tea in company with his children, and took that opportunity of instructing them in religion; he went through the Old and New Testament with them three times, giving his own comment upon some portion of it, for an hour every morning. When this was over, he retired to his study, where he seldom spent less than six, often more than eight hours in a day. The rest of his time was taken up with business, exercise and necessary rest, or bestowed on friendly visits and chearful meals. As he kept an open table, in which there was plenty without luxury, so no man was more pleased with innocent mirth there, no man encouraged it more, or had a larger fund of entertainment to contribute towards it. His equipage, like his table, was decent and plain; and

and all his expences denoted a temper generous, but not profuſe. The Epiſcopal palace, when he came to Saliſbury, was thought one of the worſt; and when he died, was one of the beſt in England.

The character I have given his wives, will ſcarce make it an addition to his, that he was a moſt affectionate huſband. His tender care of the firſt, during a courſe of ſickneſs, that laſted for many years; and his fond love to the other two, and the deep concern he expreſs'd for their loſs, were no more than their juſt due, from one of his humanity, gratitude and diſcernment. An affectionate huſband.

His love to his children, perhaps accompanied with too much indulgence, was not exerted in laying up for them a hoard of wealth, out of the revenues of the Church, but in giving them a noble education; though the charge of it was wholly maintained out of his private fortune. At ſeven years old, he entered his ſons into Latin, giving each of them a diſtinct tutor, who had a ſalary of forty pounds a year, which was never leſſen'd on account of any prebend the Biſhop gave him. After five or ſix years had perfected his ſons in the learned languages, he ſent them to the Univerſity; the eldeſt a Gentleman Commoner to Trinity College in Cambridge, the other two Commoners to Merton College in Oxford; where, beſides the college tutor, they had a private one, to aſſiſt them in their learning, and to overlook their behaviour. In the year 1706, he ſent them abroad for two years to finiſh their ſtudies at Leyden; from whence two of them took a Tour through Germany, Switzerland and Italy. The eldeſt and youngeſt, by their own choice, were bred to the law, and the ſecond to divinity. His care of his children's education.

In his friendſhips, our Author was warm, open-hearted and conſtant: From thoſe I have taken the liberty to mention, the reader will perceive, His firmneſs in his friendſhips.

that

that they were formed upon the moſt prudent choice, and I cannot find an inſtance of any one friend he ever loſt, but by death. It is a common, perhaps a juſt obſervation, that a hearty friend is apt to be as hearty an enemy; yet this rule did not hold in our Author. For though his ſtation, his principles, but above all his ſtedfaſt adherence to the Hanover Succeſſion, raiſed him many enemies; yet he no ſooner had it in his power, to have taken ſevere revenges on them, than he endeavoured, by the kindeſt good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them, by returning good for evil. I have already given ſome inſtances of this nature here, and many more will occur to the reader in the Hiſtory.

His conduct to thoſe in employment under him.

The Biſhop was a kind and bountiful maſter to his ſervants, whom he never changed, but with regret and through neceſſity: Friendly and obliging to all in employment under him, and peculiarly happy in the choice of them; eſpecially in that of the ſteward to the Biſhoprick and his courts, William Waſtefield, Eſq; (a gentleman of a plentiful fortune, at the time of his accepting this poſt) and in that of his domeſtick ſteward Mr. Mackney. Theſe were both men of approved worth and integrity, firmly attach'd to his intereſts, and were treated by him, as they well deſerved, with friendſhip and confidence. To them, I muſt appeal, for the truth of many facts here related, particularly thoſe concerning his labours in his dioceſe; from them I likewiſe had an account of his extenſive charities.

His charities.

This was indeed a principal article of his expence, impoſſible now to fix as to all the particulars; our Author being as ſecret, as he was liberal, in thoſe charities, which he diſtributed with his own hands: Yet the greateſt part of them could not be hid from the perſons who were entruſted with the management of his affairs. His gifts, for the augmentation of ſmall livings,

livings, of an hundred pounds at a time; his conſtant penſions to poor clergymen, to their widows, to ſtudents for their education at the Univerſities, and to induſtrious families, that were ſtruggling with the world; the frequent ſums given by him, towards the repairs or building of Churches and Vicarage-Houſes; his liberal contribution, to all publick collections, to the ſupport of charity-ſchools (one of which for fifty children at Saliſbury was wholly maintained by him,) and the many apprentices, at different times put out to trades at his charge, were charities that could not be wholly concealed. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, ſect or party; want and merit in the object were the only meaſures of his liberality. Thus when Mr. Martin (miniſter of Compton Chamberlein) for refuſing to take the oaths to the Government, ſoon after the Revolution, had forfeited his Prebend in the Church of Sarum; the Biſhop, out of his own Income, paid him the yearly value of it, during his life. His uſual allowance for charity was five hundred pounds a-year, which he often exceeded; particularly in the two years that he was Preceptor to the Duke of Glouceſter, in which time this article amounted to one and twenty hundred pounds. In a word, no object of chriſtian compaſſion ever came within his knowledge, without receiving a proportionable relief. He looked upon himſelf, with regard to his epiſcopal revenue, as a mere Truſtee for the Church, bound to expend the whole, in the maintenance of a decent figure ſuitable to his ſtation, in hoſpitality, and in acts of charity. And he had ſo faithfully ballanced this account, that at his death no more of the income of his Biſhoprick remained to his family *, than what was barely ſufficient for the payment of his debts.

* This Mr. Mackney his ſteward aſſured me appeared in his accounts.

His Care of the revenue of the See.

But if he was thus liberal of his own purſe, he was not leſs ſtrict in preſerving the revenues of his See, for the benefit of his ſucceſſors, of which this remarkable inſtance may ſuffice *. One of his predeceſſors had converted a large eſtate at Monckton Farley, held of the Biſhop, from a leaſe of one and twenty years, into an eſtate for three lives, and had received a valuable conſideration for ſo doing. Our Author reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore it to the former tenure, as being much more advantageous to the See: when therefore one of the lives fell, he refuſed to renew; and when, the other two lives being very unhealthy, Sir John Talbot offered him a thouſand pounds for the renewal of that one life, and the change of the other two, he ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal: Till at length the tenant, apprehending the whole eſtate would have fallen in, agreed to accept of a leaſe for one and twenty years, for which the Biſhop would take no more than four hundred pounds Fine to himſelf; but made it part of his agreement, that the tenant ſhould pay ten pounds yearly rent, to the miniſter of the pariſh, as a perpetual augmentation to that poor Living, beſides the uſual reſerved rent to the See.

His death.

In March 1714-15, being the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, our Author was taken ill of a violent cold, which ſoon turned to a pleuritick fever; he was attended in it, by his worthy friend and relation Dr. Cheyne, who treated him with the utmoſt care and ſkill: But finding the diſtemper grew to a height, which ſeemed to baffle all remedies, he called for the aſſiſtance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead, who quickly found his caſe was deſperate. His character was too well known, to induce any one to conceal from him

* This I had from the miniſter of Monckton Farley, and many others at the time, and it was confirmed to me ſince by Mr. Waſtefield and Mr. Mackney.

the

the danger his life was in. He bore the notice of it, with that calm reſignation to Providence, which had always ſupported him under the ſevereſt trials. As he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, ſo he employed the precious remnant of life, in continual acts of devotion, and in giving the beſt advice to his family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that ſhewed the utmoſt tenderneſs, accompanied with the firmeſt conſtancy of mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the terrors of death, as to embrace its approach with joy; he could not but expreſs a concern, for the grief he ſaw it cauſed in others. He died on the ſeventeenth day of that month.

It would be a preſumption in me to attempt the drawing his character; when it has been done by ſo elegant a hand, as that of the late Marquis of Halifax: As this beautiful Piece, I believe, has never been made publick, the Reader will pardon my inſerting it here.

His character, by the Marquis of Halifax.

" Dr. Burnet * is like all men, who are above " the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a mean, " he muſt either be railed at or admired; he has " a ſwiftneſs of imagination, that no other man " comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows " us to have enough of any thing, without having " too much, he cannot at all times ſo hold in his " thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run " away with him; as it is hard for a veſſel, that " is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; " and therefore the variety of matter, that he ever " carries about him, may throw out more, than " an unkind critic would allow of. His firſt " thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, " not from a defect in his judgment, but from

* The copy from which this is printed, was taken from one given to the Biſhop, in the Marquis of Halifax's own hand-writing, which was in the Editor's hands, but is at preſent miſlaid.

" the abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too
" faſt for him. His friends love him too well, to
" ſee ſmall faults; or if they do, think that his
" greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying
" from the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt him
" from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He pro-
" duces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings
" calls for admiration, and what is incorrect de-
" ſerves an excuſe; he may in ſome things require
" grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny
" him, who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He
" is not quicker in diſcerning other men's faults,
" than he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather
" glad to acknowledge his own, that from
" blemiſhes they become ornaments. All the re-
" peated provocations of his indecent adverſaries,
" have had no other effect, than the ſetting his
" good-nature in ſo much a better light; ſince his
" anger never yet went farther than to pity them.
" That heat, which in moſt other men raiſes
" ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth
" for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in
" want and miſery. As dull men have quick
" eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe,
" that nature has made ſuperior to them, they do
" not miſs one blot he makes: and being beholden
" only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they
" fall upon the errors, which ariſe out of his
" abundance; and by a miſtake into which their
" malice betrays them, they think that by finding
" a mote in his eye, they hide the beams, that are
" in their own. His quickneſs makes writing ſo
" eaſy a thing to him, that his ſpirits are neither
" waſted nor ſoured by it: The ſoil is not forced,
" every thing grows, and brings forth without
" pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he
" does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, as
" a good palate will diſcern between fruit, which
" comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes
" of the uncleanly pains, that have been beſtowed

" upon

" upon it. He makes many enemies, by ſetting 1676.
" an ill-natured example of living, which they
" are not inclined to follow. His indifference for
" preferment, his contempt not only of ſplendor,
" but of all unneceſſary plenty, his degrading him-
" ſelf into the loweſt and moſt painful duties of
" his calling; are ſuch unprelatical qualities, that
" let him be never ſo orthodox in other things,
" in theſe he muſt be a Diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch
" a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of
" thoſe Divines, who have ſoftened the primitive
" injunctions, ſo as to make them ſuit better with
" the preſent frailty of mankind. No wonder then,
" if they are angry, ſince it is in their own de-
" fence, or that from a principle of ſelf-preſer-
" vation they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man,
" whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe life is a
" ſcandal to them."

A LIST

A List of Biſhop BURNET's Works.

A Dialogue between a Conformiſt and Non Conformiſt. — — 1669
A Vindication of the Conſtitution of the Church and State of Scotland. — 1672
The Myſtery of Iniquity unveiled. — 1673
An Account given by T. Ken a Jeſuit of the Truth of Religion examined. — 1674
Memoirs of Duke Hamilton, in Folio. - - 1676
An Account of a Conference with Coleman, &c. — — 1676
The Hiſtory of the Reformation. Firſt Volume — — 1679
Second Volume. — — 1681
Third Volume. — 1715
The Abridgement of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. — 1682
An Account of the Earl of Rocheſter's Death. 1681
The Life of Sir Matthew Hale. — 1682
The Method of Converſion by the Clergy of France examined — 1682
The Hiſtory of the Regale. — — 1682
The Tranſlation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia 1683
The Life of Biſhop Bedell. — — 1685
The Tranſlation of Lactantius's Deaths of the Perſecutors. — 1687
Letters concerning Dr. Burnet's Travels. - 1687
The Paſtoral Care. — — 1692
Four Diſcourſes to his Clergy. — 1694
Eſſay on the Character of Queen Mary — 1695
Vindication of Archbiſhop Tillotſon. — 1696
Expoſition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. — — 1700
A Collection of Sermons and Pamphlets (in three Volumes in Quarto) from 1678 to 1706
The Church Catechiſm explained. — 1710
Sermons preached on ſeveral Occaſions. — 1713
The Hiſtory of his own Time. Two Volumes in Folio. A Poſthumous Work.

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

THE PREFACE.

I AM now beginning to review and write over again the history of my own time, which I first undertook twenty years ago *, and have been continuing it from year to year ever since: And I see some reason to review it all. I had while I was very young a greater knowledge of affairs than is usual at that age; for my father, who had been engaged in great friend-

* This history he writ some time before the year 1705, but how long, he has not any where told; only it appears it was then finished, because in the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary he dates the continuation of his history on the first day of May, 1705.

ſhips with men of both ſides, living then retired from all buſineſs, as he took my education wholly into his own hands, ſo he took a ſort of pleaſure to relate to me the ſeries of all publick affairs. And as he was a man ſo eminent for probity and true piety that I had all reaſon to believe him, ſo I ſaw ſuch an impartial ſenſe of things in him, that I had as little reaſon to doubt his judgment as his ſincerity. For tho' he adhered ſo firmly to the King and his ſide, that he was the ſingular inſtance in Scotland of a man of ſome note who from the beginning to the end of the war never once owned or ſubmitted to the new form of govenment ſet up all that while; yet he did very freely complain of the errours of the King's Government, and of the Biſhops of Scotland. So that upon this foundation I ſet out at firſt to look into the ſecret conduct of affairs among us.

I fell into great acquaintance and friendſhips with ſeveral perſons who either were or had been Miniſters of ſtate, from whom when the ſecret of affairs was over I ſtudied to know as many particulars as I could draw from them. I ſaw a great deal more among the Papers of the Dukes of Hamilton than was properly a part of their memoirs, or fit to be told at that time: For when a licence was to be obtained, and a work was to be publiſhed fit for that family to own, things foreign to their Miniſtry, or hurtful to any other families, were not to be intermixed with the account I then gave of the late wars. And now for above thirty years I have lived in ſuch intimacy with all who have had the chief conduct of affairs, and have been ſo much truſted, and on ſo many important occaſions employed by them, that I have been able to penetrate far into the true ſecrets of counſels and deſigns.

This made me twenty years ago write down a relation of all that I had known to that time: Where I was in the dark, I paſt over all, and only

ly opened those transactions that I had particular occasions to know. My chief design in writing was to give a true view of men and of counsels, leaving publick transactions to Gazettes and the publick historians of the times. I writ with a design to make both my self and my readers wiser and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all sides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I my self understood it, concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and representing things in their natural colours without art or disguise, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or interests: For I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful I deliver them with the same incertainty to the world.

Some may perhaps think that instead of favouring my own profession, I have been more severe upon them than was needful. But my zeal for the true interest of Religion and of the Clergy made me more careful to undeceive good and well meaning men of my own order and profession for the future, and to deliver them from common prejudices and mistaken notions, than to hide or excuse the faults of those who will be perhaps gone off the stage before this work appear on it. I have given the characters of men very impartially and copiously; for nothing guides ones judgment more truly in a relation of matters of fact, than the knowing the tempers and principles of the chief actors.

If I have dwelt too long on the affairs of Scotland, some allowance is to be made to the affection all men bear to their native country. I alter nothing of what I wrote in the first draught of this work, only I have left out a great deal that was personal to my self, and to those I am descended

from: So that this is upon the matter the ſame work with very little change made in it.

I look on the perfecting of this work, and the carrying it on thro' the remaining part of my life, as the greateſt ſervice I can do to God and to the world; and therefore I ſet about it with great care and caution. For I reckon a lie in hiſtory to be as much a greater ſin than a lie in common diſcourſe, as the one is like to be more laſting and more generally known than the other. I find that the long experience I have had of the baſeneſs, the malice, and the falſhood of mankind, has inclined me to be apt to think generally the worſt both of men and of parties: and indeed the peeviſhneſs, the ill nature, and the ambition of many clergymen has ſharpned my ſpirits perhaps too much againſt them: So I warn my reader to take all that I ſay on theſe heads with ſome grains of allowance, tho' I have watched over my ſelf and my pen ſo carefully that I hope there is no great occaſion for this apology.

I have ſhewed this hiſtory to ſeveral of my friends, who were either very partial to me, or they eſteemed that this work (chiefly when it ſhould be over and over again retouched and poliſhed by me, which very probably I ſhall be doing as long as I live) might prove of ſome uſe to the world. I have on deſign avoided all laboured periods or artificial ſtrains, and have writ in as clear and plain a ſtyle as was poſſible, chuſing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciſeneſs.

And now, O my God, the God of my life, and of all my mercies, I offer this work to thee, to whoſe honour it is chiefly intended; that thereby I may awaken the world to juſt reflections on their own errours and follies, and call on them to acknowledge thy Providence, to adore it, and ever to depend on it.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

My Own Times.

BOOK I.

A ſummary Recapitulation of the ſtate of Affairs in Scotland, both in Church and State; from the beginning of the Troubles, to the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, 1660.

THE miſchiefs of civil wars are ſo great and laſting, and the effects of them branching out by many accidents, that were not thought on at firſt, much leſs intended, into ſuch miſchievous conſequences, that I have thought it an enquiry that might be of great uſe both to Prince and People, to look carefully into the firſt beginnings and occaſions of them, to obſerve their progreſs, and the errours of both hands, the provocations that were given, and the

jealouſies that were raiſed by theſe, together with the exceſſes into which both ſides have run by turns. And tho' the wars be over long ago, yet ſince they have left among us ſo many ſeeds of laſting feuds and animoſities, which upon every turn are apt to ferment and to break out a-new, it will be an uſeful as well as a pleaſant enquiry to look back to the firſt original of them, and to obſerve by what degrees and accidents they gathered ſtrength, and at laſt broke forth into a flame.

The diſtractions during King James's minority.

The Reformation of Scotland was popular and parliamentary: The Crown was, during that time, either on the head of a Queen that was abſent, or of a King that was an infant. During his minority matters were carried on by the ſeveral Regents, ſo as was moſt agreeable to the prevailing humour of the Nation. But when King James grew to be of age, he found two parties in the kingdom. The one was, of thoſe who wiſhed well to the intereſt of the Queen his Mother, then a priſoner in England: Theſe were either profeſſed Papiſts, or men believed to be indifferent as to all religions. The reſt were her inveterate enemies, zealous for the Reformation, and fixed in a dependence on the Crown of England, and in a jealouſy of France. When that king ſaw that thoſe who were moſt in his intereſts were likewiſe jealous of his authority, and apt to encroach upon it, he hearkned firſt to the inſinuations of his Mother's party, who were always infuſing in him a jealouſy of theſe his friends; ſaying, that by ruining his Mother, and ſetting him in her room while a year old, they had ruined monarchy, and made the Crown ſubject and precarious; and had put him in a very unnatural poſture, of being ſeized of his Mother's Crown while ſhe was in exile and a priſoner; adding, that he was but a king in name, the power being in the hands of thoſe who were under the management of the queen of England.

Their

Their insinuations would have been of less force, if the House of Guise, who were his Cousin Germans, had not been engaged in great designs, of transferring the Crown of France from the House of Bourbon to themselves; in order to which it was necessary to embroil England, and to draw the king of Scotland into their interests. So under the pretence of keeping up the old alliances between France and Scotland, they sent creatures of their own to be Ambassadours there; and they also sent a graceful young man, who, as he was the King's nearest kinsman by his father, was of so agreeable a temper that he became his favourite, and was made by him Duke of Lenox. He was known to be a Papist, tho' he pretended he changed his religion, and became in profession a Protestant. The practices of the House of Guise.

The court of England discovered all these artifices of the Guisians, who were then the most implacable enemies of the Reformation, and were managing all that train of plots against Queen Elizabeth, that in conclusion proved fatal to the Queen of Scots. And when the English Ministers saw the inclinations of the young King lay so strongly that way, that all their applications to gain him were ineffectual, they infused such a jealousy of him into all their party in Scotland, that both Nobility and Clergy were much alarmed at it.

But King James learnt early that piece of Kingcraft, of disguising, or at least denying every thing that was observed in his behaviour that gave offence.

The main instance in which the French management appeared, was that he could not be prevailed on to enter into any treaty of marriage. It was not safe to talk of marrying a Papist; and as long as the Duke of Guise lived, the King, tho' then three and twenty and the only person of his fami-

ly, would hearken to no propoſition for marrying a Proteſtant.

King James in the intereſt of England.

But when the Duke of Guiſe was killed at Blois, and that Henry the third was murdered ſoon after, ſo that Henry the fourth came in his room, King James was no more in a French management: So preſently after he married a Daughter of Denmark, and ever after that he was wholly managed by Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſters. I have ſeen many letters among Walſingham's papers that diſcover the commerce between the Houſe of Guiſe and him*: But the moſt valuable of theſe is a long paper of inſtructions to one Sir Richard Wigmore, a great man for hunting, and for all ſuch ſports, to which King James was out of meaſure addicted. The Queen affronted him publickly: Upon which he pretended he could live no longer in England, and therefore withdrew to Scotland. But all this was a contrivance of Walſingham's, who thought him a fit perſon to get into that King's favour: So that affront was deſigned to give him the more credit. He was very particularly inſtructed in all the proper methods to gain upon the King's confidence, and to obſerve and give an account of all he ſaw in him; which he did very faithfully. By theſe inſtructions it appears that Walſingham thought that King was either inclined to turn Papiſt, or to be of no religion. And when the court of England ſaw that they could not depend on him, they raiſed all poſſible oppoſition to him in Scotland, infuſing ſtrong jealouſies into thoſe who were enough inclined to receive them.

A cenſure of Spotſwood's hiſtory.

This is the great defect that runs thro' Archbiſhop Spotſwood's hiſtory, where much of the rude oppoſition that King met with, particularly from the Aſſemblies of the Kirk, is ſet forth; but the true ground of all the jealouſies they were poſſeſſed with is ſuppreſſed by him. After his marriage they ſtudied to remove theſe ſuſpicions all

* That is, between the Houſe of Guiſe and King James.

that

that was poſſible; and he granted the Kirk all the laws they deſired, and got his temporal authority to be better eſtabliſhed than it was before: Yet as the jealouſies of his fickleneſs in religion were never quite removed, ſo they gave him many new diſguſts: They wrought in him a moſt inveterate hatred of preſbytery, and of the power of the Kirk; and he fearing an oppoſition in his ſucceeding to the Crown of England, from the Papiſt party, which, tho' it had little ſtrength in the Houſe of Commons, yet was very great in the Houſe of Lords, and was very conſiderable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed ſeveral perſons who were known to be Papiſts tho' they complied outwardly. The chief of theſe were Elphinſton, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord Balmerinoch; and Seaton, afterwards Chancellour and Earl of Dunfermling. By their means he ſtudied to aſſure the Papiſts that he would connive at them. A letter was alſo writ to the pope by him giving aſſurance of this, which when it came to be publiſhed by Bellarmin, upon the proſecution of the recuſants after the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, Balmerinoch did affirm, that he out of zeal to the king's ſervice got his hand to it, having put it in the bundle of papers that were ſigned in courſe, without the King's knowing any thing of it. Yet when that diſcovery drew no other ſeverity but the turning him out of office, and the paſſing a ſentence condemning him to die for it (which was preſently pardoned, and he was after a ſhort confinement reſtored to his liberty,) all men believed that the King knew of the letter, and that the pretended confeſſion of the Secretary was only colluſion, to lay the jealouſies of the King's favouring Popery, which ſtill hung upon him notwithſtanding his writing on the Revelation, and his affecting to enter on all occaſions into controverſy, aſſerting in particular that the Pope was Antichriſt.

King James ſtudied to gain the Papiſts.

As

And to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England.

As he took theſe methods to manage the Popiſh party, he was much more careful to ſecure to himſelf the body of the Engliſh nation. Cecill, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, entred into a particular confidence with him: And this was managed by his Ambaſſador Bruce, a younger brother of a noble family in Scotland, who carried the matter with ſuch addreſs and ſecrecy, that all the great Men of England, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the Queen's ſuſpecting any thing concerning it, ſigned in writing an engagement to aſſert and ſtand by the King of Scots right of ſucceſſion. This great ſervice was rewarded by making him Maſter of the Rolls, and a Peer of Scotland: And as the king did raiſe Cecil and his friends to the greateſt poſts and dignities, ſo he raiſed Bruce's family here in England.

That King's errours in Government.

When that king came to the Crown of England he diſcovered his hatred to the Scotiſh Kirk on many occaſions, in which he gratified his reſentment without conſulting his intereſts. He ought to have put his utmoſt ſtrength to the finiſhing what he but faintly begun for the union of both Kingdoms, which was loſt by his unreaſonable partiality in pretending that Scotland ought to be conſidered in this union as the third part of the Iſle of Great Britain, if not more. So high a demand ruined the deſign. But when that failed, he ſhould then have ſtudied to keep the affections of that Nation firm to him: And certainly he, being ſecure of that Kingdom, might have ſo managed matters, as to have prevented that disjointing which happened afterwards both in his own reign, and more tragically in his ſon's. He thought to effect this by his profuſe bounty to many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, and to his domeſtick ſervants: But as moſt of theſe ſettling in England were of no further uſe to him in that deſign, ſo his ſetting up Epiſcopacy in Scotland, and his conſtant aver-

ſion

ſion to the Kirk, how right ſoever it might be in it ſelf, was a great errour in policy; for the poorer that Kingdom was, it was both the more eaſy to gain them, and the more dangerous to offend them. So the terrour which the affections of the Scotch Nation might have juſtly given the Engliſh was ſoon loſt, by his engaging the whole government to ſupport that, which was then very contrary to the bent and genius of the Nation.

He ſet up Epiſcopacy in Scotland.

But tho' he ſet up Biſhops, he had no revenues to give them, but what he was to purchaſe for them. During his minority all the tithes and the church lands were veſted in the Crown: But this was only in order to the granting them away to the men that bore the chief ſway. It is true, when he came of age he according to the law of Scotland paſt a general revocation of all that had been done in his infancy: And by this he could have reſumed all thoſe grants. He, and after him his ſon, ſucceeded in one part of his deſign: For by act of Parliament a Court was erected that was to examine and ſequeſter a third part of the tithes in every pariſh, and ſo make a competent proviſion out of them to thoſe who ſerved the cure; which had been reſerved in the great alienation for the ſervice of the church. This was carried at firſt to a proportion of about thirty pounds a year, and was afterwards in his ſon's time raiſed to about fifty pounds a year; which conſidering the plenty and way of living in that country is a very liberal proviſion, and is equal in value to thrice that ſum in the ſouthern parts of England. In this he had both the clergy and the body of the people on his ſide. But he could not ſo eaſily provide for the Biſhops: They were at firſt forced to hold their former cures with ſome ſmall addition.

With a deſign to carry matters farther.

But as they aſſumed at their firſt ſetting up little more authority than that of a conſtant preſident of the preſbyters, ſo they met with much rough oppoſition. The King intended to carry on a conformity

formity in matters of religion with England, and he begun to buy in from the Grantees many of the eſtates that belonged to the Biſhopricks. It was alſo enacted, that a form of prayer ſhould be drawn for Scotland: And the King was authorized to appoint the habits in which the divine offices were to be performed. Some of the chief holy-days were ordered to be obſerv'd. The Sacrament was to be received kneeling, and to be given to the ſick. Confirmation was enacted; as alſo the uſe of the Croſs in Baptiſm. Theſe things were firſt paſt in general aſſemblies, which were compoſed of Biſhops and the deputies choſen by the Clergy, who ſat all in one houſe: And in it they reckoned the Biſhops only as ſingle votes. Great oppoſition was made to all theſe ſteps: And the whole force of the Government was ſtrained to carry elections to thoſe meetings, or to take off thoſe who were choſen; in which it was thought that no ſort of practice was omitted. It was pretended, that ſome were frighted, and others were corrupted.

Errours of the Biſhops.

The Biſhops themſelves did their part very ill. They generally grew haughty: They neglected their functions, and were often at Court, and loſt all eſteem with the people. Some few that were ſtricter and more learned did lean ſo groſly to Popery, that the heat and violence of the Reformation became the main ſubject of their ſermons and diſcourſes. King James grew weary of this oppoſition, or was ſo apprehenſive of the ill effects that it might have, that, what through ſloth or fear, and what by reaſon of the great diſorder into which his ill conduct brought his affairs in England in his latter years, he went no further in his deſigns on Scotland.

Prince Henry was believed to be poiſoned.

He had three children. His eldeſt, Prince Henry, was a Prince of great hopes; but ſo very little like his father, that he was rather feared than loved by him. He was ſo zealous a Proteſtant, that,

that, when his father was entertaining propoſitions of marrying him to popiſh Princeſſes, once to the Archdutcheſs, and at another time to a daughter of Savoy, he in a letter that he wrote to the King on the twelfth of that October in which he died (the original of which Sir William Cook ſhewed me) deſired, that if his father married him that way it might be with the youngeſt perſon of the two, of whoſe converſion he might have hope, and that any liberty ſhe might be allowed for her religion might be in the privateſt manner poſſible. Whether this averſion to Popery haſten'd his death or not I cannot tell. Colonel Titus aſſured me that he had from King Charles the firſt's own mouth, that he was well aſſured he was poiſoned by the Earl of Somerſet's means. It is certain, that from the time of the Gunpowder Plot, King James was ſo ſtruck with the terror of that danger he was then ſo near, that ever after he had no mind to provoke the Jeſuits; for he ſaw what they were capable of.

The Gunpowder-Plot.

And ſince I name that conſpiracy which the Papiſts in our days have had the impudence to deny, and to pretend it was an artifice of Cecill's to engage ſome deſperate men into a Plot, which he managed ſo that he could diſcover it when he pleaſed, I will mention what I my ſelf ſaw, and had for ſome time in my poſſeſſion. Sir Everard Digby died for being of the Conſpiracy: He was the Father of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby. The family being ruined upon the death of Sir Kenelm's Son, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the eſtates they were to ſell, they were directed by an old ſervant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which ſome papers lay that ſhe had obſerved Sir Kenelm was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other ſilk bags: (So carefully were thoſe relicks kept:) And there was within theſe a collection of

all

all the letters that Sir Everard writ during his imprisonment. In these he expresses great trouble, because he heard some of their friends blamed their undertaking: He highly magnifies it; and says, if he had many lives he would willingly have sacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he says, they had taken that care that there were not above two or three worth saving, to whom they had not given notice to keep out of the way: And in none of those papers does he expres any sort of remorse for that, which he had been engaged in, and for which he suffered.

King James was afraid of the Jesuits.

Upon the discovery of that Plot there was a general prosecution of all Papists set on foot: But King James was very uneasy at it; which was much encreased by what Sir Dudly Carlton told him upon his return from Spain, where he had been Ambassadour; (which I had from the Lord Hollis, who said to me that Sir Dudly Carlton told it to himself, and was much troubled when he saw it had an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When he came home, he found the King at Theobald's hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner: And upon that, in order to the putting him on a more careful looking to himself, he told the King he must either give over that way of hunting, or stop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Priest hunting: For he had intelligence in Spain that the Priests were comforting themselves with this, that if he went on against them they would soon get rid of him: Queen Elizabeth was a woman of form, and was always so well attended, that all their plots against her failed, and were never brought to any effect: But a Prince who was always in woods or forests would be easily overtaken. The King sent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he saw it had made a great impression on him: But wrought otherwise than he intended. For the King, who resolved to gratifie his

humour in hunting and in a careleſs and irregular way of life, did immediately order all that proſecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the Council Books of the year 1606, which are full of orders to diſcharge and tranſport Prieſts, ſometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying day he continued always writing and talking againſt Popery, but acting for it. He married his only daughter to a Proteſtant Prince, one of the moſt zealous and ſincere of them all, the Elector Palatine; upon which a great Revolution happen'd in the affairs of Germany. The eldeſt branch of the Houſe of Auſtria retained ſome of the impreſſions that their Father Maximilian II. ſtudied to infuſe into them, who as he was certainly one of the beſt and wiſeſt Princes of theſe latter ages, ſo he was unalterably fixed in his opinion againſt perſecution for matters of conſcience: His own ſentiments were ſo very favourable to the Proteſtant doctrine, that he was thought inwardly theirs. His brother Charles of Grats was on the other hand wholly managed by the Jeſuits, and was a zealous patron of theirs, and as zealouſly ſupported by them. Rodolph and Matthias reigned one after another, but without iſſue. Their brother Albert was then dying in Flanders: So Spain with the popiſh intereſt joined to advance Ferdinand, the ſon of Charles of Grats: And he forced Matthias to reſign the Crown of Bohemia to him, and got himſelf to be elected King. But his government became quickly ſevere: He reſolved to extirpate the Proteſtants, and began to break thro' the privileges that were ſecured to them by the laws of that kingdom.

The Elector Palatine's Marriage.

This occaſioned a general inſurrection, which was followed by an aſſembly of the States, who together with thoſe of Sileſia, Moravia and Luſatia joined in depoſing Ferdinand: And they offered their Crown firſt to the Duke of Saxony who refuſed it, and then to the Elector Palatine who accepted of it, being encouraged to it by his two uncles

The Affairs of Bohemia.

uncles Maurice Prince of Orange and the Duke of Boullion. But he did not aſk the advice of King James: He only gave him notice of it when he had accepted the offer. Here was the probableſt occaſion that has been offered ſince the Reformation for its full eſtabliſhment.

The Engliſh Nation was much inclined to ſupport it: And it was expected that ſo near a conjunction might have prevailed on the King: But he had an invincible averſion to war; and was ſo poſſeſſed of the opinion of a divine right in all Kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited King ſhould be called in queſtion by his ſubjects: So he would never acknowledge his ſon-in-law King, nor give him any aſſiſtance for the ſupport of his new dignity. And tho' it was alſo reckoned on, that France would enter into any deſign that ſhould bring down the houſe of Auſtria, and Spain by conſequence, yet even that was diverted by the means of De Luynes; a worthleſs but abſolute favourite, whom the Archduchеſs Iſabella, Princeſs of the Spaniſh Netherlands gained, to oblige the King * into a neutrality by giving him the richeſt heireſs then in Flanders, the daughter of Peguiney, left to her diſpoſal, whom he married to his brother.

The diſorders in Holland.

Thus poor Frederick was left without any aſſiſtance. The jealouſy that the Lutherans had of the aſcendant that the Calviniſts might gain by this acceſſion had an unhappy ſhare in the coldneſs which all the Princes of that confeſſion ſhewed towards him; tho' Saxony only declared for Ferdinand, who likewiſe engaged the Duke of Bavaria at the head of a catholick league to maintain his intereſts. Maurice Prince of Orange had embroiled Holland by the eſpouſing the controverſy about the decrees of God in oppoſition to the Arminian party, and by erecting a new and illegal court by the authority of the States General to

* It is plain here muſt be meant by *King* the King of France.

judge

judge of the affairs of the Province of Holland; which was plainly contrary to their conſtitution, by which every Province is a Sovereignty within itſelf, not at all ſubordinate to the States General, who act only as Plenipotentiaries of the ſeveral Provinces to maintain their union and their common concerns. By that aſſembly Barnevelt was condemned and executed: Grotius and others were condemned to perpetual impriſonment: And an aſſembly of the miniſters of the ſeveral Provinces met at Dort by the ſame authority, and condemned and deprived the Arminians. Maurice's enemies gave it out that he managed all this on deſign to make himſelf maſter of the Provinces, and to put thoſe who were like to oppoſe him out of the way. But tho' this ſeem a wild and groundleſs imagination, and not poſſible to be compaſſed; yet it is certain that he looked on Barnevelt and his party as men who were ſo jealous of him and of a military power, that as they had forced the truce with Spain, ſo they would be very unwilling to begin a new war; tho' the diſputes about Juliers and Cleves had almoſt engaged them, and the truce was now near expiring; at the end of which he hoped, if delivered from the oppoſition that he might look for from that party, to begin the war anew. By theſe means there was a great fermentation over all the Provinces, ſo that Maurice was not then in condition to give the elected King any conſiderable aſſiſtance; tho' indeed he needed it much, for his conduct was very weak. He affected the grandeur of a regal court, and the magnificence of a crowned head too early: And his Queen ſet up ſome of the gay diverſions that ſhe had been accuſtomed to in her father's court, ſuch as balls and maſks, which very much diſguſted the good Bohemians, who thought that a revolution made on the account of religion ought to have put on a greater appearance of ſerioufneſs and ſimplicity. Theſe particulars I had from the children of ſome who belonged to that court. The elected King

was quickly overthrown, and driven, not only out of thoſe his new dominions, but likewiſe out of his hereditary countries: He fled to Holland, where he ended his days. I will go no farther in a matter ſo well known as King James's ill conduct in the whole ſeries of that war, and that unheard-of practice of ſending his only Son thro' France into Spain, of which the relations we have are ſo full that I can add nothing to them.

Some paſſages of the Religion of ſome Princes.

I will only here tell ſome particulars with relation to Germany, that Fabricius, the wiſeſt divine I knew among them, told me he had from Charles Lewis the Elector Palatine's own mouth. He ſaid, Frederick II. who firſt reformed the Palatinate, whoſe life is ſo curiouſly writ by Thomas Hubert of Liege, reſolved to ſhake off Popery, and to ſet up Lutheraniſm in his country: But a counſellour of his ſaid to him, that the Lutherans would always depend chiefly on the Houſe of Saxony; ſo it would not become him who was the firſt Elector to be only the ſecond in the party: It was more for his dignity to become a Calviniſt: He would be the head of that party: It would give him a great intereſt in Switzerland, and make the Huguenots of France and in the Netherlands depend on him. He was by that determined to declare for the Helvetian confeſſion. But upon the ruin of his family the Duke of Newburgh had an enterview with the Elector of Brandenburgh about their concerns in Juliers and Cleves: And he perſuaded that Elector to turn Calviniſt; for ſince their family was fallen, nothing would more contribute to raiſe the other than the eſpouſing that ſide, which would naturally come under his protection: But he added, that for himſelf he had turned Papiſt, ſince his little Principality lay ſo near both Auſtria and Bavaria. This that Elector told with a ſort of pleaſure, when he made it appear that other Princes had no more ſenſe of religion than he himſelf had.

Other circumſtances concurred to make King James's reign inglorious. The States having borrowed great ſums of money of Queen Elizabeth, they gave her the Brill and Fluſhing, with ſome other places of leſs note, in pawn till the money ſhould be repaid. Soon after his coming to the Crown of England he entered into ſecret treaties with Spain, in order to the forcing the States to a peace: One article was, that if they were obſtinate he would deliver theſe places to the Spaniards. When the truce was made, Barnevelt, tho' he had promoted it, yet knowing the ſecret article, he ſaw they were very unſafe while the keys of Holland and Zealand were in the hands of a Prince, who might perhaps ſell them, or make an ill uſe of them: So he perſuaded the States to redeem the mortgage by repaying the money that England had lent, for which theſe places were put into their hands: And he came over himſelf to treat about it. King James, who was profuſe upon his favourites and ſervants, was delighted with the proſpect of ſo much money; and immediately, without calling a Parliament to adviſe with them about it, he did yield to the propoſition. So the money was paid, and the places were evacuated. But his profuſeneſs drew two other things upon him, which broke the whole authority of the Crown, and the dependence of the Nation upon it. The Crown had a great eſtate over all England, which was all let out upon leaſes for years, and a ſmall rent was reſerved. So moſt of the great families of the Nation were the tenants of the Crown, and a great many burroughs were depending on the eſtates ſo held. The renewal of theſe leaſes brought in fines to the Crown, and to the great officers: Beſides that the fear of being denied a renewal kept all in a dependence on the Crown. King James obtained of his Parliament a power of granting, that is ſelling, thoſe eſtates for ever, with the reſerve of the old quit-rent: And all the money raiſed by this was profuſely

King James parted with the cautionary Towns.

King James broke the greatneſs of the Crown.

ſquandered away. Another main part of the regal authority was the Wards, which anciently the Crown took into their own management. Our Kings were, according to the firſt inſtitution, the Guardians of the Wards. They bred them up in their courts, and diſpoſed of them in marriage as they thought fit. Afterwards they compounded, or forgave them, or gave them to ſome branches of the family, or to provide the younger children. But they proceeded in this very gently: And the chief care after the Reformation was to breed the Wards Proteſtants. Still all were under a great dependance by this means. Much money was not raiſed this way: But families were often at mercy, and were uſed according to their behaviour. King James granted theſe generally to his ſervants and favourites: And they made the moſt of them. So that what was before a dependence on the Crown, and was moderately compounded for, became then a moſt exacting oppreſſion, by which ſeveral families were ruined. This went on in King Charles's time in the ſame method. Our Kings thought they gave little when they diſpoſed of a Ward, becauſe they made little of them. All this raiſed ſuch an outcry, that Mr. Pierpoint at the Reſtoration gathered ſo many inſtances of theſe, and repreſented them ſo effectually to that Houſe of Commons that called home King Charles the ſecond, that he perſuaded them to redeem themſelves by an offer of exciſe, which indeed produces a much greater revenue, but took away the dependence in which all families were held by the dread of leaving their heirs expoſed to ſo great a danger. Pierpoint valued himſelf to me upon this ſervice he did his country, at a time when things were ſo little conſidered on either hand, that the court did not ſeem to apprehend the value of what they parted with, nor the country of what they purchaſed.

Beſides

Beſides theſe publick actings King James ſuffered much in the opinion of all people by his ſtrange way of uſing one of the greateſt men of that age, Sir Walter Raleigh; againſt whom the proceedings at firſt were much cenſured, but the laſt part of them was thought both barbarous and illegal. The whole buſineſs of the earl of Somerſet's riſe and fall, of the Counteſs of Eſſex and Overbury, the putting the inferior perſons to death for that infamous poiſoning, and the ſparing the principals, both the earl of Somerſet and his Lady, were ſo odious and inhuman, that it quite ſunk the reputation of a reign, that on many other accounts was already much expoſed to contempt and cenſure; which was the more ſenſible, becauſe it ſucceeded ſuch a glorious and happy one. King James in the end of his reign was become weary of the Duke of Buckingham, who treated him with ſuch an air of inſolent contempt, that he ſeemed at laſt reſolved to throw him off, but could not think of taking the load of government on himſelf, and ſo reſolved to bring the Earl of Somerſet again into favour, as that Lord reported it to ſome from whom I had it. He met with him in the night in the gardens at Theobalds: Two bed-chamber men were only in the ſecret: The king embraced him tenderly and with many tears: The Earl of Somerſet believed the ſecret was not well kept; for ſoon after the King was taken ill with ſome fits of an ague and died of it. My father was then in London, and did very much ſuſpect an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Doctor Craig, my mother's uncle, who was one of the King's phyſicians, poſſeſſed him with theſe apprehenſions; for he was diſgraced for ſaying he believed the king was poiſoned. It is certain no King could die leſs lamented or leſs eſteemed than he was. This ſunk the credit of the Biſhops of Scotland, who as they were his creatures, ſo they were obliged to a great dependence on him, and were thought

Other errors in his reign.

His Death.

guilty of groſs and abject flattery towards him. His reign in England was a continued courſe of mean practices. The firſt condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh was very black: But the executing him after ſo many years, and after an employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous ſacrificing him to the Spaniards. The riſe and fall of the Earl of Somerſet, and the ſwift progreſs of the Duke of Buckingham's greatneſs, were things that expoſed him to the cenſure of all the world. I have ſeen the originals of about twenty letters that he wrote to the Prince and that duke while they were in Spain, which ſhew a meanneſs as well as a fondneſs that render him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of England had made in Queen Elizabeth's time, who had rendred her ſelf the arbiter of chriſtendom, and was the wonder of the age, was ſo much eclipſed if not quite darkened during this reign, that King James was become the ſcorn of the age; and while hungry writers flattered him out of meaſure at home, he was deſpiſed by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or ſteadineſs, ſubject to his favourites, and delivered up to the counſels or rather the corruption of Spain.

The Puritans gained ground.

The Puritans gained credit, as the King and the Biſhops loſt it. They put on external appearances of great ſtrictneſs and gravity: They took more pains in their pariſhes than thoſe who adhered to the Biſhops, and were often preaching againſt the vices of the court; for which they were ſometimes puniſhed, tho' very gently, which raiſed their reputation, and drew preſents to them that made up their ſufferings abundantly. They begun ſome particular methods of getting their people to meet privately with them: And in theſe meetings they gave great vent to extemporary prayer, which was looked on as a ſort of inſpiration: And by theſe means they grew very popular. They were very factious and inſolent; and both

both in their ſermons and prayers were always mixing ſevere reflections on their enemies. Some of them boldly gave out very many predictions; particularly two of them who were held prophets, Daviſon and Bruce. Some of the things that they foretold came to paſs: But my father, who knew them both, told me of many of their predictions, that he himſelf heard them throw out, which had no effect: But all theſe were forgot, and if ſome more probable gueſſings which they delivered as prophecies were accompliſhed, theſe were much magnified. They were very ſpiteful againſt all thoſe who differed from them; and were wanting in no methods that could procure them either good uſage, or good preſents. Of this my father had great occaſion to ſee many inſtances: For my great grand-mother, who was a very rich woman and much engaged to them, was moſt obſequiouſly courted by them. Bruce lived concealed in her houſe for ſome years: And they all found ſuch advantages in their ſubmiſſions to her, that ſhe was counted for many years the chief ſupport of the party: Her name was Rachel Arnot. She was daughter to Sir John Arnot, a man in great favour, and Lord Treaſurer deputy. Her huſband Johnſtoun was the greateſt merchant at that time; and left her an eſtate of 2000 pound a year, to be diſpoſed of among his children as ſhe pleaſed: And my father, marrying her eldeſt grand child, ſaw a great way into all the methods of the Puritans.

Gowry's conſpiracy was by them charged on the King, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that Earl, who was then held in great eſteem: But my father, who had taken great pains to enquire into all the particulars of that matter, did always believe it was a real conſpiracy. One thing, which none of the Hiſtorians have taken any notice of, and might have induced the Earl of Gowry to have wiſhed to put King James out of the way, but in Gowry's conſpiracy.

ſuch a diſguiſed manner that he ſhould ſeem rather to have eſcaped out of a ſnare himſelf than to have laid one for the King, was this: Upon the King's death he ſtood next to the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England; for King Henry the ſeventh's daughter that was married to King James the fourth did after his death marry Dowglas Earl of Angus: But they could not agree: So a pre contract was proved againſt him: Upon which, by a ſentence from Rome, the marriage was voided, with a clauſe in favour of the iſſue, ſince born under a marriage de facto and bona fide. Lady Margaret Dowglas was the child ſo provided for. I did peruſe the original Bull confirming the divorce. After that, the Queen Dowager married one Francis Steward, and had by him a ſon made Lord Methuen by King James the fifth. In the patent he is called Frater noſter uterinus. He had only a daughter, who was mother or grandmother to the Earl of Gowry: So that by this he might be glad to put the King out of the way, that ſo he might ſtand next to the ſucceſſion of the Crown of England. He had a brother then a child, who when he grew up and found he could not carry the name of Ruthen, which by an act of Parliament made after this conſpiracy none might carry, he went and lived beyond ſea; and it was given out that he had the philoſopher's ſtone. He had two ſons who died without iſſue, and one daughter married to Sir Anthony Vandike, the famous picture drawer, whoſe children according to his pedigree ſtood very near to the ſucceſſion of the Crown. It was not eaſy to perſuade the nation of the truth of that conſpiracy: For eight years before that time King James, on a ſecret jealouſy of the Earl of Murray, then eſteemed the handſomeſt man of Scotland, ſet on the Marquis of Huntly, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand he promiſed to ſave him harmleſs

for

for it. He ſet the houſe in which he was on fire: And the Earl flying away was followed and murdered, and Huntly ſent Gordon of Buckey with the news to the King: Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the King open to much cenſure. And this made the matter of Gowry to be the leſs believed.

When King Charles ſucceeded to the Crown he was at firſt thought favourable to the Puritans; for his tutor, and all his court were of that way: And Dr. Preſton, then the head of the party, came up in the coach from Theobalds to London with the King and the Duke of Buckingham; which being againſt the rules of the court gave great offence: But it was ſaid, the King was ſo over charged with grief, that he wanted the comfort of ſo wiſe and ſo great a man. It was alſo given out, that the Duke of Buckingham offered Dr. Preſton the Great Seal: But he was wiſer than to accept of it. I will go no further into the beginning of that reign with relation to Engliſh affairs, which are fully opened by others. Only I will tell one particular which I had from the Earl of Lothian, who was bred up in the Court, and whoſe father, the earl of Ancram, was gentleman of the Bedchamber, tho' himſelf was ever much hated by the King. He told me, that King Charles was much offended with King James's light and familiar way, which was the effect of hunting and drinking, on which occaſions he was very apt to forget his dignity, and to break out into great indecencies: On the other hand the ſolemn gravity of the court of Spain was more ſuited to his own temper, which was ſullen even to a moroſeneſs. This led him to a grave reſerved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, to which they had been long accuſtomed: Nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any perſons whatſoever: So far from that, he had ſuch

King Charles at firſt a friend to the Puritians.

ſuch an ungracious way of ſhewing favour, that the manner of beſtowing it was almoſt as mortifying as the favour was obliging. I turn now to the affairs of Scotland, which are but little known.

He deſigned to recover the tithes and church lands in Scotland to the Crown.

The King reſolved to carry on two deſigns that his father had ſet on foot, but had let the proſecution of them fall in the laſt years of his reign. The firſt of theſe was about the recovery of the tithes and church lands: He reſolved to proſecute his father's revocation, and to void all the grants made in his minority, and to create titular Abbots as Lords of Parliament, but Lords, as Biſhops, only for life. And that the two great families of Hamilton and Lenox might be good examples to the reſt of the nation, he by a ſecret purchaſe, and with Engliſh money, bought the Abby of Aberbroth of the former, and the Lordſhip of Glaſgow of the latter, and gave theſe to the two Archbiſhopricks. Theſe Lords made a ſhew of zeal after a good bargain, and ſurrendered them to the King. He alſo purchaſed ſeveral eſtates of leſs value to the ſeveral Sees; and all men, who pretended to favour at Court, offered their church lands to ſale at a low rate.

In the third year of his reign the Earl of Nithiſdale, then believed a Papiſt, which he afterwards profeſſed, having married a niece of the Duke of Buckingham's, was ſent down with a power to take the ſurrender of all church lands, and to aſſure all who did readily ſurrender, that the King would take it kindly, and uſe them all very well, but that he would proceed with all rigour againſt thoſe who would not ſubmit their rights to his diſpoſal. Upon his coming down, thoſe who were moſt concerned in thoſe grants met at Edinburgh, and agreed, that when they were called together, if no other argument did prevail to make the Earl of Nithiſdale deſiſt, they would fall upon him and all his party in the old Scotiſh manner, and knock them on the head. Primroſe told me

one

one of theſe Lords, Belhaven of the name of Dowglaſs who was blind, bid them ſet him by one of the party; and he would make ſure of one. So he was ſet next the Earl of Dunfrize: He was all the while holding him faſt: And when the other aſked him what he meant by that, he ſaid, ever ſince the blindneſs was come on him he was in ſuch fear of falling, that he could not help the holding faſt to thoſe who were next to him: He had all the while a ponyard in his other hand, with which he had certainly ſtabbed Dumfrize, if any diſorder had happened. The appearance at that time was ſo great, and ſo much heat was raiſed upon it, that the Earl of Nithiſdale would not open all his inſtructions, but came back to court, looking on the ſervice as deſperate: So a ſtop was put to it for ſome time.

In the year 1633 the King came down in perſon to be crowned. In ſome conventions of the States that had been held before that, all the money that the King had aſked was given; and ſome petitions were offered ſetting forth grievances, which thoſe whom the King employed had aſſured them ſhould be redreſſed: But nothing was done, and all was put off till the King ſhould come down in perſon. His entry and coronation were managed with ſuch magnificence, that the country ſuffered much by it: All was entertainment and ſhew. When the Parliament ſate, the Lords of the articles prepared an act declaring the royal prerogative, as it had been aſſerted by law in the year 1606; to which an addition was made of another act paſſed in the year 1609, by which King James was impowered to preſcribe apparel to churchmen with their own conſent. This was a perſonal thing to King James, in conſideration of his great learning and experience, of which he had made no uſe during the reſt of his reign. And in the year 1617, when he held a Parliament there in perſon, an act was prepared by the Lords of the articles,

He was crowned in Scotland.

articles, authorizing all things that ſhould thereafter be determined in eccleſiaſtical affairs by his Majeſty, with conſent of a competent number of the clergy, to have the ſtrength and power of a law. But the King either apprehended that great oppoſition would be made to the paſſing the act, or that great trouble would follow on the execution of it: So when the rubrick of the act was read, he ordered it to be ſuppreſs'd, tho' paſs'd in the articles. In this act of 1633 theſe acts of 1606 and 1609 were drawn into one. To this great oppoſition was made by the Earl of Rothes, who deſired the acts might be divided: But the King ſaid, it was now one act, and he muſt either vote for it, or againſt it. He ſaid, he was for the prerogative as much as any man, but that addition was contrary to the liberties of the Church, and he thought no determination ought to be made in ſuch matters without the conſent of the clergy, at leaſt without their being heard. The King bid him argue no more, but give his vote: So he voted, not content. Some few Lords offered to argue: But the King ſtopt them, and commanded them to vote. Almoſt the whole Commons voted in the negative: So that the act was indeed rejected by the majority: Which the King knew; for he had called for a liſt of the numbers, and with his own pen had mark'd every man's vote: Yet the Clerk of Regiſter, who gathers and declares the votes, ſaid it was carried in the affirmative. The Earl of Rothes affirmed it went for the negative: So the King ſaid, the Clerk of Regiſter's declaration muſt be held good, unleſs the Earl of Rothes would go to the Bar and accuſe him of falſifying the record of Parliament, which was capital: And in that caſe, if he ſhould fail in the proof he was liable to the ſame puniſhment: So he would not venture on that. Thus the act was publiſhed, tho' in truth it was rejected. The King expreſſed a high diſpleaſure

pleaſure at all who had concurred in that oppoſition. Upon that the Lords had many meetings: They reckoned that now all their liberties were gone, and a Parliament was but a piece of pageantry, if the Clerk of Regiſter might declare as he pleaſed how the vote went, and that no ſcrutiny were allowed. Upon that Hague the King's ſolicitor, a zealous man of that party, drew a petition to be ſigned by the Lords, and to be offered by them to the King, ſetting forth all their grievances and praying redreſs: He ſhewed this to ſome of them, and among others to the Lord Balmerinoch, who liked the main of it, but was for altering it in ſome particulars: He ſpoke of it to the Earl of Rothes in the preſence of the Earl of Caſſilis and ſome others: None of them approved of it. The Earl of Rothes carryed it to the King; and told him, that there was a deſign to offer a petition in order to the explaining and juſtifying their proceedings, and that he had a copy to ſhew him: But the King would not look upon it, and ordered him to put a ſtop to it, for he would receive no ſuch petition. The Earl of Rothes told this to Balmerinoch: So the thing was laid aſide: Only he kept a copy of it, and interlined it in ſome places with his own hand. While the King was in Scotland he erected a new Biſhoprick at Edinburgh, and made one Forbes Biſhop, who was a very learned and pious man: He had a ſtrange faculty of preaching five or ſix hours at a time: His way of life and devotion was thought monaſtick, and his learning lay in antiquity: He ſtudied to be a reconciler between Papiſts and Proteſtants, leaning rather to the firſt, as appears by his Conſiderationes modeſtæ: He was a very ſimple man, and knew little of the world: So he fell into ſeveral errors in conduct, but died ſoon after ſuſpected of Popery, which ſuſpicion was encreaſed by his ſon's turning Papiſt. The King

Balmerinoch's trial.

left

left Scotland much discontented, but resolved to prosecute the design of recovering the church lands: And Sir Thomas Hope, a subtil lawyer, who was believed to understand that matter beyond all the men of his profession, tho' in all respects he was a zealous Puritan, was made the King's advocate, upon his undertaking to bring all the church lands back to the Crown: Yet he proceeded in that matter so slowly, that it was believed he acted in concert with the party that opposed it. Enough was already done to alarm all that were possessed of the church lands: And they to engage the whole country in their quarrel took care to infuse it into all people, but chiefly into the preachers, that all was done to make way for Popery. The winter after the King was in Scotland, Balmerinoch was thinking how to make the petition more acceptable: And in order to that he shewed it to one Dunmoor a lawyer in whom he trusted, and desired his opinion of it, and suffered him to carry it home with him, but charged him to shew it to no person, and to take no copy of it. He shewed it under a promise of secresy to one Hay of Naughton, and told him from whom he had it. Hay looking on the paper, and seeing it a matter of some consequence, carried it to Spotswood Archbishop of St. Andrews; who apprehending it was going about for hands was alarmed at it, and went immediately to London, beginning his journey as he often did on a sunday, which was a very odious thing in that country. There are laws in Scotland loosely worded that make it capital to spread lies of the King or his Government, or to alienate his subjects from him. It was also made capital to know of any that do it, and not discover them: But this last was never once put in execution. The petition was thought within this act: So an order was sent down for committing Lord Balmerinoch. The reason of it being for some time kept secret, it was thought done

done becauſe of his vote in parliament. But after ſome conſultation a ſpecial commiſſion was ſent down for the trial. In Scotland there is a Court for the trial of Peers, diſtinct from the jury who are to be fifteen, and the majority determine the verdict: The fact being only referred to the jury or aſſize as they call it, the law is judged by the Court: And if the majority of the jury are Peers, the reſt may be gentlemen. At this time a private gentleman of the name of Steward was become ſo conſiderable that he was raiſed by ſeveral degrees to be made Earl of Traquair and Lord Treaſurer, and was in great favour; but ſuffered afterwards ſuch a reverſe of Fortune, that I ſaw him ſo low that he wanted bread, and was forced to beg; and it was believed died of hunger. He was a man of great parts, but of too much craft: He was thought the capableſt man for buſineſs, and the beſt ſpeaker in that Kingdom. So he was charged with the care of the Lord Balmerinoch's trial: But when the ground of the proſecution was known, Hague who drew the petition writ a letter to the Lord Balmerinoch, in which he owned that he drew the petition without any direction or aſſiſtance from him: And upon that he went over to Holland. The Court was created by a ſpecial commiſſion: In the naming of Judges there appeared too viſibly a deſign to have that Lord's life, for they were either very weak or very poor. Much pains was taken to have a jury; in which ſo great partiality appeared, that when the Lord Balmerinoch was upon his challenges, and excepted to the Earl of Dumfrize for his having ſaid that if he were of his jury, tho' he were as innocent as St. Paul, he would find him guilty, ſome of the judges ſaid, that was only a raſh word: Yet the King's advocate allowed the challenge, if proved, which was done. The next called on was the Earl of Lauderdale, father to the Duke of that title: With him the Lord Balmerinoch

merinoch had been long in enmity: Yet, inſtead of challenging him, he ſaid he was omni exceptione major. It was long conſidered upon what the priſoner ſhould be tried: For his hand interlining the paper, which did plainly ſoften it, was not thought evidence that he drew it, or that he was acceſſary to it: And they had no other proof againſt him: Nor could they from that infer that he was the divulger, ſince it did appear it was only ſhewed by him to a lawyer for counſel. So it was ſettled on to inſiſt on this, that the paper tended to alienate the ſubjects from their duty to the King, and that he, knowing who was the author of it, did not diſcover him; which by law was capital. The Court judged the paper to be ſeditious, and to be a lie of the King and his government: The other point was clear, that he knowing the author did not diſcover him. He pleaded for himſelf, that the ſtatute for diſcovery had never been put in execution; that it could never be meant but of matters that were notoriouſly ſeditious; that till the Court judged ſo he did not take this paper to be of that nature, but conſidered it as a paper full of duty, deſigned to ſet himſelf and ſome others right in the King's opinion; that upon the firſt ſight of it, tho' he approved of the main, yet he diſliked ſome expreſſions in it; that he communicated the matter to the Earl of Rothes, who told the King of the deſign; and that, upon the King's ſaying he would receive no ſuch petition, it was quite laid aſide: This was atteſted by the Earl of Rothes. A long debate had been much inſiſted on, whether the Earl of Traquair or the King's miniſters might be of the jury or not: But the Court gave it in their favour. When the jury was ſhut up, Gordon of Buckey, who was one of them, being then very antient, who forty three years before had aſſiſted in the murder of the Earl of Murray, and was thought upon this occaſion a ſure man, ſpoke firſt of all, excuſing his

his preſumption in being the firſt that broke the ſilence. He deſired, they would all conſider what they were about: It was a matter of blood, and they would feel the weight of that as long as they lived: He had in his youth been drawn in to ſhed blood, for which he had the King's pardon, but it coſt him more to obtain God's pardon: It had given him many ſorrowful hours both day and night: And as he ſpoke this, the tears ran over his face. This ſtruck a damp on them all. But the Earl of Traquair took up the argument; and ſaid, they had it not before them whether the law was a hard law or not, nor had they the nature of the paper before them, which was judged by the Court to be leaſing-making; they were only to conſider, whether the priſoner had diſcovered the contriver of the paper or not. Upon this the Earl of Lauderdale took up the argument againſt him, and urged, that ſevere laws never executed were looked on as made only to terrify people, that tho' after the Court's having judged the paper to be ſeditious it would be capital to conceal the author, yet before ſuch judgment the thing could not be thought ſo evident that he was bound to reveal it. Upon theſe heads thoſe Lords argued the matter many hours: But when it went to the vote, ſeven acquitted, but eight caſt him: So ſentence was given. Upon this many meetings were held: And it was reſolved either to force the priſon to ſet him at liberty, or if that failed to revenge his death both on the Court and on the eight jurors; ſome undertaking to kill them, and others to burn their houſes. When the Earl of Traquair underſtood this, he went to Court, and told the King that the Lord Balmerinoch's life was in his hands, but the execution was in no ſort adviſeable: So he procured his pardon, for which the party was often reproached with his ingratitude: But he thought he had been much wronged in the proſecution, and ſo little regarded in the

He was condemned.

But pardoned.

pardon, that he never looked on himſelf as under any obligation on that account. My father knew the whole ſteps of this matter, having been the Earl of Lauderdale's moſt particular friend: He often told me, that the ruin of the King's affairs in Scotland was in a great meaſure owing to that proſecution; and he carefully preſerved the petition it ſelf, and the papers relating to the trial; of which I never ſaw any copy beſides thoſe which I have. And that raiſed in me a deſire of ſeeing the whole record, which was copied for me, and is now in my hands. It is a little volume, and contains, according to the Scotch method, the whole abſtract of all the pleadings, and all the evidence that was given; and is indeed a very noble piece, full of curious matter.

A liturgy prepared.

When the deſign of recovering the tithes went on, tho' but ſlowly, another deſign made a greater progreſs. The Biſhops of Scotland fell on the framing of a liturgy and a body of canons for the worſhip and government of that church. Theſe were never examined in any publick aſſembly of the clergy: All was managed by three or four aſpiring Biſhops, Maxwell, Sidſerfe, Whitford, and Banautine, the Biſhops of Roſs, Galloway, Dunblane, and Aberdeen. Maxwel did alſo accuſe the Earl of Traquair, as cold in the King's ſervice, and as managing the treaſury deceitfully; and he was aſpiring to that office. Spotſwood, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews then Lord Chancellour, was a prudent and mild man, but of no great decency in his courſe of life. The Earl of Traquair, ſeeing himſelf ſo puſhed at, was more earneſt than the Biſhops themſelves in promoting the new model of worſhip and diſcipline; and by that he recovered the ground he had loſt with the King, and with Archbiſhop Laud: He alſo aſſiſted the Biſhops in obtaining commiſſions, ſubaltern to the High-commiſſion Court, in their ſeveral dioceſes, which were thought little different from the Courts of Inquiſition.

quiſition. Sidſerfe ſet this up in Galloway: And a complaint being made in Council of his proceedings, he gave the Earl of Argile the lie in full Council. He was after all a very learned and good man, but ſtrangely heated in thoſe matters. And they all were ſo lifted up with the King's zeal, and ſo encouraged by Archbiſhop Laud, that they loſt all temper; of which I knew Sidſerfe made great acknowledgments in his old age.

The feebleneſs of the government.

But the unaccountable part of the King's proceedings was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover ſo great a part of the property of Scotland as the church lands and tithes were, from men that were not like to part with them willingly, and was going to change the whole conſtitution of that Church and Kingdom, he raiſed no force to maintain what he was about to do, but truſted the whole management to the civil execution. By this all people ſaw the weakneſs of the government, at the ſame time that they complained of its rigour. All that came down from Court complained of the King's inexorable ſtiffneſs, and of the progreſs Popery was making, of the Queen's power with the King, of the favour ſhewed the Popes Nuntios, and of the many proſelytes who were daily falling off to the church of Rome. The Earl of Traquair infuſed this more effectually, tho' more covertly, than any other man could do: And when the country formed the firſt oppoſition they made to the King's proclamations, and proteſted againſt them, he drew the firſt proteſtation, as Primroſe aſſured me; tho' he deſigned no more than to put a ſtop to the credit the Biſhops had, and to the fury of their proceedings: But the matter went much farther than he ſeemed to intend: For he himſelf was fatally caught in the ſnare laid for others. A troop of horſe and a regiment of foot had prevented all that followed, or rather had by all appearance eſtabliſhed an arbitrary government in that Kingdom: But to ſpeak in the language of a great man, thoſe who

conducted matters at that time, had as little of the prudence of the ſerpent as of the innocence of the dove: And, as my father often told me, he and many others who adhered in the ſequel firmly to the King's intereſt were then much troubled at the whole conduct of affairs, as being neither wiſe, legal, nor juſt. I will go no farther in opening the beginnings of the troubles of Scotland: Of theſe a full account will be found in the memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. The violence with which that Kingdom did almoſt unanimouſly engage againſt the adminiſtration may eaſily convince one, that the provocation muſt have been very great to draw on ſuch an entire and vehement concurrence againſt it.

Saville's forgery prevailed on the Scots.

After the firſt pacification, upon the new diſputes that aroſe, when the Earl of Lowdun and Dumferling were ſent up with the petition from the covenanters, the Lord Saville came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they ſaw the King was highly irritated againſt them: He took great pains to perſuade them to come with their army into England. They very unwillingly hearken'd to that propoſition, and looked on it as a deſign from the Court to enſnare them, making the Scots invade England, by which this Nation might have been provoked to aſſiſt the King to conquer Scotland. It is true, he hated the Earl of Strafford ſo much, that they ſaw no cauſe to ſuſpect him: So they entred into a treaty with him about it. The Lord Saville aſſured them, he ſpake to them in the name of the moſt conſiderable men in England; and he ſhewed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into England, and refuſe any treaty but what ſhould be confirmed by a Parliament of England. They deſired leave to ſend this paper into Scotland, to which after much ſeeming difficulty he conſented: So a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one Froſt,

Froſt, afterwards ſecretary to the Committee of both Kingdoms, was ſent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three perſons, the Earls of Rothes and Argile, and to Wariſtoun, the three chief confidents of the covenanters. The Earl of Rothes was a man of pleaſure, but of a moſt obliging temper: His affairs were low: Spotſwood had once made the bargain between the King and him before the troubles, but the Earl of Traquair broke it, ſeeing he was to be raiſed above himſelf. The Earl of Rothes had all the arts of making himſelf popular; only there was too much levity in his temper, and too much liberty in his courſe of life. The Earl of Argile was a more ſolemn ſort of a man, grave and ſober, free of all ſcandalous vices, of an invincible calmneſs of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety: He was much ſet on raiſing his own family to be a ſort of King in the Highlands. The characters of the chief of the covenanters.

Wariſtoun was my own uncle: He was a man of great application, could ſeldom ſleep above three hours in the twenty four: He had ſtudied the law carefully, and had a great quickneſs of thought with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthen'd devotions, in which he continued many hours a day: He would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhauſted copiouſneſs that way. What thought ſoever ſtruck his fancy during thoſe effuſions, he looked on it as an anſwer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the Covenant as the ſetting Chriſt on his throne, and ſo was out of meaſure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raiſing himſelf or his family, tho' he had thirteen children: But Preſbytery was to him more than all the world. He had a readineſs and vehemence of ſpeaking that made him very conſiderable in publick aſſemblies: And he had a fruitful invention; ſo that he was at all times furniſhed

niſhed with expedients. To theſe three only this paper was to be ſhewed upon an oath of ſecrecy: And it was to be depoſited in Wariſtoun's hands. They were only allowed to publiſh to the Nation, that they were ſure of a very great and unexpected aſſiſtance, which tho' it was to be kept ſecret would appear in due time. This they publiſhed: And it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the Nation: But it was afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of Lord Saville's who had forged all theſe ſubſcriptions.

The Scots came into England.

The Scots marched with a very ſorry equipage: Every ſoldier carried a week's proviſion of oat-meal; and they had a drove of cattel with them for their food. They had alſo an invention of guns of white iron tinned and done about with leather, and chorded ſo that they could ſerve for two or three diſcharges. Theſe were light, and were carried on horſes: And when they came to Newburn, the Engliſh army that defended the Ford was ſurprized with a diſcharge of artillery: Some thought it magick; and all were put in ſuch diſorder that the whole army did run with ſo great precipitation, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had a command in it, did not ſtick to own that till he paſs'd the Tees his legs trembled under him. This ſtruck many of the enthuſiaſts of the King's ſide, as much as it exalted the Scots; who were next day poſſeſſed of Newcaſtle, and ſo were maſters not only of Northumberland and the Biſhoprick of Dureſme, but of the Collierys; by which, if they had not been in a good underſtanding with the City of London, they could have diſtreſſed them extremely: But all the uſe the City made of this was, to raiſe a great outcry, and to complain of the war, ſince it was now in the power of the Scots to ſtarve them. Upon that petitions were ſent from the City and from ſome Counties to the King, praying a treaty with the Scots. The Lord Wharton and the Lord Howard of Eſcrick undertook to deliver ſome of

Great diſcontents in England.

theſe;

theſe; which they did, and were clapt up upon it. A council of war was held; and it was reſolved on, as the Lord Wharton told me, to ſhoot them at the head of the army, as movers of ſedition. This was chiefly preſs'd by the Earl of Strafford. Duke Hamilton ſpoke nothing till the Council roſe; and then he aſked Strafford, if he was ſure of the army, who ſeemed ſurpriſed at the queſtion: But he upon enquiry underſtood that very probably a general mutiny, if not a total revolt, would have followed, if any ſuch execution had been attempted. This ſucceſs of the Scots ruined the King's affairs. And by it the neceſſity of the union of the two Kingdoms may appear very evident: For nothing but a ſuperiour army able to beat the Scots can hinder their doing this at any time: And the ſeiſing the Collierys muſt immediately bring the City of London into great diſtreſs. Two armies were now in the north as a load on the King, beſides all the other grievances. The Lord Saville's forgery came to be diſcovered. The King knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to truſt him, and to advance him to be Earl of Suſſex. The King preſſed my uncle to deliver him the letter, who excuſed himſelf upon his oath; and not knowing what uſe might be made of it, he cut out every ſubſcription, and ſent it to the perſon for whom it was forged. The imitation was ſo exact, that every man, as ſoon as he ſaw his hand ſimply by itſelf, acknowledged that he could not have denied it.

The King was now in great ſtraits: He had laid up 700000 l. before the troubles in Scotland began; and yet had raiſed no guards nor force in England, but truſted a very illegal adminiſtration to a legal execution. His treaſure was now exhauſted; his ſubjects were highly irritated; the miniſtry were all frighted, being expoſed to the anger and juſtice of the Parliament: So that he had brought himſelf into great diſtreſs, but had not the dexterity to

The ill ſtate of the King's affairs.

extricate himſelf out of it. He loved high and rough methods, but had neither the ſkill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate counſels: He thought it flowed from a meanneſs of ſpirit, and a care to preſerve themſelves by ſacrificing his authority, or from republican principles: And even when he ſaw it was neceſſary to follow ſuch advices, yet he hated thoſe that gave them. His heart was wholly turned to the gaining the two armies. In order to that he gained the Earl of Rothes entirely, who hoped by the King's mediation to have married the Counteſs of Devonſhire, a rich and magnificent lady that lived long in the greateſt ſtate of any in that age: He alſo gained the Earl of Montroſe, who was a young man well learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the port of a hero too much. When he was beyond ſea he travelled with the Earl of Denbigh; and they conſulted all the aſtrologers they could hear of. I plainly ſaw the Earl of Denbigh relied on what had been told him to his dying day; and the rather becauſe the Earl of Montroſe was promiſed a glorious fortune for ſome time, but all was to be overthrown in concluſion. When the Earl of Montroſe returned from his travels, he was not conſidered by the King as he thought he deſerved: So he ſtudied to render himſelf popular in Scotland; and he was the firſt man in the oppoſition they made during the firſt war. He both adviſed and drew the letter to the King of France, for which the Lord Lowdun who ſigned it was impriſoned in the Tower of London. But the Earl of Lauderdale, as he himſelf told me, when it came to his turn to ſign that letter, found falſe French in it; for inſtead of rayons de ſoleil he had writ raye de ſoleil, which in French ſignifies a ſort of fiſh; and ſo the matter went no farther at that time; and the treaty came on ſo ſoon after, that it was never again taken up. The Earl of Montroſe

was

was gained by the King at Berwick, and undertook to do great ſervices. He either fancied, or at leaſt he made the King fancy, that he could turn the whole Kingdom: Yet indeed he could do nothing. He was again trying to make a new party: And he kept a correſpondence with the King when he lay at Newcaſtle; and was pretending he had a great intereſt among the covenanters, whereas at that time he had none at all. All theſe little plotings came to be either known, or at leaſt ſuſpected. The Queen was a woman of great vivacity in converſation, and loved all her life long to be in intrigues of all ſorts, but was not ſo ſecret in them as ſuch times and ſuch affairs required. She was a woman of no manner of judgment: She was bad at contrivance, but much worſe in the execution: But by the livelineſs of her diſcourſe ſhe made always a great impreſſion on the King: And to her little practices, as well as to the King's own temper, the ſequel of all his misfortunes was owing. I know it was a maxim infuſed into his ſons, which I have often heard from King James, that he was undone by his conceſſions. This is true in ſome reſpect: For his paſſing the act that the Parliament ſhould ſit during pleaſure was indeed his ruin, to which he was drawn by the Queen. But if he had not made great conceſſions, he had ſunk without being able to make a ſtruggle for it; and could not have divided the Nation, or engaged ſo many to have ſtood by him: Since by the conceſſions that he made, eſpecially that of the triennial Parliament, the honeſt and quiet part of the Nation was ſatisfied, and thought their religion and liberties were ſecured: So they broke off from * thoſe violenter propoſitions that occaſioned the war.

The truth was, the King did not come into thoſe conceſſions ſeaſonably, nor with a good grace: All appeared to be extorted from him. There were

* It ſeems clearer, if inſtead of *broke off from*, the ſentence ran *would not go into*.

alſo

alſo grounds, whether true or plauſible, to make it to be believed, that he intended not to ſtand to them any longer than he lay under that force, that viſibly drew them from him contrary to his own inclinations. The proofs that appeared of ſome particulars, that made this ſeem true, made other things that were whiſpered to be more readily believed: For in all critical times there are deceitful people of both ſides, that pretend to merit by making diſcoveries, on condition that no uſe ſhall be made of them as witneſſes; which is one of the moſt peſtiferous ways of calumny poſſible. Almoſt the whole Court had been concerned in one illegal grant or another: So theſe Courtiers, to get their faults paſs'd over, were as ſo many ſpies upon the King and Queen: They told all they heard, and perhaps not without large additions, to the leading men of the Houſe of Commons. This inflamed the jealouſy, and puſh'd them on to the making ſtill new demands. One eminent paſſage was told me by the Lord Hollis:

An account of the Earl of Strafford's being given up by the King.

The Earl of Strafford had married his ſiſter: So, tho' in that Parliament he was one of the hotteſt men of the party, yet when that matter was before them he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was paſs'd, the King ſent for him to know what he could do to ſave the Earl of Strafford. Hollis anſwered, that if the King pleaſed, ſince the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a reprieve, which muſt be good in law; but he would not adviſe it. That which he propoſed was, that Lord Strafford ſhould ſend him a petition for a ſhort reſpite, to ſettle his affairs and to prepare for death; upon which he adviſed the King to come next day with the petition in his hands, and lay it before the two houſes with a ſpeech which he drew for the King; and Hollis ſaid to him, he would try his intereſt among his friends to get them to conſent to it. He prepared a great many by aſſuring them, that if they would

would ſave Lord Strafford he would become wholly theirs in conſequence of his firſt principles: And that he might do them much more ſervice by being preſerved, than he could do if made an example upon ſuch new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on ſo many, that he believed if the King's party had ſtruck into it he might have ſaved him. It was carried to the Queen, as if Hollis had engaged that the Earl of Strafford ſhould accuſe her, and diſcover all he knew: So the Queen not only diverted the King from going to the Parliament, changing the ſpeech into a meſſage all writ with the King's own hand, and ſent to the Houſe of Lords by the Prince of Wales: [which Hollis had ſaid, would have perhaps done as well, the King being apt to ſpoil things by an unacceptable manner:] But to the wonder of the whole world, the Queen prevailed with him to add that mean poſtſcript, "If he muſt die, it were cha- "rity to reprieve him till Saturday:" Which was a very unhandſome giving up of the whole meſſage. When it was communicated to both houſes, the whole Court party was plainly againſt it: And ſo he fell truly by the Queen's means.

The mentioning this makes me add one particular concerning Archbiſhop Laud: When his impeachment was brought to the Lord's bar, he apprehending how it would end, ſent over Warner, Biſhop of Rocheſter, with the keys of his cloſet and cabinet, that he might deſtroy or put out of the way all papers that might either hurt himſelf or any body elſe. He was at that work for three hours, till upon Laud's being committed to the black rod a meſſenger went over to ſeal up his cloſet, who came after all was withdrawn. Among the writings he took away, it is believed the original Magna Charta paſſed by King John in the mead near Stains was one. This was found among Warner's papers by his executor: And that deſcended to his ſon and executor, Colonel Lee, who gave

gave it to me. So it is now in my hands; and it came very fairly to me. For this conveyance of it we have nothing but conjecture.

I do not intend to profecute the hiſtory of the wars. I have told a great deal relating to them in the memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. Ruſhworth's collections contain many excellent materials: And now the firſt volume of the earl of Clarendon's hiſtory gives a faithful repreſentation of the beginnings of the troubles, tho' writ in favour of the Court, and full of the beſt excuſes that ſuch ill things were capable of. I ſhall therefore only ſet out what I had particular reaſon to know, and what is not to be met with in books.

The new model of the Preſbytery in Scotland.

The Kirk was now ſettled in Scotland with a new mixture of ruling elders; which, tho' they were taken from the Geneva pattern, to aſſiſt or rather to be a check on the Miniſters, in the managing the parochial diſcipline, yet theſe never came to their aſſemblies till the year 1638, when they thought it neceſſary to make them firſt go and carry all the elections of the Miniſters at the ſeveral preſbyteries, and next come themſelves and ſit in the aſſemblies. The nobility and chief gentry offered themſelves upon that occaſion: And the Miniſters, ſince they ſaw they were like to act in oppoſition to the King's orders, were glad to have ſo great a ſupport. But the elders that now came to aſſiſt them beginning to take, as the Miniſters thought, too much on them, they grew weary of ſuch imperious maſters: So they ſtudied to work up the inferiour people to much zeal: And as they wrought any up to ſome meaſure of heat and knowledge, they brought them alſo into their elderſhip; and ſo got a majority of hot zealots who depended on them. One out of theſe was deputed to attend on the judicatories. They had ſynods of all the clergy, in one or more counties who met twice a year: And a general aſſembly met once a year: And at parting, that body named ſome, called

called the commiſſion of the Kirk, who were to ſit in the intervals to prepare matters for the next aſſembly, and to look into all the concerns of the church, to give warning of dangers, and to inſpect all proceedings of the ſtate as far as related to the matters of religion: By theſe means they became terrible to all their enemies. In their ſermons, and chiefly in their prayers, all that paſs'd in the ſtate was canvaſſed: Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God, as they were acceptable or odious to them. This grew up in time to an inſufferable degree of boldneſs. The way that was given to it, when the King and the Biſhops were their common themes, made that afterwards the humour could not be reſtrained: And it grew ſo petulant, that the pulpit was a ſcene of news and paſſion. For ſome years this was managed with great appearances of fervour by men of age and ſome authority: But when the younger and hotter zealots took it up, it became odious to almoſt all ſort of people, except ſome four enthuſiaſts, who thought all their impertinence was zeal and an effect of inſpiration; which flowed naturally from the conceit of extemporary prayers being praying by the ſpirit.

The chief Miniſters of the party.

Henderſon, a Miniſter of Edinburgh, was by much the wiſeſt and graveſt of them all: But as all his performances that I have ſeen are flat and heavy, ſo he found it was an eaſier thing to raiſe a flame than to quench it. He ſtudied to keep his party to him: Yet he found he could not moderate the heat of ſome fiery ſpirits: So when he ſaw he could follow them no more, but that they had got the people out of his hands, he ſunk both in body and mind, and died ſoon after. The perſon next to him was Douglas, believed to be deſcended from the royal family tho' the wrong way: There appeared an air of greatneſs in him, that made all that ſaw him inclined enough to believe he was of no ordinary deſcent. He was a reſerved man:

man: He had the ſcriptures by heart to the exactneſs of a Jew; for he was as a concordance: He was too calm and too grave for the furious men, but yet he was much depended on for his prudence. I knew him in his old age; and ſaw plainly, he was a ſlave to his popularity, and durſt not own the free thoughts he had of ſome things for fear of offending the people.

I will not run out in giving the characters of the other leading preachers among them, ſuch as Dickſon, Blair, Rutherford, Baily, Cant, and the two Gilliſpys. They were men all of a ſort: They affected great ſublimities in devotion: They poured themſelves out in their prayers with a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning among them; ſomething of Hebrew, and very little Greek: Books of controverſy with Papiſts, but above all with the Arminians, was the height of their ſtudy. A way of preaching by doctrine, reaſon, and uſe was what they ſet up on: And ſome of them affected a ſtrain of ſtating caſes of conſcience, not with relation to moral actions, but to ſome reflexions on their condition and temper: That was occaſioned chiefly by their conceit of praying by the ſpirit, which every one could not attain to, or keep up to the ſame heat in at all times. The learning they recommended to their young divines were ſome German ſyſtemes, ſome commentators on the ſcripture, books of controverſy, and practical books: They were ſo careful to oblige them to make their round in theſe, that if they had no men of great learning among them, yet none were very ignorant: As if they had thought an equality in learning was neceſſary to keep up the parity of their Government. None could be ſuffered to preach as Expectants, (as they called them,) but after a tryal or two in private before the Miniſters alone: Then two or three ſermons were to be preached in publick, ſome more learnedly, ſome more practically:

Their ſtudies, and other methods.

cally: Then a head in divinity was to be common placed in Latin, and the perſon was to maintain Theſes upon it: He was alſo to be tried in Greek and Hebrew, and in ſcripture chronology. The queſtionary trial came laſt, every Miniſter aſking ſuch queſtions as he pleaſed. When any had paſs'd thro' all theſe with approbation, which was done in a courſe of three or four months, he was allowed to preach when invited. And if he was preſented or called to a Church, he was to paſs thro' a new ſet of the ſame tryals. This made that there was a ſmall circle of knowledge in which they were generally well inſtructed. True morality was little ſtudied or eſteemed by them: They took much pains among their people to maintain their authority: They affected all the ways of familiarity that were like to gain on them.

They forced all people to ſign the covenant: And the greateſt part of the Epiſcopal Clergy, among whom there were two Biſhops, came to them, and renounced their former principles, and deſired to be received into their body. At firſt they received all that offered themſelves: But afterwards they repented of this: And the violent men among them were ever preſſing the purging the Kirk, as they called it, that is the ejecting all the Epiſcopal Clergy. Then they took up the term of Malignants, by which all who differed from them were diſtinguiſhed: But the ſtrictneſs of piety and good life, which had gained them ſo much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and inſtead of that, a fierceneſs of temper, and a copiouſneſs of many long ſermons, and much longer prayers, came to be the diſtinction of the party. This they carried even to the ſaying grace before and after meat ſometimes to the length of a whole hour. But as every new war broke out, there was a viſible abatement of even the outward ſhews of piety. Thus the war corrupted both ſides. When the war broke out in England, the

Their great ſeverity.

Scots had a great mind to go into it. The decayed nobility, the military men, and the Miniſters, were violently ſet on it. They ſaw what good quarters they had in the north of England. And they hoped the umpirage of the war would fall into their hands. The diviſion appearing ſo near an equality in England, they reckoned they would turn the ſcales, and ſo be courted on both ſides: And they did not doubt to draw great advantages from it, both for the Nation in general, and themſelves in particular. Duke Hamilton was truſted by the King with the management of his affairs in that Kingdom, and had powers to offer, but ſo ſecretly that if diſcovered it could not be proved, for fear of diſguſting the Engliſh, that if they would engage in the King's ſide he would conſent to the uniting Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland, to Scotland; and that Newcaſtle ſhould be the ſeat of the Government; that the Prince of Wales ſhould hold his Court always among them; that every third year the King ſhou'd go among them; and every office in the King's houſhold ſhould in the third turn be given to a Scotchman. This I found not among Duke Hamilton's papers: But the Earl of Lauderdale aſſured me of it, and that at the Iſle of Wight they had all the engagements from the King that he could give. Duke Hamilton quickly ſaw, it was a vain imagination to hope that Kingdom could be brought to eſpouſe the King's quarrel. The inclination ran ſtrong the other way: All he hoped to ſucceed in was to keep them neuter for ſome time: And this he ſaw could not hold long: So after he had kept off their engaging with England all the year 1643, he and his friends ſaw it was in vain to ſtruggle any longer. The courſe they all reſolved on was, that the nobility ſhould fall in heartily with the inclinations of the Nation to join with England, that ſo they might procure to themſelves and their friends the chief commands in the army:

Conditions offered to the Scots.

army: And then, when they were in England, and that their army was as a distinct body separated from the rest of the Kingdom, it might be much easier to gain them to the King's service, than it was at that time to work on the whole Nation.

This was not a very sincere way of proceeding: But it was intended for the King's service, and would probably have had the effect designed by it, if some accidents had not happened that changed the face of affairs, which are not rightly understood: And therefore I will open them clearly. The Earl of Montrose and a party of high Royalists were for entring into an open breach with the country in the beginning of the year 1643, but offered no probable methods of maintaining it; nor could they reckon themselves assured of any considerable party. They were full of undertakings: But when they were pressed to shew what concurrence might be depended on, nothing was offered but from the Highlanders: And on this wise men could not rely: So Duke Hamilton would not expose the King's affairs by such a desperate way of proceeding. Upon this they went to Oxford, and filled all people there with complaints of the treachery of the Hamiltons; and they pretended they could have secured Scotland, if their propositions had been entertained. This was but too suitable to the King's own inclinations, and to the humour that was then prevailing at Oxford. So when the two Hamiltons came up, they were not admitted to speak to the King: And it was believed, if the younger brother had not made his escape, that both would have suffered; for when the Queen heard of his escape, she with great commotion said, Abercorn has missed a Dukedom; for that Earl was a Papist, and next to the two brothers. They could have demonstrated, if heard, that they were sure of above two parts in three of the officers of the army; and did not doubt to have engaged the army in the King's cause. But the failing in this

Montrose's undertakings.

was not all. The Earl, then made Marquis of Montroſe, had powers given him, ſuch as he deſired, and was ſent down with them: But he could do nothing till the end of the year. A great body of the Macdonalds commanded by one Col. Killoch came over from Ireland to recover Kentire, the beſt country of all the Highlands, out from which they had been driven by the Argile family, who had poſſeſſed their country about fifty years. The head of theſe was the Earl of Antrim, who had married the Duke of Buckingham's widow: And being a Papiſt, and having a great command in Ulſter, was much relied on by the Queen. He was the main perſon in the firſt rebellion, and was the moſt engaged in blood-ſhed of any in the north: Yet he continued to correſpond with the Queen to the great prejudice of the King's affairs. When the Marquis of Montroſe heard they were in Argileſhire, he went to them, and told them, if they would let him lead them he would carry them into the heart of the Kingdom, and procure them better quarters and good pay: So he led them into Perthſhire. The Scots had at that time an army in England, and another in Ireland: Yet they did not think it neceſſary to call home any part of either, but deſpiſing the Iriſh, and the Highlanders, they raiſed a tumultuary army, and put it under the command of ſome Lords noted for want of courage, and of others who wiſhed well to the other ſide. The Marquis of Montroſe's men were deſperate, and met with little reſiſtance: So that ſmall body of the Covenanters army was routed. And here the Marquis of Montroſe got horſes and ammunition, having but three horſes before, and powder only for one charge. Then he became conſiderable: And he marched through the northern parts by Aberdeen. The Marquis of Huntly was in the King's intereſts; but would not join with him, tho' his ſons did. Aſtrology ruined him: He believed the ſtars,

and they deceived him: He ſaid often, that neither the King, nor the Hamiltons, nor Montroſe would proſper: He believed he ſhould outlive them all, and eſcape at laſt; as it happened in concluſion, as to outliving the others. He was naturally a gallant man: But the ſtars had ſo ſubdued him, that he made a poor figure during the whole courſe of the wars.

Good advices given to the King.

The Marquis of Montroſe's ſucceſs was very miſchievous, and proved the ruin of the King's affairs: On which I ſhould not have depended entirely, if I had had this only from the Earl of Lauderdale, who was indeed my firſt author: But it was fully confirmed to me by the Lord Hollis, who had gone in with great heat into the beginnings of the war: But he ſoon ſaw the ill conſequences it already had, and the worſe that were like to grow with the progreſs of it: He had in the beginning of the year forty three, when he was ſent to Oxford with the propoſitions, taken great pains on all about the King to convince them of the neceſſity of their yielding in time; ſince the longer they ſtood out the conditions would be harder: And when he was ſent by the Parliament in the end of the year forty four, with other propoſitions, he and Whitlock entered into ſecret conferences with the King, of which ſome account is given by Whitlock in his memoirs. They with other commiſſioners that were ſent to Oxford poſſeſſed the King, and all that were in great credit with him, with this, that it was abſolutely neceſſary the King ſhould put an end to the war by a treaty: A new party of hot men was ſpringing up, that were plainly for changing the Government: They were growing much in the army, but were yet far from carrying any thing in the houſe: They had gained much ſtrength this ſummer: And they might make a great progreſs by the accidents that another year might produce: They confeſſed there were many things

hard to be digeſted, that muſt be done in order to a peace: They aſked things that were unreaſonable: But they were forced to conſent to thoſe demands: Otherwiſe they would have loſt their credit with the City and the people, who could not be ſatisfied without a very entire ſecurity, and a full ſatisfaction: But the extremity to which matters might be carried otherwiſe, made it neceſſary to come to a peace on any terms whatſoever; ſince no terms could be ſo bad as the continuance of the war: The King muſt truſt them, tho' they were not at that time diſpoſed to truſt him ſo much as it were to be wiſhed: They ſaid farther, that if a peace ſhould follow, it would be a much eaſier thing to get any hard laws now moved for to be repealed, than it was now to hinder their being inſiſted on. With theſe things Hollis told me that the King and many of his counſellours, who ſaw how his affairs declined, and with what difficulty they could hope to continue the war another year, were ſatisfied. The King more particularly began to feel the inſolence of the military men, and of thoſe who were daily reproaching him with their ſervices; ſo that they were become as uneaſy to him as thoſe of Weſtminſter had been formerly. But ſome came in the interval from Lord Montroſe with ſuch an account of what he had done, of the ſtrength he had, and of his hopes next ſummer, that the King was by that prevailed on to believe his affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat on better terms. This unhappily wrought ſo far, that the limitations he put on thoſe he ſent to treat at Uxbridge made the whole deſign miſcarry. That raiſed the ſpirits of thoſe that were already but too much exaſperated. The Marquis of Montroſe made a great progreſs the next year: But he laid no laſting foundation, for he did not make himſelf maſter of the ſtrong places or paſſes of the Kingdom. After his laſt and greateſt victory at Kilſyth he

But not followed.

was lifted up out of meaſure. The Macdonalds were every where fierce maſters, and ravenous plunderers: And the other Highlanders, who did not ſuch military executions, yet were good at robbing: And when they had got as much as they could carry home on their backs, they deſerted. The Macdonalds alſo left him to go and execute their revenge on the Argile's country. The Marquis of Montroſe thought he was now maſter, but had no ſcheme how to fix his conqueſts: He waſted the eſtates of his enemies, chiefly the Hamiltons; and went towards the borders of England, tho' he had but a ſmall force left about him: But he thought his name carried terrour with it. So he writ to the King that he had gone over the land from Dan to Beerſheba: He prayed the King to come down in theſe words, "Come thou, and take the City, leſt I take it, and "it be called by my name." This letter was writ, but never ſent; for he was routed, and his papers taken, before he had diſpatched the courier. When his papers were taken, many letters of the King, and of others at Oxford, were found, as the Earl of Crawford, one appointed to read them, told me; which increaſed the diſguſts: But theſe were not publiſhed. Upon this occaſion many priſoners that had quarters given them were murdered in cold blood: And as they ſent them to ſome towns that had been ill uſed by Lord Montroſe's army, the people in revenge fell on them and knock'd them on the head. Several perſons of quality were condemned for being with them: And they were proceeded againſt both with ſeverity and with indignities. The preachers thundred in their pulpits againſt all that did the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cried out againſt all that were for moderate proceedings, as guilty of the blood that had been ſhed. "Thine eye ſhall "not pity, and thou ſhalt not ſpare," were often inculcated after every execution: They triumphed

with so little decency, that it gave all people very ill impressions of them. But this was not the worst effect of Lord Montrose's expedition. It lost the opportunity at Uxbridge: It alienated the Scots much from the King: It exalted all that were enemies to peace. Now they seemed to have some colour for all those aspersions they had cast on the King, as if he had been in a correspondence with the Irish rebels, when the worst tribe of them had been thus employed by him. His affairs declined totally in England that summer: And Lord Hollis said to me, all was owing to Lord Montrose's unhappy successes.

Antrim's correspondence with the King and Queen.

Upon this occasion I will relate somewhat concerning the Earl of Antrim. I had in my hand several of his letters to the King in the year 1646, writ in a very confident style. One was somewhat particular: He in a postscript desired the King to send the inclosed to the good woman, without making any excuse for the presumption; by which, as follows in the postscript, he meant his wife, the Dutchess of Buckingham. This made me more easy to believe a story that the Earl of Essex told me he had from the Earl of Northumberland: Upon the Restoration, in the year 1660, Lord Antrim was thought guilty of so much bloodshed, that it was taken for granted he could not be included in the indemnity that was to pass in Ireland: Upon this he (Lord Antrim) seeing the Duke of Ormond set against him, came over to London, and was lodged at Somerset-House: And it was believed, that having no children he settled his estate on Jermyn then Earl of St. Albans: But before he came away, he had made a prior settlement in favour of his brother. He petitioned the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the warrants that he had acted upon. The Earl of Clarendon was for rejecting the petition, as containing a high indignity to the memory of King Charles the first: And said plainly

at

at Council table, that if any perſon had pretended to affirm ſuch a thing while they were at Oxford, he would either have been ſeverely puniſhed for it, or the King would ſoon have had a very thin Court. But it ſeemed juſt to ſee what he had to ſay for himſelf: So a committee was named, of which the Earl of Northumberland was the chief. He produced to them ſome of the King's letters: But they did not come up to a full proof. In one of them the King wrote, that he had not then leiſure, but referred himſelf to the Queen's letter; and ſaid, that was all one as if he writ himſelf. Upon this foundation he produced a ſeries of letters writ by himſelf to the Queen, in which he gave her an account of every one of theſe particulars that were laid to his charge, and ſhewed the grounds he went on, and deſired her directions to every one of theſe: He had anſwers ordering him to do as he did. This the Queen-mother eſpouſed with great zeal; and ſaid, ſhe was bound in honour to ſave him. I ſaw a great deal of that management, for I was then at Court. But it was generally believed, that this train of letters was made up at that time in a colluſion between the Queen and him: So a report was prepared to be ſigned by the Committee, ſetting forth that he had ſo fully juſtified himſelf in every thing that had been objected to him, that he ought not to be excepted out of the indemnity. This was brought firſt to the Earl of Northumberland to be ſigned by him: But he refuſed it; and ſaid, he was ſorry he had produced ſuch warrants, but he did not think they could ſerve his turn; for he did not believe any warrant from the King or Queen could juſtify ſo much bloodſhed, in ſo many black inſtances as were laid againſt him. Upon his refuſal the reſt of the Committee did not think fit to ſign the report: So it was let fall: And the King was prevailed on to write to the Duke of Ormond, telling him that he had ſo vin-

dicated himſelf, that he muſt endeavour to get him to be included in the indemnity. That was done; and was no ſmall reproach to the King, that did thus ſacrifice his father's honour to his mother's importunity. Upon this the Earl of Eſſex told me, that he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the Iriſh maſſacre, but could never ſee any reaſon to believe the King had any acceſſion to it. He did indeed believe that the Queen hearkened to the propoſitions made by the Iriſh, who undertook to take the Government of Ireland into their hands, which they thought they could eaſily perform: And then, they ſaid, they would aſſiſt the King to ſubdue the hot ſpirits at Weſtminſter. With this the plot of the inſurrection began: And all the Iriſh believed the Queen encouraged it. But in the firſt deſign there was no thought of a maſſacre: That came in head as they were laying the methods of executing it: So, as thoſe were managed by the Prieſts, they were the chief men that ſet on the Iriſh to all the blood and cruelty that followed.

The original of the Iriſh maſſacre.

I know nothing in particular of the ſequel of the war, nor of all the confuſions that happened till the murder of King Charles the firſt: Only one paſſage I had from Lieutenant General Drumond, afterwards Lord Strathallan. He ſerved on the King's ſide: But he had many friends among thoſe who were for the Covenant: So the King's affairs being now ruined, he was recommended to Cromwell, being then in a treaty with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, who was negotiating for ſome regiments to be levied and ſent over from Scotland to Flanders: He happened to be with Cromwell when the commiſſioners ſent from Scotland to proteſt againſt the putting the King to death came to argue the matter with him. Cromwell bade Drumond ſtay and hear their conference, which he did. They began in a heavy languid ſtyle to lay indeed great load on the King:

King: But they ſtill inſiſted on that clauſe in the Covenant, by which they ſwore they would be faithful in the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon: With this they ſhewed upon what terms Scotland, as well as the two Houſes, had engaged in the war; and what ſolemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the King they all along publiſhed; which would now appear, to the ſcandal and reproach of the chriſtian name, to have been falſe pretences, if when the King was in their power they ſhould proceed to extremities. Upon this Cromwell entered into a long diſcourſe of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan: He thought a breach of truſt in a King ought to be puniſhed more than any other crime whatſoever: He ſaid as to their Covenant, they ſwore to the preſervation of the King's perſon in defence of the true religion; If then it appeared that the ſettlement of the true religion was obſtructed by the King, ſo that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preſerving him any longer. He ſaid alſo, their Covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment: And was not this to be executed impartially? What were all thoſe on whom publick juſtice had been done, eſpecially thoſe who ſuffered for joining with Montroſe, but ſmall offenders acting by commiſſion from the King, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty? Drumond ſaid, Cromwell had plainly the better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles. At this time preſbytery was at its height in Scotland.

Cromwell argues with the Scots concerning the King's death.

In ſummer 1648, when the Parliament declared they would engage to reſcue the King from his impriſonment, and the Parliament of England from the force it was put under by the army, the Nobility went into the deſign, all except ſix or eight.

The oppoſition of the General Aſſembly to the Parliament.

eight. The King had ſigned an engagement to make good his offers to the Nation of the northern counties, with the other conditions formerly mentioned: And particular favours were promiſed to every one that concurred in it. The Marquis of Argile gave it out that the Hamiltons, let them pretend what they would, had no ſincere intentions to their cauſe, but had engaged to ſerve the King on his own terms: He filled the preachers with ſuch jealouſies of this, that tho' all the demands that they made for the ſecurity of their cauſe, and in declaring the grounds of the war, were complied with, yet they could not be ſatisfied, but ſtill ſaid the Hamiltons were in a confederacy with the malignants in England, and did not intend to ſtand to what they promiſed. The General Aſſembly declared againſt it, as an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God; and called it the Unlawful Engagement, which came to be the name commonly given to it in all their pulpits. They every where preached againſt it, and oppoſed the levies all they could by ſolemn denunciations of the wrath and curſe of God on all concerned in them. This was a ſtrange piece of oppoſition to the ſtate, little inferiour to what was pretended to, and put in practice by the Church of Rome.

The ſouth-weſt counties of Scotland have ſeldom corn enough to ſerve them round the year: And the northern parts producing more than they need, thoſe in the weſt come in the ſummer to buy at Leith the ſtores that come from the north: And from a word Whiggam, uſed in driving their horſes, all that drove were called the Whiggamors, and ſhorter the Whiggs. Now in that year, after the news came down of Duke Hamilton's defeat, the Miniſters animated their people to riſe, and march to Edinburgh: And they came up marching on the head of their pariſhes, with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way

as

as they came. The Marquis of Argile and his party came and headed them, they being about 6000. This was called the Whiggamor's inroad: And ever after that all that oppoſed the Court came in contempt to be called Whiggs: And from Scotland the word was brought into England, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of diſtinction. The Miniſters made an inſurrection.

The Committee of their eſtates, with the force they had in their hands, could eaſily have diſſipated this undiſciplin'd herd. But they knowing their own weakneſs ſent to Cromwell deſiring his aſſiſtance. Upon that the Committee ſaw they could not ſtand before him: So they came to a treaty, and delivered up the Government to this new body. Upon their aſſuming it, they declared all who had ſerved or aſſiſted in the engagement incapable of any employment, till they had firſt ſatisfied the Kirk of the truth of their repentance, and made publick profeſſions of it. All Churches were upon that full of mock penitents, ſome making their acknowledgments all in tears to gain more credit with the new party. The Earl of Lowdun, that was Chancellour, had entered into ſolemn promiſes both to the King and the Hamiltons: But when he came to Scotland, his wife, a high covenanter, and an heireſs by whom he had both honour and eſtate, threatned him, if he went on that way, with a proceſs of adultery, in which ſhe could have had very copious proofs: He durſt not ſtand this, and ſo compounded the matter by the deſerting his friends, and turning over to the other ſide: Of which he made publick profeſſion in the Church of Edinburgh with many tears, confeſſing his weakneſs in yielding to the temptation of what had a ſhew of honour and loyalty, for which he expreſſed a hearty ſorrow. Thoſe that came in early with great ſhews of compunction got eaſier off: But thoſe who ſtood out long found it a harder matter

ter to make their Peace. Cromwell came down to Scotland, and saw the new model fully settled.

The treaty in the isle of Wight.

During his absence from the scene, the treaty of the isle of Wight was set on foot by the Parliament, who seeing the army at such a distance took this occasion of treating with the King. Sir Henry Vane, and others who were for a change of Government, had no mind to treat any more. But both city and country were so desirous of a personal treaty, that it could not be resisted. Vane, Pierpoint, and some others went to the treaty on purpose to delay matters till the army could be brought up to London. All that wished well to the treaty prayed the King at their first coming to dispatch the business with all possible haste, and to grant the first day all that he could bring himself to grant on the last. Hollis and Grimstone told me, they had both on their knees begged this of the King. They said, they knew Vane would study to draw out the treaty to a great length: And he, who declared for an unbounded liberty of conscience, would try to gain on the King's party by the offer of a toleration for the common prayer and the episcopal clergy. His design in that was to gain time, till Cromwell should settle Scotland and the north. But they said, if the King would frankly come in without the formality of papers backward and forward, and send them back next day with the concessions that were absolutely necessary, they did not doubt but he should in a very few days be brought up with honour, freedom and safety to the Parliament, and that matters should be brought to a present settlement. Titus, who was then much trusted by the King, and employed in a negotiation with the presbyterian party, told me he had spoke often and earnestly to him in the same strain: But the King could not come to a resolution: And he still fancied, that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the Army, both saw they needed him so much to give them

them the ſuperiour ſtrength, that he imagined by balancing them he would bring both ſides into a greater dependence on himſelf, and force them to better terms. In this Vane flattered the epiſcopal party, to the King's ruin as well as their own. But they ſtill hated the Preſbyterians as the firſt authors of the war; and ſeemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholding to them. Thus the treaty went on with a fatal flowneſs: And by the time it was come to ſome maturity, Cromwell came up with his army and overturned all.

Upon this I will ſet down what Sir Harbotle Grimſton told me a few weeks before his death: Whether it was done at this time or the year before I cannot tell: I rather believe the latter. When the Houſe of Commons and the Army were a quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers, it was propoſed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that ſaid, he was ſure of the Army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the Houſe of Commons, and he thought the Army only could do that. Two officers that were preſent brought an account of this to Grimſton, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, they being reſolved to juſtify it to the Houſe. There was another debate then on foot: But Grimſton diverted it, and ſaid, he had a matter of privilege of the higheſt ſort to lay before them: It was about the being and freedom of the Houſe. So he charged Cromwell with the deſign of putting a force on the Houſe: He had his witneſſes at the door, and deſired they might be examined: They were brought to the barr, and juſtified all that they had ſaid to him, and gave a full relation of all that had paſſed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and his zeal for the ſervice of the houſe: He

Cromwell's diſſimulation.

He ſubmitted himſelf to the providence of God, who it ſeems thought fit to exerciſe him with calumny and ſlander, but he committed his cauſe to him: This he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this ſtrange and bold preamble he made ſo long a ſpeech, juſtifying both himſelf and the reſt of the officers, except a few that ſeemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the Houſe, and wrought ſo much on his party, that what the witneſſes had ſaid was ſo little believed, that had it been moved Grimſton thought that both he and they would have been ſent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modeſt, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: And there was no ſtrength on the other ſide to carry it farther. To compleat the ſcene, as ſoon as ever Cromwell got out of the Houſe, he reſolved to truſt himſelf no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the Houſe.

I had much diſcourſe on this head with one who knew Cromwell well and all that ſet of men; and aſked him how they could excuſe all the prevarications, and other ill things, of which they were viſibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me, they believed there were great occaſions in which ſome men were called to great ſervices, in the doing of which they were excuſed from the common rules of morality: Such were the practices of Ehud and Jael, Samſon and David: And by this they fancied they had a privilege from obſerving the ſtanding rules. It is very obvious how far this principle may be carried, and how all juſtice and mercy may be laid aſide on this pretence by every bold enthuſiaſt. Ludlow in his memoirs juſtifies this force put on the Parliament, as much as he condemns the force that Cromwell and the Army afterwards put on the Houſe: And he ſeems to lay this down for a maxim, that the military

military power ought always to be ſubject to the civil: And yet, without any ſort of reſentment for what he had done, he owns the ſhare he had in the force put on the Parliament at this time. The plain reconciling of this is, that he thought when the Army judged the Parliament was in the wrong they might uſe violence, but not otherwiſe: Which gives the Army a ſuperiour authority, and an inſpection into the proceedings of the Parliament. This ſhews how impoſſible it is to ſet up a Commonwealth in England: For that cannot be brought about but by a military force: And they will ever keep the Parliament in ſubjection to them, and ſo keep up their own authority.

I will leave all that relates to the King's trial and death to common hiſtorians, knowing nothing that is particular of that great tranſaction, which was certainly one of the moſt amazing ſcenes in hiſtory. Ireton was the perſon that drove it on: For Cromwell was all the while in ſome ſuſpence about it. Ireton had the principles and the temper of a Caſſius in him: He ſtuck at nothing that might have turned England to a Commonwealth: And he found out Cook and Bradſhaw, two bold lawyers, as proper inſtruments for managing it. Fairfax was much diſtracted in his mind, and changed purpoſes often every day. The Preſbyterians and the body of the City were much againſt it, and were every where faſting and praying for the King's preſervation. There was not above 8000 of the Army about the town: But theſe were ſelected out of the whole Army, as the moſt engaged in enthuſiaſm: And they were kept at prayer in their way almoſt day and night, except when they were upon duty: So that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury, that ſtruck a terrour into all people. On the other hand the King's party was without ſpirit: And, as many of themſelves have ſaid to me, they could never believe

The men chiefly engaged in the taking the King's life.

lieve his death was really intended till it was too late. They thought all was a pageantry to ſtrike a terrour, and to force the King to ſuch conceſſions as they had a mind to extort from him.

The King's behaviour.

The King himſelf ſhewed a calm and a compoſed firmneſs, which amazed all people; and that ſo much the more, becauſe it was not natural to him. It was imputed to a very extraordinary meaſure of ſupernatural aſſiſtance. Biſhop Juxon did the duty of his function honeſtly, but with a dry coldneſs that could not raiſe the King's thoughts: So that it was owing wholly to ſomewhat within himſelf that he went thro' ſo many indignities with ſo much true greatneſs, without diſorder or any ſort of affectation. Thus he died greater than he had lived; and ſhewed, that which has been often obſerved of the whole race of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than proſperity. His reign both in peace and war was a continual ſeries of errours: So that it does not appear that he had a true judgment of things. He was out of meaſure ſet on following his humour, but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe whom he truſted, chiefly to the Queen. He had too high a notion of the regal power, and thought that every oppoſition to it was rebellion. He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a paper than in fighting a battle. He had a firm averſion to Popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between Proteſtants and Papiſts, by which he loſt the one without gaining the other. His engaging the Duke of Rohan in the war of Rochelle, and then aſſiſting him ſo poorly, and forſaking him at laſt, gave an ill character of him to all the Proteſtants abroad. The Earl of Lauderdale told me, the Duke of Rohan was at Geneva, where he himſelf was, when he received a very long letter, or rather a little book from my father, which gave him a copious account of the beginning of the troubles

in

in Scotland: He tranſlated it to the Duke of Rohan, who expreſſed a vehement indignation at the Court of England for their uſage of him: Of which this was the account he then gave.

The Duke of Buckingham had a ſecret converſation with the Queen of France, of which the Queen-mother was very jealous, and poſſeſſed the King with ſuch a ſenſe of it, that he was ordered immediately to leave the Court. Upon his return to England, under this affront he poſſeſſed the King with ſuch a hatred of that Court, that the Queen was ill uſed on her coming over, and all her ſervants were ſent back. He told him alſo that the Proteſtants were ſo ill uſed, and ſo ſtrong, that if he would protect them they would involve that Kingdom in new wars; which he repreſented as ſo glorious a beginning of his reign, that the King without weighing the conſequence of it ſent one to treat with the Duke of Rohan about it. Great aſſiſtance was promiſed by ſea: So a war was reſolved on, in which the ſhare that our Court had is well enough known. But the infamous part was, that Richlieu got the King of France to make his Queen write an obliging letter to the Duke of Buckingham, aſſuring him that, if he would let Rochelle fall without aſſiſting it, he ſhould have leave to come over, and ſhould ſettle the whole matter of the religion according to their edicts. This was a ſtrange proceeding: But Cardinal Richlieu could turn that weak King as he pleaſed. Upon this the Duke made that ſhameful campaign of the iſle of Rhee. But finding next winter that he was not to be ſuffered to go over into France, and that he was abuſed into a falſe hope, he reſolved to have followed that matter with more vigour, when he was ſtabbed by Felton.

The affair of Rochelle.

There is another ſtory told of the King's conduct during the peaceable part of his reign, which I had from Halewyn of Dort, who was one of the judges in the Court of Holland, and was the wiſeſt

A deſign of making the Spaniſh Netherlands a Commonwealth.

wiſeſt and greateſt man I knew among them. He told me, he had it from his father, who being then the chief man of Dort was of the States, and had the ſecret communicated to him. When Iſabella Clara Eugenia grew old, and began to decline, a great many of her council, apprehending what miſeries they would fall under, when they ſhould be again in the hands of the Spaniards, formed a deſign of making themſelves a free Commonwealth, that, in imitation of the union among the Cantons of Switzerland that were of both religions, there ſhould be a perpetual confederacy between them and the States of the ſeven provinces. This they communicated to Henry Frederick Prince of Orange, and to ſome of the States, who approved of it, but thought it neceſſary to engage the King of England in it. The Prince of Orange told the Engliſh Embaſſadour, that there was a matter of great conſequence that was fit to be laid before the King; but it was of ſuch a nature, and ſuch perſons were concerned in it, that it could not be communicated, unleſs the King would be pleaſed to promiſe abſolute ſecrecy for the preſent. The King did: And then the Prince of Orange ſent him the whole ſcheme. The ſecret was ill kept: Either the King truſted it to ſome who diſcovered it, or the paper was ſtollen from him; for it was ſent over to the Court of Bruxells: One of the Miniſtry loſt his head for it: And ſome took the alarm ſo quickly that they got to Holland out of danger. After this the Prince of Orange had no commerce with our Court, and often lamented that ſo great a deſign was ſo unhappily loſt. He had an ill opinion of the King's conduct of the war; for when the Queen came over, and brought ſome of the generals with her, the Prince ſaid, after he had talked with them, (as the late King told me,) he did not wonder to ſee the affairs of England decline as they did, ſince he had talked with the King's generals.

I will

I will not enter farther into the military part: For I remember an advice of Marshal Schomberg's, never to meddle in the relation of military matters. He said, some affected to relate those affairs in all the terms of war, in which they committed great errours, that exposed them to the scorn of all commanders, who must despise relations that pretend to an exactness when there were blunders in every part of them.

In the King's death the ill effect of extreme violent counsels discovered itself. Ireton hoped that by this all men concerned in it would become irreconcileable to monarchy, and would act as desperate men, and destroy all that might revenge that blood. But this had a very different effect. Something of the same nature had happened in lower instances before: But they were not the wiser for it. The Earl of Strafford's death made all his former errours be forgot: It raised his character, and cast a lasting odium on that way of proceeding; whereas he had sunk in his credit by any censure lower than death, and had been little pitied, if not thought justly punished. The like effect followed upon Archbishop Laud's death. He was a learned, a sincere and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiscreet man, eagerly pursuing some matters that were either very inconsiderable or mischievous, such as setting the communion table by the east walls of churches, bowing to it, and calling it the Altar, the suppressing the Walloons privileges, the breaking of lectures, the encouraging of sports on the Lord's day, with some other things that were of no value: And yet all the zeal and heat of that time was laid out on these. His severity in the Star-chamber and in the High-Commission-Court, but above all his violent and indeed inexcusable injustice in the prosecution of Bishop Williams,

The ill effects of violent counsels.

were ſuch viſible blemiſhes, that nothing but the putting him to death in ſo unjuſt a manner could have raiſed his character; which indeed it did to a degree of ſetting him up as a pattern, and the eſtabliſhing all his notions as ſtandards, by which judgments are to be made of men whether they are true to the church or not. His diary, tho' it was a baſe thing to publiſh it, repreſents him as an abject fawner on the Duke of Buckingham, and as a ſuperſtitious regarder of dreams: His defence of himſelf, writ with ſo much care when he was in the Tower, is a very mean performance. He intended in that to make an appeal to the world. In moſt particulars he excuſes himſelf by this, that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-chamber, or High-Commiſſion voted illegal things. Now tho' this was true, yet a chief Miniſter, and one in high favour, determines the reſt ſo much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. On other occaſions he ſays, the thing was proved but by one witneſs. Now, how ſtrong ſoever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or how defective the proof is. The thing that gave me the ſtrongeſt prejudice againſt him in that book is, that after he had ſeen the ill effects of his violent counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and ſo long at leiſure to reflect on what paſſed in the hurry of paſſion, in the exaltation of his proſperity, he does not in any one part of that great work acknowledge his own errours, nor mix in it any wiſe or pious reflections on the ill uſage he met with or the unhappy ſteps he had made: So that while his enemies did really magnify him by their inhuman proſecution, his friends Heylin and Wharton have as much leſſened him, the one by writing his life, and the other by publiſhing his vindication of himſelf.

But

But the recoiling of cruel counſels on the authors of them never appeared more eminently than in the death of King Charles the firſt, whoſe ſerious and chriſtian deportment in it made all his former errours be entirely fogot, and raiſed a compaſſionate regard to him, that drew a laſting hatred on the actors, and was the true occaſion of the great turn of the nation in the year 1660. This was much heightened by the publiſhing of his book called Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, which was univerſally believed to be his own: And that coming out ſoon after his death had the greateſt run, in many impreſſions, that any book has had in our age. There was in it a nobleneſs and juſtneſs of thought with a greatneſs of ſtile, that made it to be look'd on as the beſt writ book in the Engliſh language: And the piety of the prayers made all people cry out againſt the murder of a Prince, who thought ſo ſeriouſly of all his affairs in his ſecret meditations before God. I was bred up with a high veneration of this book: And I remember that, when I heard how ſome denied it to be his, I aſked the Earl of Lothian about it, who both knew the King very well and loved him little: He ſeemed confident it was his own work; for he ſaid, he had heard him ſay a great many of thoſe very periods that he found in that book. Being thus confirmed in that perſuaſion, I was not a little ſurpriſed, when in the year 1673, in which I had a great ſhare of favour and free converſation with the then Duke of York, afterwards King James the ſecond, as he ſuffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion, and as I was urging him with ſomewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the Prince of Wales was never brought to him. He ſaid, Dr. Gawden writ it: After the reſtoration he brought the Duke of Somerſet and the Earl of Southampton both to the King and to himſelf,

The account of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the Earl of Southampton, and shewed the King during the treaty of Newport, who read it, and approved of it as containing his sense of things. Upon this he told me, that tho' Sheldon and the other Bishops opposed Gawden's promotion because he had taken the Covenant, yet the merits of that service carried it for him, notwithstanding the opposition made to it. There has been a great deal of disputing about this book: Some are so zealous for maintaining it to be the King's, that they think a man false to the Church that doubts it to be his: Yet the evidence since that time brought to the contrary has been so strong, that I must leave that under the same uncertainty under which I found it: Only this is certain, that Gawden never writ any thing with that force, his other writings being such, that no man from a likeness of style would think him capable of writing so extraordinary a book as that is.

The Scots treat with King Charles the second.

Upon the King's death the Scots proclaimed his son King, and sent over Sir George Wincam, that married my great aunt, to treat with him while he was in the isle of Jersey. The King entred into a negotiation with them, and sent him back with general assurances of consenting to every reasonable proposition that they should send him. He named the Hague for the place of treaty, he being to go thither in a few days. So the Scots sent over commissioners, the chief of whom were the Earls of Cassiles and Lothian, the former of these was my first wife's father, a man of great virtue and of a considerable degree of good understanding: He was so sincere, that he would suffer no man to take his words in any other sense than as he meant them: He adhered firmly to his instructions, but with so much candour, that King Charles retained very kind impressions of it to his life's end. The man then in the greatest favour with the King was the

Duke

Duke of Buckingham: He was wholly turned to mirth and pleaſure: He had the art of turning perſons or things into ridicule beyond any man of the age: He poſſeſſed the young King with very ill principles, both as to religion and morality, and with a very mean opinion of his father, whoſe ſtiffneſs was with him a frequent ſubject of raillery. He prevailed with the King to enter into a treaty with the Scots, tho' that was vehemently oppoſed by almoſt all the reſt that were about him, who preſſed him to adhere ſteadily to his father's maxims and example.

When the King came to the Hague, William Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Lauderdale, who had left Scotland, entred into a great meaſure of favour and confidence with him. The Marquis of Montroſe came likewiſe to him, and undertook if he would follow his counſels to reſtore him to his Kingdoms by main force: But when the King deſired the Prince of Orange to examine the methods which he propoſed, he entertained him with a recital of his own performances and of the credit he was in among the people; and ſaid, the whole nation would riſe if he went over, tho' accompanied only with a page. He deſired of the King nothing but power to act in his name, with a ſupply in money, and a letter recommending him to the King of Denmark for a ſhip to carry him over, and for ſuch arms as he could ſpare. With that the King gave him the Garter. He got firſt to Orkney, and from thence into the Highlands of Scotland; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken. At laſt he was betrayed by one of thoſe to whom he truſted himſelf, Mackland of Aſſin, and was brought over a priſoner to Edinburgh. He was carried thro' the ſtreets with all the infamy that brutal men could contrive: And in a few days he was hanged on a very high gibbet: And his head and quarters were ſet up in divers places of the

Montroſe's offers.

And death

Kingdom. His behaviour under all that barbarous uſage was as great and firm to the laſt, looking on all that was done to him with a noble ſcorn, as the fury of his enemies was black and univerſally deteſted. This cruelty raiſed a horrour in all ſober people againſt thoſe who could inſult over ſuch a man in misfortunes. The triumphs that the preachers made on this occaſion rendered them odious, and made Lord Montroſe to be both more pitied and lamented, than otherwiſe he could have been. This happened while the Scotch commiſſiners were treating with the King at the Hague. The violent party in Scotland were for breaking off the treaty upon it, tho' by the date of Lord Montroſe's commiſſion it appeared to have been granted before the treaty was begun: But it was carried not to recall their commiſſioners: Nor could the King on the other hand be prevailed on by his own Court, to ſend them away, upon this cruelty to a man who had acted by his commiſſion, and yet was ſo uſed. The treaty was quickly concluded: The King was in no condition to ſtruggle with them, but yielded to all their demands, of taking the Covenant, and ſuffering none to be about him but ſuch as took it. He ſailed home to Scotland in ſome Dutch men of war, with which the Prince of Orange furniſhed him, with all the ſtock of money and arms that his credit could raiſe. That indeed would not have been very great, if the Prince of Orange had not joined his own to it. The Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Lauderdale were ſuffered to go home with him: But ſoon after his landing an order came to put them from him. The King complained of this: But Duke Hamilton at parting told him, he muſt prepare for things of a harder digeſtion: He ſaid, at preſent he could do him no ſervice: The Marquis of Argile was then in abſolute credit: Therefore he deſired that he would ſtudy to gain him, and give him no cauſe of jealouſy on his account.

This

This King Charles told me himſelf, as a part of Duke Hamilton's character, The Duke of Buckingham took all the ways poſſible to gain Lord Argile and the Miniſters: Only his diſſolute courſe of life was exceſſive ſcandalous; which to their great reproach they connived at, becauſe he adviſed the King to put himſelf wholly into their hands. The King wrought himſelf into as grave a deportment as he could: He heard many prayers and ſermons, ſome of a great length. I remember in one faſt day there were ſix ſermons preached without intermiſſion. I was there my ſelf, and not a little weary of ſo tedious a ſervice. The King was not allowed ſo much as to walk abroad on ſundays: And if at any time there had been any gaiety at Court, ſuch as dancing or playing at cards, he was ſeverely reproved for it. This was managed with ſo much rigour, and ſo little diſcretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in him an averſion to all ſort of ſtrictneſs in religion. All that had acted on his father's ſide were ordered to keep at a great diſtance from him: And becauſe the common people ſhewed ſome affection to the King, the crouds that preſs'd to ſee him were alſo kept off from coming about him. Cromwell was not idle: But ſeeing the Scots were calling home their King, and knowing that from thence he might expect an invaſion into England, he reſolved to prevent them, and ſo marched into Scotland with his army. The Scots brought together a very good army: The King was ſuffered to come once to ſee it, but not to ſtay in it; for they were afraid he might gain too much upon the ſoldiers: So he was ſent away.

The army was indeed one of the beſt that ever Scotland had brought together: But it was ill commanded: For all that had made defection from their cauſe, or that were thought indifferent as to either ſide, which they called deteſtable neutrality, were put out of commiſſion. The preachers thought it an army of ſaints, and ſeemed well aſſured

The defeat at Dunbar.

aſſured of ſucceſs. They drew near Cromwell, who being preſſed by them retired towards Dunbar, where his ſhips and proviſions lay. The Scots followed him, and were poſted on a hill about a mile from thence, where there was no attacking them. Cromwell was then in great diſtreſs, and looked on himſelf as undone. There was no marching towards Berwick, the ground was too narrow: Nor could he come back into the country without being ſeparated from his ſhips, and ſtarving his army. The leaſt evil ſeemed to be to kill his horſes, and put his army on board, and ſail back to Newcaſtle; which, in the diſpoſition that England was in at that time, would have been all their deſtruction, for it would have occaſioned an univerſal inſurrection for the King. They had not above three days forage for their horſes. So Cromwell called his officers to a day of ſeeking the Lord, in their ſtyle. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards: He ſaid, he felt ſuch an enlargement of heart in prayer, and ſuch quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of Roxburgh's gardens that lay under the hill: And by proſpective glaſſes they diſcerned a great motion in the Scotch Camp: Upon which Cromwell ſaid, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. Leſley was in the chief command: But he had a committee of the States to give him his orders, among whom Wariſtoun was one. Theſe were weary of lying in the fields, and thought that Leſley made not haſte enough to deſtroy thoſe Sectaries; for ſo they came to call them. He told them, by lying there all was ſure; but that by engaging in action with gallant and deſperate men all might be loſt: Yet they ſtill called on him to fall on. Many have thought that all this was treachery done on deſign to deliver up our army to Cromwell; ſome laying

it

it upon Leſley, and others upon my uncle. I am perſuaded there was no treachery in it: Only Wariſtoun was too hot, and Leſley was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ought not to have done. They were all the night employed in coming down the hill: And in the morning, before they were put in order, Cromwell fell upon them. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks: The reſt did run in a moſt ſhameful manner: So that both their artillery and baggage were loſt, and with theſe a great many priſoners were taken, ſome thouſands in all. Cromwell upon this advanced to Edinburgh, where he was received without any oppoſition: And the caſtle that might have made a long reſiſtance did capitulate. So all the ſouthern part of Scotland came under contribution to Cromwell. Stirling was the advanced garriſon on the King's ſide. He himſelf retired to St. Johnſtoun. A Parliament was called that ſat for ſome time at Stirling, and for ſome time at St. Johnſtoun, in which a full indemnity was paſs'd, not in the language of a pardon but of an act of approbation: Only all that joined with Cromwell were declared traitors. But now the way of raiſing a new army was to be thought on.

A queſtion had been propoſed both to the committee of States and to the commiſſioners of the Kirk, whether in this extremity thoſe who had made defection, or had been hitherto too backward in the work, might not upon the profeſſion of their repentance be received into publick truſt, and admitted to ſerve in the defence of their country. To this anſwers were diſtinctly given by two reſolutions: The one was, that they ought to be admitted to make profeſſion of their repentance: And the other was, that after ſuch profeſſions made they might be received to defend and ſerve their country.

Diſputes about the admitting of all perſons to ſerve their country.

Upon

Upon this a great diviſion followed in the Kirk: Thoſe who adhered to theſe reſolutions were called the Publick Reſolutioners: But againſt theſe ſome of thoſe bodies proteſted, and they, together with thoſe who adhered to them, were called the Proteſtors. On the one hand it was ſaid, that every government might call out all that were under its protection to its defence: This ſeemed founded on the law of nature and of nations: And, if men had been miſled, it was a ſtrange cruelty to deny room for repentance: This was contrary to the nature of God and to the Goſpel, and was a likely mean to drive them to deſpair: Therefore after two years time it ſeemed reaſonable to allow them to ſerve according to their birthright in Parliament, or in other hereditary offices, or in the army; from all which they had been excluded by an act made in the year 1649, which ranged them in different claſſes, and was from thence called the act of claſſes. But the Proteſtors objected againſt all this, that to take in men of known enmity to the cauſe was a ſort of betraying it, becauſe it was the putting it in their power to betray it; that to admit them into a profeſſion of repentance was a profanation, and a mocking of God: It was viſible, they were willing to comply with theſe terms, tho' againſt their conſcience, only to get into the army: Nor could they expect a bleſſing from God on an army ſo conſtituted. And as to this particular they had great advantage; for this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great ſcandal. When theſe reſolutions were paſs'd with this proteſtation, a great many of the five weſtern counties, Cliddiſdale, Renfrew, Air, Galloway and Nithiſdale, met, and formed an aſſociation apart, both againſt the army of Sectaries, and againſt this new defection in the Kirk party. They drew a remonſtrance againſt all the proceedings in the treaty with the King, when, as they ſaid, it was viſible by the commiſſion he granted to Montroſe that his heart was not ſincere: And they were

alſo

alſo againſt the tendring him the Covenant, when they had reaſon to believe he took it not with a reſolution to maintain it, ſince his whole deportment and private converſation ſhewed a ſecret enmity to the work of God: And, after an invidious enumeration of many particulars, they imputed the ſhameful defeat at Dunbar to their prevaricating in theſe things; and concluded with a deſire, that the King might be excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of the Government, and that his cauſe might be put out of the ſtate of the quarrel with the army of the Sectaries. This was brought to the committee of the States at St. Johnſtoun, and was ſeverely inveighed againſt by Sir Thomas Nicholſon, the King's advocate or attorney general there, who had been till then a zealous man of their party: But he had lately married my ſiſter, and my father had great influence on him. He prevailed ſo, that the remonſtrance was condemned as diviſive, factious, and ſcandalous: But that the people might not be too much moved with theſe things, a declaration was prepared to be ſet out by the King for the ſatisfying of them. In it there were many hard things. The King owned the ſin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family: He acknowledged the blood-ſhed in the late wars lay at his father's door: He expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drunk in againſt the cauſe of God, of which he was now very ſenſible: He confeſſed all the former parts of his life to have been a courſe of enmity to the work of God: He repented of his commiſſion to Montroſe, and of every thing he had done that gave offence: And with ſolemn proteſtations he affirmed, that he was now ſincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life in Scotland, England, and Ireland.

Great hardſhips put on the King.

The King was very uneaſy when this was brought to him. He ſaid, he could never look his mother

in

in the face if he paſs'd it. But when he was told it was neceſſary for his affairs, he reſolved to ſwallow the pill without farther chewing it. So it was publiſhed, but had no good effect; for neither ſide believed him ſincere in it. It was thought a ſtrange impoſition, to make him load his father's memory in ſuch a manner. But, while the King was thus beſet with the high and more moderate Kirk parties, the old Cavaliers ſent to him, offering that if he would caſt himſelf into their hands they would meet him near Dundee with a great body. Upon this the King, growing weary of the ſad life he led, made his eſcape in the night, and came to the place appointed: But it was a vain undertaking; for he was met by a very inconſiderable body at Clova, the place of rendezvous. Thoſe at St. Johnſtoun being troubled at this ſent Col. Montgomery after him, who came up and preſs'd him to return very rudely: So the King came back. But this had a very good effect. The government ſaw now the danger of uſing him ill, which might provoke him to deſperate courſes: After that, he was uſed as well as that Kingdom in ſo ill a ſtate was capable of. He ſaw the neceſſity of courting the Marquis of Argile, and therefore made him great offers: At laſt he talked of marrying his daughter. Lord Argile was cold and backward: He ſaw the King's heart lay not to him: So he looked on all offers, but as ſo many ſnares. His ſon, the Lord Lorn, was captain of the guards: And he made his court more dextrouſly; for he brought all perſons that the King had a mind to ſpeak with at all hours to him, and was in all reſpects not only faithful but zealous. Yet this was ſuſpected as a colluſion between the father and the ſon. The King was crowned on the firſt of January: And there he again renewed the Covenant: And now all people were admitted to come to him, and to ſerve in the army. The two armies lay peaceably in their winter quarters. But when the ſummer came on,

a body of the Engliſh paſs'd the Frith, and landed in Fife. So the King, having got up all the forces he had expected, reſolved on a march into England. Scotland could not maintain another year's war. This was a deſperate reſolution: But there was nothing elſe to be done.

I will not purſue the relation of the march to Worceſter, nor the total defeat given the King's army on the third of September, the ſame day in which Dunbar fight had been fought the year before. Theſe things are ſo well known, as is alſo the King's eſcape, that I can add nothing to the common relations that have been over and over made of them. At the ſame time that Cromwell followed the King into England, he left Monk in Scotland with an army ſufficient to reduce the reſt of the Kingdom. The town of Dundee made a raſh and ill conſidered reſiſtance: It was after a few days ſiege taken by ſtorm: Much blood was ſhed, and the town was ſeverely plundered: No other place made any reſiſtance. I remember well three regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an order and diſcipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Moſt of them were Independents and Anabaptiſts: They were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never diſturbed the publick aſſemblies in the churches but once. They came and reproached the preachers for laying things to their charge that were falſe. I was then preſent: The debate grew very fierce: At laſt they drew their ſwords: But there was no hurt done: Yet Cromwell diſplaced the governour for not puniſhing this.

Scotland was ſubdued by Monk.

When the low-countries in Scotland were thus reduced, ſome of the more zealous of the nobility went to the Highlands in the year 1653. The Earl of Glencairn, a grave and ſober man, got the tribe of the Macdonalds to declare for the King. To theſe the Lord Lorn came with about a thouſand

A body ſtood out in the Highlands.

ſand men: But the jealouſy of the father made the ſon be ſuſpected. The Marquis of Argile had retired into his country when the King marched into England; and did not ſubmit to Monk till the year 52. Then he received a garriſon: But Lord Lorn ſurpriſed a ſhip that was ſent about with proviſions to it, which helped to ſupport their little ill-formed army. Many gentlemen came to them: And almoſt all the good horſes of the Kingdom were ſtollen, and carried up to them. They made a body of about 3000: Of theſe they had about 500 horſe. They endured great hardſhips; for thoſe parts were not fit to entertain men that had been accuſtomed to live ſoftly. The Earl of Glencairn had almoſt ſpoiled all: For he took much upon him: And upon ſome ſuſpicion he ordered Lord Lorn to be clapt up, who had notice of it, and prevented it by an eſcape: Otherwiſe they had fallen to cut one another's throats, inſtead of marching to the enemy. The Earl of Belcarras, a virtuous and knowing man but ſomewhat moroſe in his humour, went alſo among them. They differed in their counſels: Lord Glencairn was for falling into the low-countries: And he began to fancy he ſhould be another Montroſe. Belcarras on the other hand was for keeping in their faſtneſſes: They made a ſhew of a body for the King, which they were to keep up in ſome reputation as long as they could, till they could ſee what aſſiſtance the King might be able to procure them from beyond ſea of men, money and arms; whereas if they went out of thoſe faſt grounds, they could not hope to ſtand before ſuch a veteran and well diſciplined army as Monk had; and if they met with the leaſt check, their tumultuary body would ſoon melt away.

Sir Robert Murray's character.

Among others one Sir Robert Murray, that had married Lord Belcarras's ſiſter, came among them: He had ſerved in France, where he had got into ſuch a degree of favour with Cardinal Richlieu, that few ſtrangers were ever ſo much conſidered by him

him as he was. He was raiſed to be a Colonel there, and came over for recruits when the King was with the Scotch army at Newcaſtle. There he grew into high favour with the King; and laid a deſign for his eſcape, of which I have given an account in Duke Hamilton's memoirs: He was the moſt univerſally beloved and eſteemed by men of all ſides and ſorts, of any man I have ever known in my whole Life. He was a pious man, and in the midſt of armies and courts he ſpent many hours a day in devotion. He had gone thro' the eaſy parts of mathematicks, and knew the hiſtory of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like Peïriſki, as he is deſcribed by Gaſſendi. He was afterwards the firſt former of the Royal ſociety, and its firſt preſident; and while he lived he was the life and ſoul of that body. He had an equality of temper in him that nothing could alter; and was in practice the only Stoick I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles; for he was much for abſolute decrees. He had a moſt diffuſed love to all mankind, and he delighted in every occaſion of doing good, which he managed with great diſcretion and zeal. He had a ſuperiority of genius and comprehenſion to moſt men: And had the plaineſt, but with all the ſofteſt, way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults that I ever met with. Sir Robert Murray was in ſuch credit in that little army, that Lord Glencairn took a ſtrange courſe to break it, and to ruin him. A letter was pretended to be found at Antwerp, as writ by him to William Murray of the bed-chamber, that had been whipping boy to King Charles the firſt, and upon that had grown up to a degree of favour and confidence that was very particular: He had a leud creature there, whom he turned off: And ſhe to be revenged on him framed this plot againſt him. This ill forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir Robert had made with Monk for killing the

King, which was to be executed by Mr. Murray: So he prayed him in his letter to make haſte and diſpatch it. This was brought to the Earl of Glencairn: So Sir Robert was ſeverely queſtioned upon it, and put in arreſt: And it was ſpread about thro' a rude army that he intended to kill the King, hoping it ſeems that ſome of theſe wild people believing it would have fallen upon him without uſing any forms. Upon this occaſion Sir Robert practiſed in a very eminent manner his true chriſtian philoſophy, without ſhewing ſo much as a cloud in his whole behaviour.

The Earl of Belcarras left the Highlands, and went to the King; and ſhewed him the neceſſity of ſending a military man to command that body, to whom they would ſubmit more willingly than to any of the Nobility. Midletoun was ſent over, who was a gallant man and a good officer: He had firſt ſerved on the Parliament's ſide: But he turned over to the King, and was taken at Worceſter fight, but made his eſcape out of the Tower. He upon his coming over did for ſome time lay the heats that were among the Highlanders; and made as much of that face of an army for another year as was poſſible.

Meſſages ſent to the King.

Drumond was ſent by him to Paris with an invitation to the King to come among them; for they had aſſurances ſent them, that the whole Nation was in a diſpoſition to riſe with them: And England was beginning to grow weary of their new government, the Army and the Parliament being on ill terms. The Engliſh were alſo engaged in a war with the States: And the Dutch upon that account might be inclined to aſſiſt the King to give a diverſion to their enemies forces. Drumond told me, that upon his coming to Paris he was called to the little Council that was then about the King: And when he had delivered his meſſage, Chancellour Hide aſked him, how the King would be accommodated if he came among them: He anſwered,

ſwered, not ſo well as was fitting, but they would all take care of him to furniſh him with every thing that was neceſſary. He wondered that the King did not check the Chancellour in his demand; for he ſaid, it looked ſtrange to him, that when they were hazarding their lives to help him to a crown, he ſhould be concerned for accommodation. He was ſent back with good words and a few kind letters. In the end of the year 1654 Morgan marched into the Highlands, and had a ſmall engagement with Midletoun, which broke that whole matter, of which all people were grown weary; for they had no proſpect of ſucceſs, and the low countries were ſo over-run with robberies on the pretence of going to aſſiſt the Highlanders, that there was an univerſal joy at the diſperſing of that little unruly army.

The ſtate of Scotland during the uſurpation.

After this the country was kept in great order: Some caſtles in the Highlands had garriſons put in them, that were ſo careful in their diſcipline, and ſo exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order than during the uſurpation. There was a conſiderable force of about 7 or 8000 men kept in Scotland: Theſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplined. The pay of the army brought ſo much money into the Kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flouriſhing ſtate. Cromwell built three citadels, at Leith, Air, and Inverneſs, beſides many little forts. There was good juſtice done, and vice was ſuppreſs'd and puniſhed; ſo that we always reckon thoſe eight years of uſurpation a time of great peace and proſperity. There was alſo a ſort of union of the three Kingdoms in one Parliament, where Scotland had its repreſentative. The Marquis of Argile went up one of our commiſſioners.

Diſputes among the Covenanters.

The next ſcene I muſt open relates to the church, and the heats raiſed in it by the publick reſolutions, and the proteſtation made againſt them.

New occaſions of diſpute aroſe. A General Aſſembly was in courſe to meet; and ſate at St. Andrews: So the commiſſion of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Preſbyteries, ſetting forth all the grounds of their reſolutions, and complaining of thoſe who had proteſted againſt them; upon which they deſired that they would chuſe none of thoſe who adhered to the proteſtation to repreſent them in the next aſſembly. This was only an advice, and had been frequently practiſed in the former years: But now it was highly complained of, as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings: So the Proteſtors renewed their proteſtation againſt the meeting upon a higher point, diſowning that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the higheſt tribunal in the church, in which they thought Chriſt was in his throne. Upon this a great debate followed, and many books were written in a courſe of ſeveral years. The Publick men ſaid, this was the deſtroying of Preſbytery, if the leſſer number did not ſubmit to the greater: It was a ſort of Prelacy, if it was pretended that votes ought rather to be weighed than counted: Parity was the eſſence of their conſtitution: And in this all people ſaw they had clearly the better of the argument. The Proteſtors urged for themſelves, that, ſince all Proteſtants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the church might fall into errours, in which caſe the leſſer number could not be bound to ſubmit to them: They complained of the many corrupt Clergymen who were yet among them, who were leavened with the old leaven, and did on all occaſions ſhew what was ſtill at heart notwithſtanding all their outward compliance: (For the epiſcopal Clergy, that had gone into the Covenant and Preſbytery to hold their livings, ſtruck in with great heat to inflame the controverſy: And it appeared very viſibly that Preſbytery, if not held in order

order by the civil power, could not be long kept in quiet:) If in the ſupream Court of judicature the majority did not conclude the matter, it was not poſſible to keep up their beloved parity: It was confeſſed that in doctrinal points the leſſer number was not bound to ſubmit to the greater: But in the matters of mere government it was impoſſible to maintain the Preſbyterian form on any other bottom.

As this debate grew hot, and they were ready to break out into cenſures on both ſides, ſome were ſent down from the Commonwealth of England to ſettle Scotland: Of theſe Sir Henry Vane was one. The Reſolutioners were known to have been more in the King's intereſt: So they were not ſo kindly looked on as the Proteſtors. Some of the Engliſh Juncta moved, that pains ſhould be taken to unite the two parties. But Vane oppoſed this with much zeal: He ſaid, would they heal the wound that they had given themſelves, which weakened them ſo much? The ſetting them at quiet could have no other effect, but to heal and unite them in their oppoſition to their authority: He therefore moved, that they might be left at liberty to fight out their own quarrels, and be kept in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both ſides were forced to make their appeal to it: So it was reſolved to ſuffer them to meet ſtill in their Preſbyteries and Synods, but not in General Aſſemblies, which had a greater face of union and authority.

This advice was followed: So the diviſion went on. Both ſides ſtudied when any church became vacant to get a man of their own party to be choſen to ſucceed in the election: And upon theſe occaſions many tumults happened: In ſome of them ſtones were thrown, and many were wounded, to the great ſcandal of religion. In all theſe diſputes the Proteſtors were the fiercer ſide: For being leſs in number they ſtudied to make that up with

their fury. In one point they had the other at a great advantage, with relation to their new masters, who required them to give over praying for the King. The Protestors were weary of doing it, and submitted very readily: But the others stood out longer; and said, it was a duty lying on them by the Covenant, so they could not let it fall. Upon that the English Council set out an order, that such as should continue to pray for the King should be denied the help of law to recover their tithes, or as they called them, their stipends. This touched them in a sensible point: But, that they might not seem to act upon the civil authority, they did enact it in their Presbyteries, that since all duties did not oblige at all times, therefore considering the present juncture, in which the King could not protect them, they resolved to discontinue that piece of duty. This exposed them to much censure, since such a carnal consideration as the force of law for their benefices, (which all regard but too much tho' few will own it,) seemed to be that which determined them.

Methods taken on both sides.

This great breach among them being rather encouraged than suppressed by those who were in power, all the methods imaginable were used by the Protestors to raise their credit among the people. They preached often, and very long; and seemed to carry their devotions to a greater sublimity than others did. Their constant topick was, the sad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the church, and they often proposed several expedients for purging it. The truth was, they were more active, and their performances were livelier, than those of the Publick men*. They were in nothing more singular than in their communions. In many places the sacrament was

* The meaning must be, by Publick men, those who acted pursuant to the resolutions of the general assemblies, in whom the publick authority of the Kirk was then vested by law.

discon-

diſcontinued for ſeveral years; where they thought the magiſtracy, or the more eminent of the pariſh, were engaged in what they called the defection, which was much more looked at than ſcandal given by bad lives. But where the greateſt part was more ſound, they gave the ſacrament with a new and unuſual ſolemnity. On the Wedneſday before they held a faſt day with prayers and ſermons for about eight or ten hours together: On the Saturday they had two or three preparation ſermons: And on the Lord's day they had ſo very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in ſome places: And all ended with three or four ſermons on Monday for thankſgiving. A great many miniſters were brought together from ſeveral parts: And high pretenders would have gone 40 or 50 miles to a noted communion. The crouds were far beyond the capacity of their churches, or the reach of their voices: So at the ſame time they had ſermons in two or three different places: And all was performed with great ſhew of zeal. They had ſtories of many ſignal converſions that were wrought on theſe occaſions.

It is ſcarce credible what an effect this had among the people, to how great a meaſure of knowledge they were brought, and how readily they could pray extempore, and talk of divine matters. All this tended to raiſe the credit of the Proteſtors. The Reſolutioners tried to imitate them in theſe practices: But they were not thought ſo ſpiritual, nor ſo ready at them: So the others had the chief following. When the judicatories of the church were near an equality of the men of both ſides, there were perpetual janglings among them: At laſt they proceeded to deprive men of both ſides, as they were the majority in the judicatories: But becauſe the poſſeſſion of the church, and the benefice, was to depend on the orders of the temporal Courts, both ſides made their application to the privy Council

that Cromwell had set up in Scotland: And they were by them referred to Cromwell himself. So they sent deputies up to London. The Protestors went in great numbers: They came nearer both to the principles, and to the temper that prevailed in the army: So they were looked on as the better men, on whom, by reason of the first rise of the difference, the government might more certainly depend: Whereas the others were considered as more in the King's interests.

The Resolutioners sent up one Sharp, who had been long in England, and was an active and eager man: He had a very small proportion of learning, and was but an indifferent preacher: But having some acquaintance with the Presbyterian Ministers at London, whom Cromwell was then courting much by reason of their credit in the City, he was by an errour that proved fatal to the whole party sent up in their name to London; where he continued for some years soliciting their concerns, and making himself known to all sorts of people. He seemed more than ordinary zealous for Presbytery. And, as Cromwell was then designing to make himself King, Dr. Wilkins told me he often said to him, no temporal government could have a sure support without a national church that adhered to it, and he thought England was capable of no constitution but episcopacy, to which, he told me, he did not doubt but Cromwell would have turned, as soon as the design of his Kingship was settled. Upon this Wilkins spoke to Sharp, that it was plain by their breach that Presbytery could not be managed so as to maintain order among them, and that an episcopacy must be brought in to settle them: But Sharp could not bear the discourse, and rejected it with horror. I have dwelt longer on this matter, and opened it more fully than was necessary, if I had not thought that this may have a good effect on the reader, and shew him how impossible

impossible it is in a parity to maintain peace and order, if the magistrate does not interpose: And if he does, that will be cried out upon by the zealots of both sides, as abominable Erastianism.

From these matters I go next to set down some particulars that I knew concerning Cromwell, that I have not yet seen in books. Some of these I had from the Earls of Carlisle and Orrery: The one had been the captain of his guards: And the other had been the president of his council in Scotland. But he from whom I learned the most was Stouppe, a Grison by birth, then Minister of the French Church in Savoy, and afterwards a brigadeer general in the French armies: A man of intrigue, but of no virtue: He adhered to the Protestant religion as to outward appearance: He was much trusted by Cromwell in foreign affairs; in which Cromwell was oft at a loss, and having no foreign language, but the little latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very vitiously and scantily, had not the necessary means of informing himself. Some of Cromwell's maxims.

When Cromwell first assumed the government, he had three great parties of the Nation all against him, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Republican party. The last was the most set on his ruin, looking on him as the person that had perfidiously broke the House of Commons, and was setting up for himself. He had none to rely on but the Army: Yet that enthusiastick temper, that he had taken so much pains to raise among them, made them very intractable: Many of the chief officers were broken, and imprisoned by him: And he flattered the rest the best he could. He went on in his old way of long and dark discourses, sermons, and prayers. As to the Cavalier party, he was afraid both of assassination and other plottings from them. As to the former of these he took a method that proved very effectual: He said often and openly, that in a war it

was

was neceſſary to return upon any ſide all the violent things that any of the one ſide did to the other: This was done for preventing greater miſchief, and for bringing men to fair war: Therefore, he ſaid, aſſaſſinations were ſuch deteſtable things that he would never begin them: But if any of the King's party ſhould endeavour to aſſaſſinate him, and fail in it, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and deſtroy the whole family: And he pretended he had inſtruments to execute it, whenſoever he ſhould give order for it. The terrour of this was a better ſecurity to him than his guards.

The other as to their plottings was the more dangerous. But he underſtood that one Sir Richard Willis was Chancellour Hide's chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party ſubmitted, looking on him as an able and wiſe man in whom they confided abſolutely. So he found a way to talk with him: He ſaid, he did not intend to hurt any of the party: His deſign was rather to ſave them from ruin: They were apt after their cups to run into fooliſh and ill concerted plots, which ſignified nothing but to ruin thoſe who engaged in them: He knew they conſulted him in every thing: All he deſired of him was to know all their plots, that he might ſo diſconcert them that none might ever ſuffer for them: If he clapt any of them up in priſon, it ſhould only be for a little time: And they ſhould be interrogated only about ſome trifling diſcourſe, but never about the buſineſs they had been engaged in. He offered Willis whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleaſed. He durſt not aſk or take above 200 pound a year. None was truſted with this but his ſecretary Thurlo, who was a very dexterous man at getting intelligence.

Thus Cromwell had all the King's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleaſure: And

upon

upon occaſions clapt them up for a ſhort while: But nothing was ever diſcovered that hurt any of them. In concluſion, after Cromwell's death, Willis continued to give notice of every thing to Thurlo. At laſt, when the plot was laid among the Cavaliers for a general inſurrection, the King was deſired to come over to that which was to be raiſed in Suſſex: He was to have landed near Chicheſter, all by Willis's management: And a ſnare was laid for him, in which he would probably have been caught, if Morland, Thurlo's under ſecretary, who was a prying man, had not diſcovered the correſpondence between his Maſter and Willis, and warned the King of his danger. Yet it was not eaſy to perſuade thoſe who had truſted Willis ſo much, and who thought him faithful in all reſpects, to believe that he could be guilty of ſo black a treachery: So Morland's advertiſement was look'd on as an artifice to create jealouſy. But he to give a full conviction obſerved where the ſecretary laid ſome letters of advice, on which he ſaw he relied moſt, and getting the key of that cabinet in his hand to ſeal a letter with a ſeal that hung to it, he took the impreſſion of it in wax, and got a key to be made from it, by which he opened the cabinet, and ſent over ſome of the moſt important of thoſe letters. The hand was known, and this artful but black treachery was diſcovered: So the deſign of the riſing was laid aſide. Sir George Booth having engaged at the ſame time to raiſe a body in Cheſhire, two ſeveral meſſengers were ſent to him to let him know the deſign could not be executed at the time appointed: But both theſe perſons were ſuſpected by ſome garriſons thro' which they muſt paſs, as giving no good account of themſelves in a time of jealouſy, and were ſo long ſtopt, that they could not give him notice in time: So he very gallantly performed his part: But not being ſeconded he was ſoon cruſhed by Lambert. Thus

Willis

Willis loſt the merit of great and long ſervices. This was one of Cromwell's maſter pieces.

As for the Preſbyterians, they were ſo apprehenſive of the fury of the Commonwealth party, that they thought it a deliverance to be reſcued out of their hands: Many of the Republicans begun to profeſs Deiſm: And almoſt all of them were for deſtroying all Clergymen, and for breaking every thing that looked like the union of a national church. They were for pulling down the churches, for diſcharging the tithes, and for leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or reſtraint. Cromwell aſſured the Preſbyterians, he would maintain a publick miniſtry with all due encouragement; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome Independents, to be the triers of all thoſe who were to be admitted to benefices. Theſe diſpoſed alſo of all the churches that were in the gift of the Crown, of the Biſhops, and of the Cathedral Churches: So this ſoftened them.

He ſtudied to divide the Commonwealth party among themſelves, and to ſet the Fifth-monarchy men and the Enthuſiaſts againſt thoſe who pretended to little or no religion, and acted only upon the principles of civil liberty; ſuch as Algernoon Sidney, Henry Nevill, Martin, Wildman, and Harrington. The Fifth-monarchy men ſeemed to be really in expectation every day when Chriſt ſhould appear: John Goodwin headed theſe, who firſt brought in Arminianiſm among the ſectaries, for he was for liberty of all ſorts. Cromwell hated that doctrine: For his beloved notion was, that once a child of God was always a child of God: Now he had led a very ſtrict life for above eight years together before the war: So he comforted himſelf much with his reflections on that time, and on the certainty of perſeverance. But none of the preachers were ſo thoroughly paced for him as to temporal matters, as

Goodwin

Goodwin was; for he not only juſtified the putting the King to death, but magnified it as the glorioufeſt action men were capable of. He filled all people with ſuch expectation of a glorious thouſand years ſpeedily to begin, that it looked like a madneſs poſſeſſing them.

His deſign for the Kingſhip.

It was no eaſy thing for Cromwell to ſatisfy thoſe, when he took the power into his own hands; ſince that looked like a ſtep to Kingſhip, which Goodwin had long repreſented as the great Antichriſt, that hindred Chriſt's being ſet on his throne. To theſe he ſaid, and as ſome have told me, with many tears, that he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the Protectorſhip, ſince nothing was more contrary to his genius than a ſhew of greatneſs: But he ſaw it was neceſſary at that time to keep the Nation from falling into extream diſorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy: And therefore he only ſtept in between the living and the dead, as he phraſed it, in that interval, till God ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought to ſettle: And he aſſured them, that then he would ſurrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the ſorrow with which he was affected while under that ſhew of dignity. To men of this ſtamp he would enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered by him, to let them ſee how little he valued thoſe diſtances that for form's ſake he was bound to keep up with others. Theſe diſcourſes commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus with much ado, he managed the republican enthuſiaſts. The other Republicans he called the Heathens, and profeſſed he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome chaplains of all ſorts: And he begun in his latter years to be gentler towards thoſe of the church of England. They had their meetings in ſeveral places about London without any diſturbance from him. In concluſion, even

the

the Papists courted him: And he with great dissimulation carried things with all sorts of people farther than was thought possible, considering the difficulties he met with in all his Parliaments: But it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had lived much longer he could not have held things together.

The debates came on very high for setting up a King. All the lawyers, chiefly Glyn, Maynard, Fountain, and St. Johns, were vehemently for this. They said, no new government could be settled legally but by a King, who should pass bills for such a form as should be agreed on. Till then all they did was like building upon sand: Still men were in danger of a revolution: And in that case all that had been done would be void of itself, as contrary to a law yet in being and not repealed. Till that was done, every man that had been concerned in the war, and in the blood that was shed, chiefly the King's, was still obnoxious: And no warrants could be pleaded, but what were founded on or approved of by a law passed by King, Lords, and Commons. They might agree to trust this King as much as they pleased, and to make his power determine as soon as they pleased, so that he should be a Felo de se, and consent to an act, if need were, of extinguishing both name and thing for ever. And as no man's person was safe till that was done, so they said all the grants and sales that had been made were null and void: All men that had gathered or disposed of the publick money were for ever accountable. In short, this point was made out beyond the possibility of answering it, except upon enthusiastick principles. But by that sort of men all this was called a mistrusting of God, and a trusting to the arm of flesh: They had gone out, as they said, in the simplicity of their hearts to fight the Lord's battles, to whom they had made the appeal: He had heard them, and appeared for them, and now they could trust him no longer:

they

They had pulled down monarchy with the monarch, and would they now build that up which they had deſtroyed: They had ſolemnly vowed to God to be true to the Commonwealth, without a King or Kingſhip: And under that vow, as under a banner, they had fought and prevailed: But now they muſt be ſecure, and in order to that go back to Egypt: They thought, it was rather a happineſs that they were ſtill under a legal danger: This might be a mean to make them more cautious and diligent: If Kings were invaders of God's right, and uſurpers upon mens liberties, why muſt they have recourſe to ſuch a wicked engine? Upon theſe grounds they ſtood out: And they looked on all that was offered about the limiting this King in his power, as the gilding the pill: The aſſertors of thoſe laws that made it neceſſary to have a King, would no ſooner have one, than they would bring forth out of the ſame ſtore-houſe all that related to the power and prerogative of this King: Therefore they would not hearken to any thing that was offered on that head, but rejected it with ſcorn. Many of them began openly to ſay, if we muſt have a King in conſequence of ſo much law as was alledged, why ſhould we not rather have that King to whom the law certainly pointed, than any other? The Earl of Orrery told me, that, coming one day to Cromwell during thoſe heats, and telling him he had been in the City all that day, Cromwell aſked him what news he had heard there? The other anſwered, that he was told he was in treaty with the King, who was to be reſtored and to marry his daughter. Cromwell expreſſing no indignation at this, Lord Orrery ſaid, in the ſtate to which things were brought, he ſaw not a better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleaſed: And Cromwell might retain the ſame authority he then had with leſs trouble. Cromwell anſwered, the King can never forgive his father's blood. Orrery ſaid, he was one of

many

many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of reſtoring him. Cromwell replied, he is ſo damnably debauched he would undo us all; and ſo turned to another diſcourſe without any emotion, which made Orrery conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

Before the day in which he refuſed the offer of the Kingſhip that was made to him by the Parliament, he had kept himſelf on ſuch a reſerve that no man knew what anſwer he would give. It was thought more likely he would accept of it: But that which determined him to the contrary was, that, when he went down in the morning to walk in St. James's park, Fleetwood and Deſborough were waiting for him: The one had married his daughter, and the other his ſiſter. With theſe he entered into much diſcourſe on the ſubject, and argued for it: He ſaid, it was a tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to ſecure them. The others inſiſted ſtill on the oaths they had taken. He ſaid, theſe oaths were againſt the power and tyranny of Kings, but not againſt the four letters that made the word King. In concluſion, they, believing from his diſcourſe that he intended to accept of it, told him, they ſaw great confuſions would follow on it: And as they could not ſerve him to ſet up the idol they had put down, and had ſworn to keep down, ſo they would not engage in any thing againſt him, but would retire and look on. So they offered him their commiſſions, ſince they were reſolved not to ſerve a King: He deſired they would ſtay till they heard his anſwer. It was believed, that he, ſeeing two perſons ſo near him ready to abandon him, concluded that many others would follow their example; and therefore thought it was too bold a venture. So he refuſed it, but accepted of the continuance of his Protectorſhip. Yet, if he had lived out the next winter, as the debates were to

have

have been brought on again, so it was generally thought he would have accepted of the offer. And it is yet a question what the effect of that would have been. Some have thought it would have brought on a general settlement, since the law and the ancient government were again to take place: Others have fancied just the contrary, that it would have engaged the Army, so that they would either have deserted the service, or have revolted from him, and perhaps have killed him in the first fray of the tumult. I will not determine which of these would have most probably happened. In these debates some of the Cavalier party, or rather their children, came to bear some share. They were then all zealous Commonwealthsmen, according to the directions sent them from those about the King. Their business was to oppose Cromwell on all his demands, and so to weaken him at home, and expose him abroad. When some of the other party took notice of this great change, from being the abettors of prerogative to become the patrons of liberty, they pretended their education in the Court and their obligation to it had engaged them that way; but now since that was out of doors, they had the common principles of human nature and the love of liberty in them. By this means as the old republicans assisted and protected them, so at the same time they strengthened the faction against Cromwell. But these very men at the Restoration shook off this disguise, and reverted to their old principles for a high prerogative and absolute power. They said they were for liberty, when it was a mean to distress one who they thought had no right to govern; but when the government returned to its old channel, they were still as firm to all prerogative notions, and as great enemies to liberty as ever.

I go next to give an account of Cromwell's transactions with relation to foreign affairs. He laid it down for a maxim to spare no cost or

Cromwell's engagements with France.

charge

charge in order to procure him intelligence. When he underſtood what dealers the Jews were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low intereſts in proportion to the riſque they run or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and ſelling of the actions of money ſo advanced, he, more upon that account than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to England, and gave them leave to build a Synagogue. All the while that he was negotiating this, they were ſure and good ſpies for him, eſpecially with relation to Spain and Portugal. The Earl of Orrery told me, he was once walking with him in one of the galleries of White-hall, and a man almoſt in rags came in view: He preſently diſmiſs'd Lord Orrery, and carried that man into his cloſet; who brought him an account of a great ſum of money that the Spaniards were ſending over to pay their army in Flanders, but in a Dutch man of war: And he told him the places of the ſhip in which the money was lodged. Cromwell ſent an expreſs immediately to Smith, afterwards Sir Jeremy Smith, who lay in the Downs, telling him that within a day or two ſuch a Dutch ſhip would paſs the channel, whom he muſt viſit for the Spaniſh money, which was contraband goods, we being then in war with Spain. So when the ſhip paſs'd by Dover, Smith ſent and demanded leave to ſearch him. The Dutch captain anſwered, none but his maſters might ſearch him. Smith ſent him word, he had ſet up an hour-glaſs, and if before that was run out he did not ſubmit to the ſearch, he would force it. The Captain ſaw it was in vain to ſtruggle, and ſo all the money was found. Next time that Cromwell ſaw Orrery he told him, he had his intelligence from that contemptible man he ſaw him go to ſome days before. He had on all occaſions very good intelligence: He knew every thing that paſs'd in the King's little Court:

And

And yet none of his ſpies were diſcovered, but one only.

The greateſt difficulty on him in his foreign affairs was, what ſide to chuſe, France or Spain. The Prince of Conde was then in the Netherlands with a great many Proteſtants about him. He ſet the Spaniards on making great ſteps towards the gaining Cromwell into their intereſts. Spain ordered their Ambaſſador to compliment him: He was eſteemed one of their ableſt men: His name was Don Alonſo de Cardenas: He offered that if Cromwell would join with them, they would engage themſelves to make no peace till he ſhould recover Calais again to England. This was very agreeable to Cromwell, who thought it would recommend him much to the Nation, if he could reſtore that town again to the Engliſh Empire, after it had been a hundred years in the hands of the French. Mazarin hearing of this ſent one over to negotiate with him, but at firſt without a character: And, to outbid the Spaniard, he offered to aſſiſt Cromwell to take Dunkirk, which was a place of much more importance. The Prince of Conde ſent over likewiſe to offer Cromwell to turn Proteſtant; and, if he would give him a fleet with good troops, he would make a deſcent in Guienne, where he did not doubt but that he ſhould be aſſiſted by the Proteſtants; and that he ſhould ſo diſtreſs France, as to obtain ſuch conditions for them, and for England, as Cromwell himſelf ſhould dictate. Upon this offer Cromwell ſent Stoupe round all France, to talk with their moſt eminent men, to ſee into their ſtrength, into their preſent diſpoſition, the oppreſſions they lay under, and their inclinations to truſt the Prince of Conde. He went from Paris down the Loire, then to Bourdeaux, from thence to Montauban, and croſs the ſouth of France to Lions: He was inſtructed to talk to them only as a traveller, and to aſſure

them of Cromwell's zeal and care for them, which he magnified every where. The Proteſtants were then very much at their eaſe: For Mazarin, who thought of nothing but to enrich his family, took care to maintain the edicts better than they had been in any time formerly. So Stoupe returned, and gave Cromwell an account of the eaſe they were then in, and of their reſolution to be quiet. They had a very bad opinion of the Prince of Conde, as a man who ſought nothing but his own greatneſs, to which they believed that he was ready to ſacrifice all his friends, and every cauſe that he eſpouſed. This ſettled Cromwell as to that particular. He alſo found that the Cardinal had ſuch ſpies on that Prince, that he knew every meſſage that had paſſed between them: Therefore he would have no farther correſpondence with him: He ſaid upon that to Stoupe, Stultus eſt, & garrulus, & venditur à ſuis Cardinali. That which determined him afterwards in the choice was this: He found the parties grew ſo ſtrong againſt him at home, that he ſaw if the King or his brother were aſſiſted by France with an army of Huguenots to make a deſcent in England, which was threatned if he ſhould join with Spain, this might prove very dangerous to him, who had ſo many enemies at home and ſo few friends. This particular conſideration with relation to himſelf made great impreſſion on him; for he knew the Spaniards could give thoſe Princes no ſtrength, nor had they any Proteſtant ſubjects to aſſiſt them in any ſuch deſign. Upon this occaſion King James told me, that among other prejudices he had at the Proteſtant religion this was one, that both his brother and himſelf, being in many companies in Paris incognito, where they met many Proteſtants, he found they were all alienated from them, and were great admirers of Cromwell: So he believed they were all rebels in their heart. I anſwered, that foreigners were no other way con-

cerned in the quarrels of their neighbours, than to see who could or would assist them: The coldness they had seen formerly in the Court of England with relation to them, and the zeal which was then expressed, must naturally make them depend on one that seemed resolved to protect them. As the negotiation went on between France and England, Cromwell would have the King and his brother dismissed the Kingdom. Mazarin consented to this; for he thought it more honourable, that the French King should send them away of his own accord, than that it should be done pursuant to an article with Cromwell. Great excuses were made for doing it: They had some money given them, and were sent away loaded with promises of constant supplies that were never meant to be performed: And they retired to Colen; for the Spaniards were not yet out of hope of gaining Cromwell. But when that vanished, they invited them to Bruxells, and they settled great appointments on them, in their way, which was always to promise much, how little soever they could perform. They also settled a pay for such of the subjects of the three Kingdoms as would come and serve under our Princes: But few came, except from Ireland: Of these some regiments were formed. But tho' this gave them a great and lasting interest in our Court, especially in King James's, yet they did not much to deserve it.

Before King Charles left Paris he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known: Only Cardinal de Retz was in the secret, and Lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. It was kept a great secret. Chancellour Hide had some suspicion of it, but would never suffer himself to believe it quite. Soon after the Restoration that Cardinal came over in disguise, and had an audience of the King: What pass'd is not known. The first ground I had to believe it was this: The Marquis de Roucy, who was the man

The King turned Papist.

of the greateſt family in France that continued Proteſtant to the laſt, was much preſſed by that Cardinal to change his religion: He was his Kinſman and his particular friend. Among other reaſons one that he urged was, that the Proteſtant religion muſt certainly be ruined, and that they could expect no protection from England, for to his certain knowledge both the Princes were already changed. Roucy told this in great confidence to his Miniſter, who after his death ſent an advertiſement of it to my ſelf. Sir Allen Broderick, a great Confident of the Chancellour's, who from being very atheiſtical became in the laſt years of his life an eminent penitent, as he was a man of great parts, with whom I had lived long in great confidence, on his death-bed ſent me likewiſe an account of this matter, which he believed was done in Fontainebleau, before King Charles was ſent to Colen. As for King James, it ſeems he was not reconciled at that time: For he told me, that being in a Monaſtery in Flanders, a Nun deſired him to pray every day, that if he was not in the right way God would bring him into it: And he ſaid, the impreſſion theſe words made on him never left him till he changed.

To return to Cromwell: While he was balancing in his mind what was fit for him to do, Gage, who had been a Prieſt, came over from the Weſt-Indies, and gave him ſuch an account of the feebleneſs as well as of the wealth of the Spaniards in thoſe parts, as made him conclude that it would be both a great and an eaſy conqueſt to ſeize on their dominions. By this he reckoned he would be ſupplied with ſuch a treaſure, that his government would be eſtabliſhed before he ſhould need to have any recourſe to a Parliament for money. Spain would never admit of a peace with England between the tropicks: So he was in a ſtate of war with them as to thoſe parts, even before he declared war in Europe. He upon

Cromwell's deſign on the Weſt-Indies.

that

that equipped a fleet with a force ſufficient, as he hoped, to have ſeized Hiſpaniola and Cuba. And Gage had aſſured him, that ſucceſs in that expedition would make all the reſt fall into his hands. Stoupe, being on another occaſion called to his cloſet, ſaw him one day very intent in looking on a Map, and in meaſuring diſtances. Stoupe ſaw it was a Map of the Bay of Mexico, and obſerved who printed it. So, there being no diſcourſe upon that ſubject, Stoupe went next day to the Printer to buy the Map. The Printer denied he had printed it. Stoupe affirmed he had ſeen it. Then, he ſaid, it muſt be only in Cromwell's hand; for he only had ſome of the Prints, and had given him a ſtrict charge to ſell none till he had leave given him. So Stoupe perceived there was a deſign that way. And when the time of ſetting out the fleet came on, all were in a gaze whither it was to go: Some fancied it was to rob the Church of Loretto, which did occaſion a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talked of Rome itſelf; for Cromwell's preachers had this often in their mouths, that if it were not for the diviſions at home he would go and ſack Babylon: Others talked of Cadiz, tho' he had not yet broke with the Spaniards. The French could not penetrate into the ſecret. Cromwell had not finiſhed his alliance with them: So he was not bound to give them an account of the expedition. All he ſaid upon it was, that he ſent out the fleet to guard the ſeas, and to reſtore England to its dominion on that element. Stoupe happened to ſay in a company, he believed the deſign was on the Weſt-Indies. The Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, hearing that, ſent for him very privately, to aſk him upon what ground he ſaid it: And he offered to lay down 10000l. if he could make any diſcovery of that. Stoupe owned to me he had a great mind to the money; and fancied he betrayed nothing if he did diſcover the grounds of theſe

conjectures, since nothing had been trusted to him: But he expected greater matters from Cromwell, and so kept the secret; and said only, that in a diversity of conjectures that seemed to him more probable than any others. But the Ambassadour made no account of that; nor did he think it worth the writing to Don John, then at Bruxells, about it.

Stoupe writ it over as his conjecture to one about the Prince of Conde, who at first hearing it was perswaded that must be the design, and went next day to suggest it to Don John: But Don John relied so much on the Ambassadour, that this made no impression. And indeed all the Ministers whom he employed knew that they were not to disturb him with troublesome news: Of which King Charles told a pleasant story. One whom Don John was sending to some Court in Germany coming to the King to ask his commands, he desired him only to write him news: The Spaniard asked him, whether he would have true or false news: And, when the King seemed amazed at the question, he added, if he writ him true news the King must be secret, for he knew he must write news to Don John that would be acceptable, true or false: When the Ministers of that Court shewed that they would be served in such a manner, it is no wonder to see how their affairs have declined. This matter of the fleet continued a great secret. And some months after that Stoupe being accidentally with Cromwell, one came from the fleet thro' Ireland with a letter. The bearer looked like one that brought no welcome news. And as soon as Cromwell had read the letter, he dismissed Stoupe, who went immediately to the Earl of Leicester, then Lord Lisle, and told him what he had seen. He being of Cromwell's Council went to Whitehall, and came back, and told Stoupe of the descent made on Hispaniola, and of the misfortune that had happened. It

was

was then late, and was the poſt-night for Flanders. So Stoupe writ it as news to his correſpondent, ſome days before the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour knew any thing of it. Don John was amazed at the news, and had never any regard for the Ambaſſadour after that; but had a great opinion of Stoupe, and ordered the Ambaſſadour to make him theirs at any rate. The Ambaſſadour ſent for him, and aſked him, now that it appeared he had gueſſed right, what were his grounds: And when he told what they were, the Ambaſſadour owned he had reaſon to conclude as he did upon what he ſaw. And upon that he made great uſe of Stoupe: But he himſelf was never eſteemed after that ſo much as he had been. This deſerved to be ſet down ſo particularly, ſince by it it appears that the greateſt deſign may be diſcovered by an undue careleſneſs. The Court of France was amazed at the undertaking, and was glad that it had miſcarried; for the Cardinal ſaid, if he had ſuſpected it, he would have made peace with Spain on any terms, rather than to have given way to that which would have been ſuch an addition to England, as muſt have brought all the wealth of the world into their hands. The fleet took Jamaica: But that was a ſmall gain, tho' much magnified to cover the failing of the main deſign. The war after that broke out, in which Dunkirk was indeed taken, and put in Cromwell's hand: But the trade of England ſuffered more in that, than in any former war: So he loſt the heart of the city of London by that means.

His zeal for the Proteſtant religion.

Cromwell had two ſignal occaſions given him to ſhew his zeal in protecting the Proteſtants abroad. The Duke of Savoy raiſed a new perſecution of the Vaudois: So Cromwell ſent to Mazarin, deſiring him to put a ſtop to that; adding, that he knew well they had that Duke in their power, and could reſtrain him as they pleaſed: And if they did not he muſt preſently break with them.

them. Mazarin objected to this as unreasonable: He promised to do good offices: But he could not be obliged to answer for the effects they might have. This did not satisfy Cromwell: So they obliged the Duke of Savoy to put a stop to that unjust fury: And Cromwell raised a great sum for the Vaudois, and sent over Morland to settle all their concerns, and to supply all their losses. There was also a tumult in Nismes, in which some disorder had been committed by the Huguenots: And they, apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great expedition to Cromwell, who sent him back to Paris in an hour's time with a very effectual letter to his Ambassadour, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. Mazarin complained of this way of proceeding, as too imperious: But the necessity of their affairs made him yield. These things raised Cromwell's character abroad, and made him be much depended on.

His Ambassadour in France at this time was Lockhart, a Scotchman, who had married his niece, and was in high favour with him, as he well deserved to be. He was both a wise and a gallant man, calm and virtuous, and one that carried the generosities of friendship very far. He was made governour of Dunkirk, and Ambassadour at the same time. But he told me, that when he was sent afterwards Ambassadour by King Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time.

A great design for the interest of the Protestant religion.

Stoupe told me of a great design Cromwell had intended to begin his Kingship with, if he had assumed it: He resolved to set up a Council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation de Propaganda fide at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven councellours, and four secretaries for different provinces. These were the first, France, Switzerland, and the Valleys:

leys: The Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second: Germany, the North, and Turkey were the third: And the East and West-Indies were the fourth. The secretaries were to have 500 l. salary apiece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. Stoupe was to have the first Province. They were to have a fund of 10000 l. a year at their disposal for ordinary emergences, but to be farther supplied as occasions should require it. Chelsea college was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy. I thought it was not fit to let such a project as this be quite lost: It was certainly a noble one: But how far he would have pursued it must be left to conjecture.

Some passages in Cromwell's life.

Stoupe told me a remarkable passage in his employment under Cromwell. Stoupe had desired all that were under the Prince of Conde to let him know some news, in return of that he writ to them. So he had a letter from one of them, giving an account of an Irishman newly gone over, who had said he would kill Cromwell, and that he was to lodge in King-street Westminster. With this Stoupe went to Whitehall. Cromwell being then at Council, he sent him a note, letting him know that he had a business of great consequence to lay before him. Cromwell was then upon a matter that did so entirely possess him, that he, fancying it was only some piece of foreign intelligence, sent Thurlo to know what it might be. Stoupe was troubled at this, but could not refuse to shew him his letter. Thurlo made no great matter of it: He said, they had many such advertisements sent them, which signified nothing but to make the world think the Protector was in danger of his life: And the looking too much after these things had an appearance of fear, which did ill become

so

ſo great a man. Stoupe told him, King-ſtreet might be ſoon ſearched. Thurlo anſwered, if we find no ſuch perſon, how ſhall we be laught at? Yet he ordered him to write again to Bruxells, and promiſe any reward if a more particular diſcovery could be made. Stoupe was much caſt down, when he ſaw that a piece of intelligence which he hoped might have made his fortune was ſo little conſidered. He wrote to Bruxells: But he had no more from thence, but a confirmation of what had been writ formerly to him. And Thurlo did not think fit to make any ſearch, or any farther inquiry into it: Nor did he ſo much as acquaint Cromwell with it. Stoupe, being uneaſy at this, told Lord Liſle of it: And it happened that, a few weeks after, Syndercomb's deſign of aſſaſſinating Cromwell near Brentford, as he was going to Hampton-court, was diſcovered. When he was examined, it appeared that he was the perſon ſet out in the letters from Bruxells. So Liſle ſaid to Cromwell, this is the very man of whom Stoupe had the notice given him. Cromwell ſeemed amazed at this; and ſent for Stoupe, and in great wrath reproached him for his ingratitude in concealing a matter of ſuch conſequence to him. Stoupe upon this ſhewed him the letters he had received; and put him in mind of the note he had ſent in to him, which was immediately after he had the firſt letter, and that he had ſent out Thurlo to him. At that Cromwell ſeemed yet more amazed; and ſent for Thurlo, to whoſe face Stoupe affirmed the matter: Nor did he deny any part of it; but only ſaid, that he had many ſuch advertiſements ſent him, in which till this time he had never found any truth. Cromwell replied ſternly, that he ought to have acquainted him with it, and left him to judge of the importance of it. Thurlo deſired to ſpeak in private with Cromwell. So Stoupe was diſmiſs'd, and went away not doubting but Thurlo would be diſgraced. But as he underſtood

from

from Liſle afterward, Thurlo ſhewed Cromwell ſuch inſtances of his care and fidelity on all ſuch occaſions, and humbly acknowledged his errour in this matter, but imputed it wholly to his care both for his honour and quiet, that he pacified him entirely: And indeed he was ſo much in all Cromwell's ſecrets, that it was not ſafe to diſgrace him without deſtroying him; and that it ſeems Cromwell could not reſolve on. Thurlo having maſtered this point, that he might farther juſtify his not being ſo attentive as he ought to have been, did ſo much ſearch into Stoupe's whole deportment, that he poſſeſſed Cromwell with ſuch an ill opinion of him, that after that he never treated him with any confidence. So he found how dangerous it was even to preſerve a Prince, (ſo he called him) when a Miniſter was wounded in the doing of it; and that the Miniſter would be too hard for the Prince, even tho' his own ſafety was concerned in it.

Theſe are all the memorable things that I have learnt concerning Cromwell; of whom ſo few have ſpoken with any temper, ſome commending, and others condemning him, and both out of meaſure, that I thought a juſt account of him, which I had from ſure hands, might be no unacceptable thing. He never could ſhake off the roughneſs of his education and temper: He ſpoke always long and very ungracefully. The enthuſiaſt and the diſſembler mixed ſo equally in a great part of his deportment, that it was not eaſy to tell which was the prevailing character. He was indeed both, as I underſtood from Wilkins and Tillotſon, the one having married his ſiſter, and the other his niece. He was a true enthuſiaſt, but with the principle formerly mentioned, from which he might be eaſily led into all the practices both of falſhood and cruelty: Which was, that he thought moral laws were only binding on ordinary occaſions, but that upon extraordinary ones theſe might be ſuperſeded.

When

When his own designs did not lead him out of the way, he was a lover of justice and virtue, and even of learning, tho' much decried at that time.

His moderation in government.

He studied to seek out able and honest men, and to employ them: And so having heard that my father had a very great reputation in Scotland for piety and integrity, tho' he knew him to be a royalist, he sent to him, desiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do justice in his own country, hoping only that he would not act against his government; but he would not press him to subscribe or swear to it. My father refused it in a pleasant way. When he who brought the message was running out into Cromwell's commendation, my father told a story of a Pilgrim in Popery, who came to a church where one Saint Kilmaclotius was in great reverence: So the Pilgrim was bid pray to him: But he answered, he knew nothing of him, for he was not in his breviary: But when he was told how great a Saint he was, he prayed this collect; "O sancte Kilmacloti, tu nobis hac-"tenus es incognitus, hoc solum à te rogo, ut si "bona tua nobis non profint, saltem mala ne no-"ceant." My father replied, that he desired no other favour of him but leave to live privately, without the impositions of oaths and subscriptions: And ever after he lived in great quiet. And this was an instance of it: Overton one of Cromwell's major generals, who was a high Republican, being for some time at Aberdeen, where we then lived, my father and he were often together: In particular they were shut up alone for about two hours the night after the order came from Cromwell to take away Overton's commissions, and to put him in arrest. Upon that Howard, afterward Earl of Carlisle, being sent down to enquire into all the plots that those men had been in, heard of this long privacy: But, when with that he heard what my father's character was, he made no farther enquiry into it; but said, Cromwell was very uneasy

uneaſy when any good man was queſtioned for any thing.

This gentleneſs had in a great meaſure quieted people's minds with relation to him. And his maintaining the honour of the Nation in all foreign countries gratifyed the vanity which is very natural to Engliſhmen; of which he was ſo careful, that tho' he was not a crowned head, yet his Ambaſſadours had all the reſpects paid them which our Kings Ambaſſadours ever had: He ſaid, the dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the Nation, of which the King was only the repreſentative head; ſo the Nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame regards paid to his Miniſters. His publick ſpirit.

Another inſtance of this pleaſed him much. Blake with the fleet happened to be at Malaga before he made war upon Spain: And ſome of his ſeamen went aſhore, and met the Hoſtie carried about; and not only paid no reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did: So one of the Prieſts put the people on reſenting this indignity; and they fell upon them, and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhip they complained of this uſage: And upon that Blake ſent a trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the Prieſt who was the chief inſtrument in that ill uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, he had no authority over the Prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him. Blake upon that ſent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to ſend the Prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours he would burn their town: And they, being in no condition to reſiſt him, ſent the Prieſt to him, who juſtified himſelf upon the petulant behaviour of the ſeamen. Blake anſwered, that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place at which he touched: But he took it ill,

ill, that he ſet on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman: And ſo he treated the Prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him at his mercy.

All the world was afraid of him.

Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great ſatisfaction; and ſaid, he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been. The States of Holland were in ſuch dread of him, that they took care to give him no ſort of umbrage: And when at any time the King or his brothers came to ſee their ſiſter, the Princeſs royal, within a day or two after, they uſed to ſend a deputation to let them know, that Cromwell had required of the States, that they ſhould give them no harbour. King Charles, when he was ſeeking for colours for the war with the Dutch in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they ſuffered ſome of his rebels to live in their Provinces. Borel, then their Ambaſſadour, anſwered, that it was a maxim of long ſtanding among them, not to enquire upon what account ſtrangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unleſs they had been concerned in conſpiracies againſt the perſons of Princes. The King told him upon that, how they had uſed both himſelf and his brother. Borel, in great ſimplicity, anſwered: "Ha! ſire, c'eſtoit "une autre choſe: Cromwell eſtoit un grand "homme, & il ſe faiſoit craindre & par terre & "par mer." This was very rough. The King's anſwer was: "Je me feray craindre auſſy à mon "tour:" But he was ſcarce as good as his word.

Cromwell's favourite alliance was with Sweden. Carolus Guſtavus and he lived in great conjunction of counſels. Even Algernoon Sydney, who was not inclined to think or ſpeak well of Kings, commended him to me; and ſaid, he had juſt notions of publick liberty; and added, that Queen Chriſtina

Christina seemed to have them likewise. But she was much changed from that, when I waited on her at Rome; for she complained of us as a factious Nation, that did not readily comply with the commands of our Princes. All Italy trembled at the name of Cromwell, and seemed under a pannick, as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the Mediterranean: And the Turks durst not offend him; but deliver'd up Hide, who kept up the character of an Ambassadour from the King there, and was brought over and executed for it. The putting the brother of the King of Portugal's Ambassadour to death for murder, was the carrying justice very far; since, tho' in the strictness of the law of nations it is only the Ambassadour's own person that is exempted from any authority but his master's that sends him, yet the practice had gone in favour of all that the Ambassadour owned to belong to him. Cromwell shewed his good understanding in nothing more, than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but most particularly for the Courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

Thus he lived, and at last died, on his auspicious * third of September, of so slight a sickness, that his death was not looked for. He had two sons, and four daughters. His sons were weak, but honest men. Richard, the eldest, tho' declared Protector in pursuance of a nomination pretended to be made by Cromwell, the truth of which was much questioned, was not at all bred for business, nor indeed capable of it. He was innocent of all the ill his father had done: So there was no prejudice lay against him: And both the Royalists and the Presbyterians fancied he favoured them, tho' he pretended to be an Independent. But all the Commonwealth party cried out upon his assuming

The ruin of his family.

* It may well be called *Auspicious*, since on that day he had defeated the Scotch at Dunbar, and the next year the King at Worcester.

the Protectorſhip, as a high uſurpation; ſince whatever his father had from his Parliaments was only perſonal, and ſo fell with him: Yet in oppoſition to this, the City of London, and all the Counties and Cities almoſt in England, ſent him addreſſes congratulatory, as well as condoling. So little do theſe pompous appearances of reſpect ſignify. Tillotſon told me, that a week after Cromwell's death he being by accident at Whitehall, and hearing there was to be a faſt that day in the houſhold, he out of curioſity went into the preſence chamber where it was held. On the one ſide of a table Richard with the reſt of Cromwell's family were placed, and ſix of the preachers were on the other ſide: Thomas Goodwin, Owen, Carril and Sterry were of the number. There he heard a great deal of ſtrange ſtuff, enough to diſguſt a man for ever of that enthuſiaſtick boldneſs. God was as it were reproached with Cromwell's ſervices, and challenged for taking him away ſo ſoon. Goodwin, who had pretended to aſſure them in a prayer that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to ſay to God, "Thou haſt deceived "us, and we were deceived." Sterry, praying for Richard, uſed thoſe indecent words, next to blaſphemy, "Make him the brightneſs of the fa-"ther's glory, and the expreſs image of his per-"ſon." Richard was put on giving his father a pompous funeral, by which his debts encreaſed ſo upon him, that he was ſoon run out of all credit. When the Parliament met, his party tried to get a recognition of his Protectorſhip: But it ſoon appeared, they had no ſtrength to carry it. Fleetwood, who married Ireton's Widow, ſet up a Council of officers: And theſe reſolved to lay aſide Richard, who had neither genius nor friends, neither treaſure nor army to ſupport him. He deſired only ſecurity for the debts he had contracted; which was promiſed, but not performed.

And ſo without any ſtruggle he withdrew, and became a private man. And as he had done hurt to no body, ſo no body did ever ſtudy to hurt him; a rare inſtance of the inſtability of human greatneſs, and of the ſecurity of innocence. His brother had been made by the father Lieutenant of Ireland, and had the moſt ſpirit of the two; but he could not ſtand his ground, when his brother quitted. One of Cromwell's daughters was married to Claypole, and died a little before himſelf: Another was married to the Earl of Falconbridge, a wiſe and worthy woman, more likely to have maintained the poſt than either of her brothers; according to a ſaying that went of her, that thoſe who wore breeches deſerved petticoats better, but if thoſe in petticoats had been in breeches, they would have held faſter. The other daughter was married, firſt to the Earl of Warwick's heir, and afterwards to one Ruſſel. They were both very worthy perſons.

Great diſorders followed.

Upon Richard's leaving the ſtage, the Commonwealth was again ſet up: And the Parliament which Cromwell had broke was brought together: But the Army and they fell into new diſputes: So they were again broke by the army: And upon that the Nation was like to fall into great convulſions. The enthuſiaſts became very fierce, and talked of nothing but the deſtroying all the records and the law, which they ſaid had been all made by a ſucceſſion of Tyrants and Papiſts: So they reſolved to model all anew by a levelling, and a ſpiritual government of the Saints. There was ſo little ſenſe in this, that Nevil and Harington, with ſome others, ſet up in Weſtminſter a meeting, to conſider of a form of government that ſhould ſecure liberty, and yet preſerve the Nation. They ran chiefly on having a Parliament elected by ballot, in which the Nation ſhould be repreſented according to the proportion of what was paid in taxes, towards the publick expence:

And by this Parliament a Council of twenty four was to be chosen by ballot: And every year eight of these were to be changed, and might not again be brought into it, but after an interval of three years: By these the Nation was to be governed: And they were to give an account of the administration to the Parliament every year. This meeting was a matter of diversion and scorn, to see a few persons take upon them to form a scheme of government: And it made many conclude, it was necessary to call home the King, that so matters might again fall into their old channel. Lambert became the man on whom the Army depended most. Upon his forcing the Parliament, great applications were made to Monk to declare for the Parliament: But under this the declaring for the King was generally understood. Yet he kept himself under such a reserve, that he declared all the while in the most solemn manner for a Commonwealth, and against a single person, in particular against the King: So that none had any ground from him to believe he had any design that way. Some have thought that he intended to try, if it was possible, to set up for himself: Others rather believed, that he had no settled design any way, and resolved to do as occasion should be offered to him. The Scotch Nation did certainly hope he would bring home the King. He drew the greatest part of the Army towards the borders, where Lambert advanced towards him with 7000 horse. Monk was stronger in foot: But being apprehensive of engaging on disadvantage, he sent Clarges to the Lord Fairfax for his advice and assistance, who returned answer by Dr. Fairfax, afterwards secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and assured him he would raise Yorkshire on the first of January. And he desired him to press upon Lambert, in case that he should send a detachment into Yorkshire. On the first of January, Fairfax appeared with about 100 gentlemen and their

their ſervants. But ſo much did he ſtill maintain his great credit with the Army, that the night after the Iriſh Brigade, that conſiſted of 1200 horſe and was the rear of Lambert's army, came over to him. Upon that Lambert retreated, finding his army was ſo little ſure to him, and reſolved to march back to London. He was followed by Monk, who when he came to Yorkſhire met with Fairfax, and offered to reſign the chief command to him. The Lord Fairfax refuſed it, but preſs'd Monk to declare for a free Parliament: Yet in that he was ſo reſerved to him, that Fairfax knew not how to depend on him. But as Lambert was making haſte up, his army mouldered away, and he himſelf was brought up a priſoner, and was put in the Tower of London. Yet not long after he made his eſcape, and gathered a few troops about him in Northamptonſhire. But theſe were ſoon ſcattered: For Ingoldſby, tho' one of the King's judges, raiſed Buckinghamſhire againſt him. And ſo little force ſeemed now in that party, that with very little oppoſition Ingoldſby took him priſoner, and brought him into Northampton: Where Lambert, as Ingoldſby told me, entertained him with a pleaſant reflection for all his misfortunes. The people were in great crowds applauding and rejoycing for the ſucceſs. So Lambert put Ingoldſby in mind of what Cromwell had ſaid to them both, near that very place, in the year 1650, when they with a body of the officers were going down after their army that was marching to Scotland, the people all the while ſhouting and wiſhing them ſucceſs: Lambert upon that ſaid to Cromwell, he was glad to ſee they had the Nation on their ſide: Cromwell anſwered, do not truſt to that; for theſe very perſons would ſhout as much if you and I were going to be hanged. Lambert ſaid, he looked on himſelf as in a fair way to that, and began to think Cromwell propheſied.

Upon the diſperſing Lambert's army, Monk marched ſouthward, and was now the object of all men's hope. At London all ſorts of people began to cabal together, Royaliſts, Preſbyterians, and Republicans. Hollis told me, the Preſbyterians preſſed the Royaliſts to be quiet, and to leave the game in their hands; for their appearing would give jealouſy, and hurt that which they meant to promote. He and Aſhly Cooper, Grimſtone and Anneſly, met often with Manchester, Roberts, and the reſt of the Preſbyterian party: And the Miniſters of London were very active in the City: So that when Monk came up, he was preſſed to declare himſelf. At firſt he would only declare for the Parliament that Lambert had forced. But there was then a great fermentation all over the Nation. Monk and the Parliament grew jealous of one another, even while they tried who could give the beſt words, and expreſs their confidence in the higheſt terms of one another. I will purſue the relation of this tranſaction no farther: For this matter is well known.

All turn to the King's ſide.

The King had gone in Autumn 1659 to the meeting at the Pyrenees, where Cardinal Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro were negotiating a peace. He applied himſelf to both ſides, to try what aſſiſtance he might expect upon their concluding the peace. It was then known, that he went to Maſs ſometimes, that ſo he might recommend himſelf the more effectually to both courts: Yet this was carried ſecretly, and was confidently denied. Mazarin ſtill talked to Lockhart upon the foot of the old confidence: For he went thither to watch over the treaty; tho' England was now in ſuch convulſions, that no Miniſter from thence could be much conſidered, unleſs it was upon his own account. But matters were ripening ſo faſt towards a revolution in England, that the King came back to Flanders in all haſte, and went from thence to Breda. Lockhart had it in his power to

have

have made a great fortune, if he had begun firſt, and had brought the King to Dunkirk. As ſoon as the peace of the Pyrenees was made, he came over and found Monk at London, and took all the pains he could to penetrate into his deſigns. But Monk continued ſtill to proteſt to him in the ſolemneſt manner poſſible, that he would be true to the Commonwealth, and againſt the Royal family. Lockhart went away, perſuaded that matters would continue ſtill in the ſame ſtate: So that when his old friend Midletoun writ to him to make his own terms, if he would invite the King to Dunkirk, he ſaid, he was truſted by the Commonwealth, and could not betray it.

The Houſe of Commons put Monk on breaking the gates of the City of London, not doubting but that would render him ſo odious to them, that it would force him to depend wholly on themſelves. He did it: And ſoon after he ſaw how odious he was become by it. So conceiving a high indignation at thoſe who had put him on ſuch an ungracious piece of ſervice, he ſent about all that night to the Miniſters and other active citizens, aſſuring them that he would quickly repair that errour, if they would forgive it. So the turn was ſudden: For the City ſent and invited him to dine the next day at Guildhall: And there he declared for the members whom the Army had forced away in the year 47 and 48, who were known by the name of ſecluded members. And ſome happening to call the body that then ſat at Weſtminſter the Rump of a Parliament, a ſudden humour run like a madneſs through the whole City, of roaſting the Rumps of all ſorts of animals. And thus the City expreſſed themſelves ſufficiently. Thoſe at Weſtminſter had no ſupport: So they fell unpitied, and unregarded. The ſecluded members came, and ſate down among them. But all they could do was to give orders for the ſum-

moning a new Parliament to meet the firſt of May: And ſo they declared themſelves diſſolved.

Care taken to manage the Army.

There was ſtill a murmuring in the Army. So great care was taken to ſcatter them in wide quarters, and not to ſuffer too many of thoſe who were ſtill for the old cauſe to lie near one another. The well and the ill affected were ſo mixed, that in caſe of any inſurrection ſome might be ready at hand to aſſiſt them. They changed the officers that were ill affected, who were not thought fit to be truſted with the commanding thoſe of their own ſtamp; and ſo created a miſtruſt between the officers and the ſoldiers. And above all they took care to have no more troops than was neceſſary about the City: And theſe were the beſt affected. This was managed with great diligence and ſkill: And by this conduct it was, that the great turn was brought about without the leaſt tumult or bloodſhed, which was beyond what any perſon could have imagined. Of all this Monk had both the praiſe and the reward: tho' I have been told a very ſmall ſhare of it belonged to him. Admiral Montague was then in chief command at ſea, newly returned from the Sound, where he and de Ruyter, upon the orders they received from their Maſters, had brought the two northern Kings to a peace, the King of Sweden dying as it was a making up. He was ſoon gained to be for the King; and dealt ſo effectually with the whole Fleet, that the turn there was as ſilently brought about, without any revolt or oppoſition, as it had been in the Army. The Republicans went about like madmen, to rouſe up their party. But their time was paſt. All were either as men amazed or aſleep. They had neither the ſkill, nor the courage to make any oppoſition. The elections of Parliament men run all the other way. So they ſaw their buſineſs was quite loſt, and they felt themſelves ſtruck as with a ſpirit of giddineſs. And then every man thought only how to ſave or ſecure himſelf. And

now

now they saw how deceitful the argument from success was, which they had used so oft, and triumphed so much upon. For whereas success in the field, which was the foundation of their argument, depended much upon the conduct and courage of armies, in which the will of man had a large share, here was a thing of another nature: A Nation, that had run on long in such a fierce opposition to the Royal family, was now turned as one man to call home the King.

The Nation had one great happiness during the long course of the civil war, that no foreigners had got footing among them. Spain was sinking to nothing: France was under a base spirited Minister; And both were in war all the while. Now a peace was made between them. And very probably, according to what is in Mazarin's letters, they would have joined forces to have restored the King. The Nation was by this means entirely in its own hands: And now returning to its wits was in a condition to put every thing in joint again: Whereas, if foreigners had been possessed of any important place, they might have had a large share of the management, and would have been sure of taking care of themselves. Enthusiasm was now languid: For that, owing its mechanical force to the liveliness of the blood and spirits, men in disorder and depressed could not raise in themselves those heats, with which they were formerly wont to transport themselves and others. Chancellour Hide was all this while very busy: He sent over Dr. Morley, who talked much with the Presbyterians of moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars: Only he took care to let them know he was a Calvinist: And they had the best opinion of such of the Church of England as were of that persuasion. Hide wrote in the King's name to all the leading men, and got the King to write a great many letters in a very obliging manner. Some that had been

faulty

faulty ſent over conſiderable preſents, with aſſurances that they would redeem all that was paſt with their zeal for the future. Theſe were all accepted of. Their money was alſo very welcome; for the King needed money when his matters were on that criſis and he had ſo many tools at work. The management of all this was ſo entirely the Chancellour's ſingle performance, that there was ſcarce any other that had ſo much as a ſhare in it with him. He kept a regiſter of all the King's promiſes, and of his own; and did all that lay in his power afterwards to get them all to be performed. He was alſo all that while giving the King many wiſe and good advices. But he did it too much with the air of a governour, or of a lawyer. Yet then the King was wholly in his hands.

A new Parliament.

I need not open the ſcene of the new Parliament, (or Convention, as it came afterwards to be called, becauſe it was not ſummoned by the King's writ:) Such unanimity appeared in their proceedings, that there was not the leaſt diſpute among them, but upon one ſingle point: Yet that was a very important one. Hale, afterwards the famous Chief Juſtice, moved that a Committee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered by the late King during the war, particularly at the treaty of Newport, that from thence they might digeſt ſuch propoſitions as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the King. This was ſeconded, but I do not remember by whom. It was foreſeen, that ſuch a motion might be ſet on foot: So Monk was inſtructed how to anſwer it, whenſoever it ſhould be propoſed. He told the Houſe, that there was yet, beyond all mens hope, an univerſal quiet all over the Nation; but there were many incendiaries ſtill on the watch, trying where they could firſt raiſe the flame. He ſaid, he had ſuch copious informations ſent him of theſe things,

things, that it was not fit they ſhould be generally known: He could not anſwer for the peace, either of the Nation or of the Army, if any delay was put to the ſending for the King: What need was there of ſending propoſitions to him? Might they not as well prepare them, and offer them to him, when he ſhould come over? He was to bring neither army nor treaſure with him, either to fright them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately ſend commiſſioners to bring over the King: And ſaid, that he muſt lay the blame of all the blood or miſchief that might follow on the heads of thoſe, who ſhould ſtill inſiſt on any motion that might delay the preſent ſettlement of the Nation. This was echo'd with ſuch a ſhout over the Houſe, that the motion was no more inſiſted on.

This was indeed the great ſervice that Monk did. It was chiefly owing to the poſt he was in, and to the credit he had gained: For as to the Reſtoration itſelf, the tide run ſo ſtrong, that he only went into it dexterouſly enough, to get much fame, and great rewards, for that which will have ſtill a great appearance in hiſtory. If he had died ſoon after, he might have been more juſtly admired, becauſe leſs known, and ſeen only in one advantageous light: But he lived long enough to make it known, how falſe a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance. To the King's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errours of his reign. And when the Earl of Southampton came to ſee what he was like to prove, he ſaid once in great wrath to Chancellour Hide, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not poſſeſſed them in all his letters with ſuch an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himſelf or them any miſchief, which was like to be the effect of their truſting him ſo entirely. Hide anſwered, that he thought

They called home the King without a treaty.

the

the King had ſo true a judgment, and ſo much good nature, that when the age of pleaſure ſhould be over, and the idleneſs of his exile, which made him ſeek new diverſions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have ſhaken off thoſe entanglements. I muſt put my reader in mind, that I leave all common tranſactions to ordinary books. If at any time I ſay things that occur in any books, it is partly to keep the thread of the narration in an unintangled method, and partly, becauſe I neither have heard nor read thoſe things in books; or at leaſt, I do not remember to have read them ſo clearly and ſo particularly as I have related them. I now leave a mad and confuſed ſcene, to open a more auguſt and ſplendid one.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

My Own Times.

BOOK II.

Of the first twelve years of the reign of King Charles II. from the year 1660 to the year 1673.



DIVIDE King Charles's reign into two books, not so much because, consisting of twenty four years, it fell, if divided at all, naturally to put twelve years in a book: But I have a much better reason for it, since as to the first twelve years, tho' I knew the affairs of Scotland very authentically, yet I had only such a general knowledge of the affairs of England as I could pick up at a distance: Whereas I lived so near the scene, and had indeed such a share in several parts of it, during the last twelve years, that I can write of these with much more certainty, as well as more fully, than of the first twelve. I will therefore enlarge more particularly, within the compass that I have fixed for this book, on the affairs of Scotland; both out of the imbred love that all men have for their native country, and 1660.

1660. and more particularly, that I may leave ſome uſeful inſtructions to thoſe of my own order and profeſſion, by repreſenting to them the conduct of the Biſhops of Scotland: For having obſerved with more than ordinary niceneſs all the errours that were committed, both at the firſt ſetting up of Epiſcopacy, and in the whole progreſs of its continuance in Scotland, till it was again overturned there, I am enabled to ſet all that matter in a full view and in a clear light.

Many went over to the Hague.

As ſoon as it was fixed that the King was to be reſtored, a great many went over to make their court: Among theſe Sharp, who was employed by the reſolutioners of Scotland, was one. He carried with him a letter from the Earl of Glencairn to Hide, made ſoon after Earl of Clarendon, recommending him as the only perſon capable to manage the deſign of ſetting up Epiſcopacy in Scotland: Upon which he was received into great confidence. Yet, as he had obſerved very carefully the ſucceſs of Monk's ſolemn proteſtations againſt the King for a Commonwealth, it ſeems he was ſo pleaſed with the original that he reſolved to copy after it, without letting himſelf be diverted from it by ſcruples: For he ſtuck neither at ſolemn proteſtations, both by word of mouth and by letters, (of which I have ſeen many proofs,) nor at appeals to God of his ſincerity in acting for the Preſbytery, both in prayers and on other occaſions, joining with theſe many dreadful imprecations on himſelf if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Preſbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a conſtant account of the progreſs of his negotiation in their ſervice, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was ſo viſible, he having repeated his proteſtations to as many perſons as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the maſk, about a year after this, it laid a foundation of

of ſuch a character of him, that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man, whoſe diſſimulation and treachery was ſo well known, and of which ſo many proofs were to be ſeen under his own hand. 1660.

With the Reſtoration of the King, a ſpirit of extravagant joy ſpread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very profeſſions of virtue and piety: All ended in entertainments and drunkenneſs, which over-run the three Kingdoms to ſuch a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great diſorders and much riot every where: And the pretences of Religion, both in thoſe of the hypocritical ſort, and of the more honeſt but no leſs pernicious enthuſiaſts, gave great advantages, as well as they furniſhed much matter, to the prophane mockers of true piety. Thoſe who had been concerned in the former tranſactions thought, they could not redeem themſelves from the cenſures and jealouſies that thoſe brought on them, by any method that was more ſure and more eaſy, than by going into the ſtream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making ſtories to expoſe both themſelves and their party as impious and ridiculous. The Nation was over-run with vice and drunkenneſs.

The King was then thirty years of age, and, as might have been ſuppoſed, paſt the levities of youth and the extravagance of pleaſure. He had a very good underſtanding. He knew well the ſtate of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a ſoftneſs of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promiſes; in which he was liberal to exceſs, becauſe he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities, and to ſilence all farther preſſing upon him. He ſeemed to have no ſenſe of religion: Both at prayers and ſacrament, he, as it were, The King's character.

1660. were, took care to satisfy people, that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed. So that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, (as no doubt it was:) But he was sure not to encrease that by any the least appearance of Religion. He said once to myself, he was no atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable, only for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his Popery to the last. But when he talked freely, he could not help letting himself out against the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of enquiring into matters of religion: For from their enquiring into matters of religion they carried the humour farther, to enquire into matters of state. He said often, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicite: About which I had once much discourse with him. He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was, the being easy, and the making every thing easy to him. He had made such observations on the French government, that he thought a King who might be checkt, or have his Ministers called to an account by a Parliament, was but a King in name. He had a great compass of knowledge, tho' he was never capable of much application or study. He understood the Mechanicks and Physick; and was a good Chymist, and much set on several preparations of Mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He understood navigation well: But above all he knew the architecture of ships so perfectly, that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a Prince. His apprehension was quick, and his memory good. He was an everlasting talker. He told his stories with a good grace; But they came in his way too often.

He

He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think that there was either ſincerity or chaſtity in the world out of principle, but that ſome had either the one or the other out of humour or vanity. He thought that no body did ſerve him out of love: And ſo he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated buſineſs, and could not be eaſily brought to mind any: But when it was neceſſary, and he was ſet to it, he would ſtay as long as his Miniſters had work for him. The ruin of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occaſioned chiefly by his delivering himſelf up at his firſt coming over to a mad range of pleaſure. One of the race of the Villers, then married to Palmer, a Papiſt, ſoon after made Earl of Caſtlemain, who afterwards being ſeparated from him was advanced to be Ducheſs of Cleveland, was his firſt and longeſt miſtreſs, by whom he had five children. She was a woman of great beauty, but moſt enormouſly vitious and ravenous; fooliſh but imperious, very uneaſy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet ſhe pretended ſhe was jealous of him. His paſſion for her and her ſtrange behaviour towards him, did ſo diſorder him, that often he was not maſter of himſelf, nor capable of minding buſineſs, which in ſo critical a time required great application: But he did then ſo entirely truſt the Earl of Clarendon, that he left all to his care, and ſubmitted to his advices as to ſo many oracles. 1660.

The Earl of Clarendon was bred to the Law, and was like to grow eminent in his profeſſion when the wars began. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo in the Houſe of Commons, that he became conſiderable, and was much truſted all the while the King was at Oxford. He ſtayed beyond ſea following the King's fortune till the Reſtoration; and was now an abſolute favourite, and the chief or the only Miniſter, but with too magiſterial a Clarendon's character.

1660. way. He was always preſſing the King to mind his affairs, but in vain. He was a good Chancellour, only a little too rough, but very impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He never ſeemed to underſtand foreign affairs well: And yet he meddled too much in them. He had too much levity in his wit, and did not always obſerve the decorum of his poſt. He was high, and was apt to reject thoſe who addreſſed themſelves to him with too much contempt. He had ſuch a regard to the King, that when places were diſpoſed of, even otherwiſe than as he adviſed, yet he would juſtify what the King did, and diſparage the pretenſions of others, not without much ſcorn; which created him many enemies. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, tho' the gout did often diſable him from waiting on the King: Yet, during his credit, the King came conſtantly to him when he was laid up by it.

Ormond's character. The next man in favour with the King was the Duke of Ormond: A man every way fitted for a Court: Of a graceful appearance, a lively wit, and a cheerful temper: A man of great expence, decent even in his vices, for he always kept up the form of religion. He had gone through many tranſactions in Ireland with more fidelity than ſucceſs. He had made a treaty with the Iriſh, which was broken by the great body of them, tho' ſome few of them adhered ſtill to him. But the whole Iriſh nation did ſtill pretend that, tho' they had broke the agreement firſt, yet he, or rather the King in whoſe name he had treated with them, was bound to perform all the articles of the treaty. He had miſcarried ſo in the ſiege of Dublin, that it very much leſſened the opinion of his military conduct. Yet his conſtant attendance on his maſter, his eaſineſs to him, and his great ſufferings for him, raiſed him to be Lord Steward of the Houſhold, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was firm to the Proteſtant religion, and ſo far firm

to

to the laws, that he always gave good advices: But when bad ones were followed, he was not for complaining too much of them. 1660.

The Earl of Southampton was next to these. He was a man of great virtue, and of very good parts. He had a lively apprehension, and a good judgment. He had merited much by his constant adhering to the King's interest during the war, and by the large supplies he had sent him every year during his exile; for he had a great estate, and only three daughters to inherit it. He was Lord Treasurer: But he grew soon weary of business; for as he was subject to the stone, which returned often and violently upon him, so he retained the principles of liberty, and did not go into the violent measures of the Court. When he saw the King's temper, and his way of managing, or rather of spoiling business, he grew very uneasy, and kept himself more out of the way than was consistent with that high post. The King stood in some awe of him; and saw how popular he would grow, if put out of his service: And therefore he chose rather to bear with his ill humour and contradiction, than to dismiss him. He left the business of the treasury wholly in the hands of his secretary, Sir Philip Warwick, who was an honest but a weak man, and understood the common road of the treasury. He was an incorrupt man, and during seven years management of the treasury made but an ordinary fortune out of it. Before the Restoration the Lord Treasurer had but a small salary, with an allowance for a table; but he gave, or rather sold, all the subaltern places, and made great profits out of the estate of the Crown: But now, that estate being gone, and the Earl of Southampton disdaining to sell places, the matter was settled so, that the Lord Treasurer was to have 8000l. a year, and the King was to name all the subaltern officers. It continued to be so all his South-ampton's character.

1660. his time: But ſince that time the Lord Treaſurer has both the 8000l. and a main hand in the diſpoſing of thoſe places.

Shaftſbury's character.

The man that was in the greateſt credit with the Earl of Southampton was Sir Anthony Aſhly Cooper, who had married his niece, and became afterwards ſo conſiderable that he was raiſed to be Earl of Shaftſbury. And ſince he came to have ſo great a name, and that I knew him for many years in a very particular manner, I will dwell a little longer on his character; for it was of a very extraordinary compoſition. He began to make a conſiderable figure very early. Before he was twenty he came into the Houſe of Commons, and was on the King's ſide; and undertook to get Wiltſhire and Dorſetſhire to declare for him: But he was not able to effect it. Yet Prince Maurice breaking articles to a town, that he had got to receive him, furniſhed him with an excuſe to forſake that ſide, and to turn to the Parliament. He had a wonderful faculty in ſpeaking to a popular aſſembly, and could mix both the facetious and the ſerious way of arguing very agreeably. He had a particular talent to make others truſt to his judgment, and depend on it: And he brought over ſo many to a ſubmiſſion to his opinion, that I never knew any man equal to him in the art of governing parties, and of making himſelf the head of them. He was as to religion a Deiſt at beſt: He had the dotage of Aſtrology in him to a high degree: He told me, that a Dutch doctor had from the ſtars foretold him the whole ſeries of his life. But that which was before him, when he told me this, proved falſe, if he told me true: For he ſaid, he was yet to be a greater man than he had been. He fancied, that after death our ſouls lived in ſtars. He had a general knowledge of the ſlighter parts of learning, but underſtood little to the bottom: So he triumphed in a rambling way of talking, but argued ſlightly when he

was held close to any point. He had a wonderful faculty at opposing, and running things down; but had not the like force in building up. He had such an extravagant vanity in setting himself out, that it was very disagreeable. He pretended that Cromwell offered to make him King. He was indeed of great use to him in withstanding the enthusiasts of that time. He was one of those who press'd him most to accept of the Kingship, because, as he said afterwards, he was sure it would ruin him. His strength lay in the knowledge of England, and of all the considerable men in it. He understood well the size of their understandings, and their tempers: And he knew how to apply himself to them so dextrously, that, tho' by his changing sides so often it was very visible how little he was to be depended on, yet he was to the last much trusted by all the discontented party. He was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made: And he valued himself on the doing it at the propereſt season, and in the best manner. This he did with so much vanity, and so little discretion, that he lost many by it. And his reputation was at last run so low, that he could not have held much longer, had he not died in good time, either for his family or for his party: The former would have been ruined, if he had not saved it by betraying the latter. 1660.

Another man, very near of the same sort, who passed thro' many great employments, was Annesly, advanced to be Earl of Anglesey; who had much more knowledge, and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of speaking indefatigably upon every subject: But he spoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery, for he was always attempting it. He understood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our constitution. He was capable of great application: And was a man of a grave deportment; Anglesey's character.

1660. but ſtuck at nothing, and was aſhamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor truſted by any man or any ſide: And he ſeemed to have no regard to common decencies: But ſold every thing that was in his power: And ſold himſelf ſo often, that at laſt the price fell ſo low, that he grew uſeleſs.

Hollis's character. Hollis was a man of great courage, and of as great pride: He was counted for many years the head of the Preſbyterian party. He was faithful and firm to his ſide, and never changed thro' the whole courſe of his life. He engaged in a particular oppoſition to Cromwell in the time of the war. They hated one another equally. Hollis ſeemed to carry this too far: For he would not allow Cromwell to have been either wiſe or brave; but often applied Solomon's obſervation to him, "That the battle was not to the ſtrong, nor favour "to the man of underſtanding, but that time and "chance happened to all men." He was well verſed in the records of Parliament: And argued well, but too vehemently; for he could not bear contradiction. He had the ſoul of an old ſtubborn Roman in him. He was a faithful but a rough friend, and a ſevere but fair enemy. He had a true ſenſe of religion: And was a man of an unblameable courſe of life, and of a ſound judgment when it was not biaſſed by paſſion. He was made a Lord for his merits in bringing about the Reſtoration.

Mancheſter's character. The Earl of Mancheſter was made Lord Chamberlain: A man of a ſoft and obliging temper, of no great depth, but univerſally beloved, being both a virtuous and a generous man.

Roberts's character. The Lord Roberts was made Lord Privy Seal, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at laſt Lord Preſident of the Council. He was a man of a more moroſe and cynical temper, juſt in his adminiſtration, but vitious under the appearances of virtue: Learned beyond any man of his quality, but intractable, ſtiff and obſtinate, proud and jealous.

Theſe

These five, whom I have named last, had the chief hand in engaging the Nation in the design of the Restoration. They had great credit, chiefly with the Presbyterian party, and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of that great turn was owing to them: And they were put in great posts by the Earl of Clarendon's means. By which he lost most of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the seeing such men so highly advanced, and so much trusted. 1660.

At the King's first coming over, Monk and Montague were the most considered. They both had the Garter. The one was made Duke of Albemarle, and the other Earl of Sandwich, and had noble estates given them. Monk was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature. They both asked, and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for some time; till he became so useless, that little personal regard could be paid him. But the King maintained still the appearances of it: For the appearance of the service he did him was such, that the King thought it fit to treat him with great distinction, even after he saw into him, and despised him. He took care to raise his kinsman Granville, who was made Earl of Bath and Groom of the Stole, a man who thought of nothing but of getting and spending money. The Duke of Albemarle raised two other persons. One was Clarges, his wife's brother, who was an honest but haughty man. He became afterwards a very considerable Parliament man, and valued himself on his opposing the Court, and on his frugality in managing the publick money; for he had Cromwell's œconomy ever in his mouth, and was always for reducing the expence of war to the modesty and parsimony of those times. Many thought he carried this too far: But it made him very popular. After he was become very rich himself by the publick money, he seemed to take care that Clarges's character.

1660. no body elſe ſhould grow as rich as he was in that way. Another man raiſed by the Duke of Albemarle was Morrice, who was the perſon that had prevailed with Monk to declare for the King. Upon that he was made Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judgment about foreign affairs. And the Duke of Albemarle's judgment of them may be meaſured by what he ſaid, when he found the King grew weary of Morrice, but that in regard to him he had no mind to turn him out; He did not know what was neceſſary for a good Secretary of State in which he was defective, for he could ſpeak French and write ſhort hand.

Morrice's character.

Nicolas's character.

Nicolas was the other Secretary, who had been employed by King Charles the firſt during the war, and had ſerved him faithfully, but had no underſtanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of virtue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or become acceptable to him. So not long after the Reſtoration, Bennet, advanced afterwards to be Earl of Arlington, was by the intereſt of the Popiſh party made Secretary of State; and was admitted into ſo particular a confidence, that he began to raiſe a party in oppoſition to the Earl of Clarendon. He was a proud man. His parts were ſolid, but not quick. He had the art of obſerving the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time. He was believed a Papiſt. He had once profeſſed it: And when he died, he again reconciled himſelf to that Church. Yet in the whole courſe of his miniſtry, he ſeemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to ſhew no favour to Popery, but that all his affairs would be ſpoiled if ever he turned that way; which made the Papiſts become his mortal enemies, and accuſe him as an apoſtate, and the betrayer of their intereſts. His chief friend was Charles Berkley, made Earl of Falmouth, who without any viſible merit, unleſs it

Arlington's character.

was

was the managing the King's amours, was the most absolute of all the King's favourites: And, which was peculiar to himself, he was as much in the Duke of York's favour as in the King's. Berkley was generous in his expence: And it was thought, if he had outlived the lewdness of that time, and come to a more sedate course of life, he would have put the King on great and noble designs. This I should have thought more likely, if I had not had it from the Duke, who had so wrong a taste, that there was reason to suspect his judgment both of men and things. Bennet and Berkley had the management of the mistress. And all the Earl of Clarendon's enemies came about them: The chief of whom were the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Bristol. 1660.

The first of these was a man of noble presence. He had a great liveliness of wit, and a peculiar faculty of turning all things into ridicule with bold figures and natural descriptions. He had no sort of literature: Only he was drawn into chymistry: And for some years he thought he was very near the finding the philosopher's stone; which had the effect that attends on all such men as he was, when they are drawn in, to lay out for it. He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship. Pleasure, frolick, or extravagant diversion was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing, for he was not true to himself. He had no steadiness nor conduct: He could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it. He could never fix his thoughts, nor govern his estate, tho' then the greatest in England. He was bred about the King: And for many years he had a great ascendent over him: But he spake of him to all persons with that contempt, that at last he drew a lasting disgrace upon himself. And he at length ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation equally. The madness of vice appear- Buckingham's character.

ed

1660. ed in his perſon in very eminent inſtances; ſince at laſt he became contemptible and poor, ſickly, and ſunk in his parts, as well as in all other reſpects, ſo that his converſation was as much avoided as ever it had been courted. He found the King, when he came from his travels in the year 45, newly come to Paris, ſent over by his father when his affairs declined: And finding the King enough inclined to receive ill impreſſions, he, who was then got into all the impieties and vices of the age, ſet himſelf to corrupt the King, in which he was too ſucceſsful, being ſeconded in that wicked deſign by the Lord Percy. And to compleat the matter, Hobbs was brought to him, under the pretence of inſtructing him in mathematicks: And he laid before him his ſchemes, both with relation to religion and politicks, which made deep and laſting impreſſions on the King's mind. So that the main blame of the King's ill principles, and bad morals, was owing to the Duke of Buckingham.

Briſtol's character.

The Earl of Briſtol was a man of courage and learning, of a bold temper and a lively wit, but of no judgment nor ſteadineſs. He was in the Queen's intereſt during the war at Oxford. And he ſtudied to drive things paſt the poſſibility of a treaty, or any reconciliation; fancying that nothing would make the military men ſo ſure to the King, as his being ſure to them, and giving them hopes of ſharing the confiſcated eſtates among them; whereas, he thought, all diſcourſes of treaty made them feeble and fearful. When he went beyond ſea he turned Papiſt. But it was after a way of his own: For he loved to magnify the difference between the Church and the Court of Rome. He was eſteemed a very good ſpeaker: But he was too copious, and too florid. He was ſet at the head of the popiſh party, and was a violent enemy of the Earl of Clarendon.

Having

Having now said as much as seems necessary to describe the state of the Court and Ministry at the Restoration, I will next give an account of the chief of the Scots, and of the parties that were formed among them. The Earl of Lauderdale, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous Covenanter: But in the year forty seven he turned to the King's interests; and had continued a prisoner all the while after Worcester fight, where he was taken. He was kept for some years in the tower of London, in Portland castle, and in other prisons, till he was set at liberty by those who called home the King. So he went over to Holland. And since he continued so long, and contrary to all mens opinions in so high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I should be a little copious in setting out his character; for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance: He was very big: His hair red, hanging odly about him: His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to: And his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians ancient and modern: So that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression, abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: That would rather provoke him to swear, he would never be of another mind: He was to be let alone: And perhaps he would have forgot

1660.

Lauderdale's character.

1660. forgot what he had ſaid, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldeſt friend and the violenteſt enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at firſt ſeemed to deſpiſe wealth: But he delivered himſelf up afterwards to luxury and ſenſuality: And by that means he ran into a vaſt expence, and ſtuck at nothing that was neceſſary to ſupport it. In his long impriſonment he had great impreſſions of religion on his mind: But he wore theſe out ſo entirely, that ſcarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would pleaſe the King, and his bold offering at the moſt deſperate counſels, gained him ſuch an intereſt in the King, that no attempt againſt him nor complaint of him could ever ſhake it, till a decay of ſtrength and underſtanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much againſt Popery and arbitrary government: And yet by a fatal train of paſſions and intereſts he made way for the former, and had almoſt eſtabliſhed the latter. And, whereas ſome by a ſmooth deportment made the firſt beginnings of tyranny leſs diſcernible and unacceptable, he by the fury of his behaviour heightned the ſeverity of his miniſtry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquiſition than the legality of juſtice. With all this he was a Preſbyterian, and retained his averſion to King Charles I. and his party to his death.

Crawford's character.

The Earl of Crawford had been his fellow priſoner for ten years. And that was a good title for maintaining him in the poſt he had before, of being Lord Treaſurer. He was a ſincere but weak man, paſſionate and indiſcreet, and continued ſtill a zealous Preſbyterian.

Rothes's character.

The Earl, afterwards Duke of Rothes, had married his Daughter, and had the merit of a long impriſonment likewiſe to recommend him: He had a ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a ſoft and inſinuating addreſs;

addreſs: He had a quick apprehenſion with a clear judgment: He had no advantage of education, no ſort of literature: Nor had he travelled abroad: All in him was mere nature. 1660.

The Earl of Tweedale was another of Lord Lauderdale's friends. He was early engaged in buſineſs, and continued in it to a great age. He underſtood all the intereſts and concerns of Scotland well: He had a great ſtock of knowledge, with a mild and obliging temper. He was of a blameleſs, or rather an exemplary life in all reſpects. He had looſe thoughts both of civil and eccleſiaſtical government; and ſeemed to think, that what form ſoever was uppermoſt was to be complied with. He had been in Cromwell's Parliament, and had abjured the Royal family, which lay heavy on him. But the diſputes about the guardianſhip of the Ducheſs of Monmouth and her elder ſiſter, to which he pretended in the right of his wife, who was their father's ſiſter, againſt her mother who was Lord Rothes's ſiſter, drew him into that compliance which brought a great cloud upon him: Tho' he was in all other reſpects the ableſt and worthieſt man of the nobility: Only he was too cautious and fearful. Tweedale's character.

A ſon of the Marquis of Douglas, made Earl of Selkirk, had married the heireſs of the family of Hamilton, who by her father's patent was Ducheſs of Hamilton: And when the heireſs of a title in Scotland marries one not equal to her in rank, it is ordinary at her deſire to give her huſband the title for life: So he was made Duke of Hamilton. He then paſs'd for a ſoft man, who minded nothing but the recovery of that family from the great debts under which it was ſinking, till it was raiſed up again by his great management. After he had compaſſed that, he became a more conſiderable man. He wanted all ſort of poliſhing: He was rough and ſullen, but candid and ſincere. His temper was boiſterous, neither fit to ſubmit nor to govern. He was mutinous when out of power, D. Hamilton's character.

and

1660. and imperious in it. He wrote well, but ſpoke ill: For his judgment when calm, was better than his imagination. He made himſelf a great maſter in the knowledge of the laws, of the hiſtory, and of the families of Scotland; and ſeemed always to have a regard to juſtice, and the good of his country: But a narrow and ſelfiſh temper brought ſuch an habitual meanneſs on him, that he was not capable of deſigning or undertaking great things.

Kincairdin's character.

Another man of that ſide, that made a good figure at that time, was Bruce, afterwards Earl of Kincairdin, who had married a daughter of Mr. Somelſdych in Holland: And by that means he had got acquaintance with our Princes beyond ſea, and had ſupplied them liberally in their neceſſities. He was both the wiſeſt and the worthieſt man that belonged to his country, and fit for governing any affairs but his own; which he by a wrong turn, and by his love for the publick, neglected to his ruin; for they conſiſting much in works, coals, ſalt, and mines, required much care; and he was very capable of it, having gone far in mathematicks, and being a great maſter of mechanicks. His thoughts went ſlow, and his words came much ſlower: But a deep judgment appeared in every thing he ſaid or did. He had a noble zeal for juſtice, in which even friendſhip could never biaſs him. He had ſolid principles of religion and virtue, which ſhewed themſelves with great luſtre on all occaſions. He was a faithful friend, and a merciful enemy. I may be perhaps inclined to carry his character too far; for he was the firſt man that entred into friendſhip with me. We continued for ſeventeen years in ſo entire a friendſhip, that there was never either reſerve or miſtake between us all the while till his death. And it was from him that I underſtood the whole ſecret of affairs; for he was truſted with every thing. He had a wonderful love to the King; and would never believe me, when I warned him, what he might

might look for, if he did not go along with an abject compliance in every thing. He found it true in concluſion. And the love he bore the King made his diſgrace ſink deeper in him, than became ſuch a philoſopher, or ſo good a chriſtian as he was. 1660.

I now turn to another ſet of men, of whom the Earls of Midletoun and Glencairn were the chief. They were followed by the herd of the Cavalier party, who were now very fierce and full of courage over their cups, tho' they had been very diſcreet managers of it in the field, and in time of action. But now every one of them boaſted that he had killed his thouſands. And all were full of merit, and as full of high pretenſions; far beyond what all the wealth and revenues of Scotland could anſwer. The ſubtileſt of all Lord Midletoun's friends was Sir Archibald Primroſe: A man of long and great practice in affairs; for he and his father had ſerved the Crown ſucceſſively an hundred years all but one, when he was turned out of employment. He was a dextrous man in buſineſs: He had always expedients ready at every difficulty. He had an art of ſpeaking to all men according to their ſenſe of things: And ſo drew out their ſecrets while he concealed his own: For words went for nothing with him. He ſaid every thing that was neceſſary to perſuade thoſe he ſpoke to, that he was of their mind; and did it in ſo genuine a way that he ſeemed to ſpeak his heart. He was always for ſoft counſels, and ſlow methods: And thought that the chief thing that a great man ought to do was, to raiſe his family and his kindred, who naturally ſtick to him; for he had ſeen ſo much of the world, that he did not depend much on friends, and ſo took no care in making any. He always adviſed the Earl of Midletoun to go ſlowly in the King's buſineſs; but to do his own effectually, before the King ſhould ſee he had no farther occaſion for him. That Earl

The general character of the old Cavaliers.

Primroſe's character.

1660. had another friend, who had more credit with him, tho' Primrose was more necessary for managing a Parliament: He was Sir John Fletcher, made the King's Advocate or Attorney General: For Nicholson was dead. Fletcher was a man of a generous temper, who despised wealth, except as it was necessary to support a vast expence. He was a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could scarce speak with decency or patience to those of the other side. So that he was looked on by all that had been faulty in the late times, as an Inquisitor General. On the other hand Primrose took money liberally, and was the intercessor for all who made such effectual applications to him.

Fletcher's character.

Advices offered in Scotch affairs.

The first thing that was to be thought on, with relation to Scotch affairs, was the manner in which offenders in the late times were to be treated: For all were at mercy. In the letter the King writ from Breda to the Parliament of England he had promised a full indemnity for all that was past, excepting only those who had been concerned in his father's death: To which the Earl of Clarendon persuaded the King to adhere in a most sacred manner; since the breaking of faith in such a point was that which must for ever destroy confidence, and the observing all such promises seemed to be a fundamental maxim in government, which was to be maintained in such a manner, that not so much as a stretch was to be made in it. But there was no promise made for Scotland: So all the Cavaliers, as they were full of revenge, hoped to have the estates of those who had been concerned in the late wars divided among them. The Earl of Lauderdale told the King, on the other hand, that the Scotch nation had turned eminently, tho' unfortunately, to serve his father in the year forty eight; that they had brought himself among them, and had lost two armies in his service, and had been under nine years oppression on

For a general indemnity.

that

that account; that they had encouraged and aſſiſted Monk in all he did: They might be therefore highly diſguſted, if they ſhould not have the ſame meaſure of grace and pardon that he was to give England. Beſides, the King, while he was in Scotland, had in the Parliament of Stirling paſs'd a very full act of indemnity, tho' in the terms and with the title of an act of approbation. It is true, the records of that Parliament were not extant, but had been loſt in the confuſion that followed upon the reduction of that Kingdom: Yet the thing was ſo freſh in every man's memory, that it might have a very ill effect, if the King ſhould proceed without a regard to it. There was indeed another very ſevere act made in that Parliament againſt all that ſhould treat or ſubmit to Cromwell, or comply in any ſort with him: But, he ſaid, a difference ought to be made between thoſe who during the ſtruggle had deſerted the ſervice and gone over to the enemy, of which number it might be fit to make ſome examples, and the reſt of the kingdom, who upon the general reduction had been forced to capitulate: It would be hard to puniſh any for ſubmitting to a ſuperior force, when they were in no condition to reſiſt it. This ſeemed reaſonable: And the Earl of Clarendon acquieſced in it. But the Earl of Midletoun and his party complained of it, and deſired that the Marquis of Argile, whom they charged with an acceſſion to the King's murder, and ſome few of thoſe who had joined in the remonſtrance while the King was in Scotland, might be proceeded againſt. The Marquis of Argile's craft made them afraid of him: And his Eſtate made them deſire to divide it among them. His ſon, the Lord Lorn, was come up to Court, and was well received by the King: For he had adhered ſo firmly to the King's intereſt, that he would never enter into any engagements with the Uſurpers: And upon every new occaſion of jealouſy he had 1660.

1660. been clapt up. In one of his impriſonments he had a terrible accident from a cannon bullet, which the ſoldiers were throwing to exerciſe their ſtrength, and by a recoil ſtruck him in the head, and made ſuch a fracture in his ſkull, that the operation of the trepan, and the cure, was counted one of the greateſt performances of ſurgery at that time. The difference between his father and him went on to a total breach; ſo that his father was ſet upon the diſinheriting him of all that was ſtill left in his power. Upon the Reſtoration the Marquis of Argile went up to the Highlands for ſome time, till he adviſed with his friends what to do, who were divided in opinion. He writ by his ſon to the King, aſking leave to come and wait on him. The King gave an anſwer that ſeemed to encourage it, but did not bind him to any thing. I have forgot the words: There was an equivocating in them that did not become a Prince: But his ſon told me, he wrote them very particularly to his father, without any advice of his own. Upon that the Marquis of Argile came up ſo ſecretly, that he was within Whitehall, before his enemies knew any thing of his journey. He ſent his ſon to the King to beg admittance. But inſtead of that he was ſent to the Tower. And orders were ſent down for clapping up three of the chief Remonſtrators. Of theſe Wariſtoun was one: But he had notice ſent him before the meſſenger came: So he made his eſcape, and went beyond ſea, firſt to Hamburgh. He had been long courted by Cromwell, and had ſtood at a diſtance from him for ſeven years: But in the laſt year of his government he had gone into his counſels, and was ſummoned as one of his Peers to the other Houſe, as it was called. He was after that put into the Council of ſtate after Richard was put out: And then he ſat in another court put up by Lambert and the Army, called the Committee of ſafety. So there was a great deal againſt him.

Argile ſent to the Tower.

Swinton,

Swinton, one of Cromwell's Lords, was alſo ſent a priſoner to Scotland. And thus it was reſolved to make a few examples in the Parliament that was to be called, as ſoon as the King could be got to prepare matters for it. It was reſolved on, to reſtore the King's authority to the ſame ſtate it was in before the wars, and to raiſe ſuch a force as might be neceſſary to ſecure the quiet of that kingdom for the future. 1660.

The citadels in Scotland demoliſhed.

It was a harder point, what to do with the citadels that were built by Cromwell, and with the Engliſh garriſons that were kept in them. Many ſaid, it was neceſſary to keep that kingdom in that ſubdued ſtate; at leaſt till all things were ſettled, and that there was no more danger from thence. The Earl of Clarendon was of this mind. But the Earl of Lauderdale laid before the King, that the conqueſt Cromwell had made of Scotland was for their adhering to him: He might then judge what they would think, who had ſuffered ſo much and ſo long on his account; if the ſame thraldome ſhould be now kept up by his means: It would create an univerſal diſguſt. He told the King, that the time might come, in which he would wiſh rather to have Scotch garriſons in England: It would become a national quarrel, and loſe the affections of the country to ſuch a degree, that perhaps they would join with the garriſons, if any disjointing happened in England againſt him: Whereas, without any ſuch badge of Slavery, Scotland might be ſo managed, that they might be made entirely his. The Earl of Midletoun and his party durſt not appear for ſo unpopular a thing. So it was agreed on, that the citadels ſhould be evacuated and ſlighted, as ſoon as the money could be raiſed in England for paying and diſbanding the Army. Of all this the Earl of Lauderdale was believed the chief adviſer. So he became very popular in Scotland.

1660. The next thing that fell under conſideration was the Church, and whether Biſhops were to be reſtored, or not. The Earl of Lauderdale at his firſt coming to the King ſtuck firm to Preſbytery. He told me, the King ſpoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen. He being really a Preſbyterian, but at the ſame time reſolving to get into the King's confidence, ſtudied to convince the King by a very ſubtil method to keep up Preſbytery ſtill in Scotland. He told him, that both King James and his father had ruined their affairs by engaging in the deſign of ſetting up Epiſcopacy in that Kingdom: And by that means Scotland became diſcontented, and was of no uſe to them: Whereas the King ought to govern them according to the grain of their own inclinations, and to make them ſure to him: He ought, inſtead of endeavouring an uniformity in both kingdoms, to keep up the oppoſition between them, and rather to encreaſe than to allay that hatred that was between them: And then the Scots would be ready, and might be eaſily brought to ſerve him upon any occaſion of diſpute he might afterwards have with the Parliament of England: All things were then ſmooth: But that was the honey moon, and it could not laſt long: Nothing would keep England more in awe, than if they ſaw Scotland firm in their duty and affection to him: Whereas nothing gave them ſo much heart, as when they knew Scotland was disjointed: It was a vain attempt to think of doing any thing in England by means of the Iriſh, who were a deſpicable people, and had a ſea to paſs: But Scotland could be brought to engage for the King in a more ſilent manner, and could ſerve him more effectually: He therefore laid it down for a maxim, from which the King ought never to depart, that Scotland was to be kept quiet and in good humour, that the oppoſition of the two kingdoms was to be kept up and heighten'd:

Diſputes concerning Epiſcopacy.

ten'd: And then the King might reckon on every man capable of bearing arms in Scotland, as a liſted ſoldier, who would willingly change a bad country for a better. This was the plan he laid before the King. I cannot tell, whether this was to cover his zeal for Preſbytery, or on deſign to encourage the King to ſet up arbitrary government in England. 1660.

To fortify theſe advices he wrote a long letter in white ink to a Daughter of the Earl of Caſſilis, Lady Margaret Kennedy, who was in great credit with the party, and was looked on as a very wiſe and good woman, and was out of meaſure zealous for them. I married her afterwards, and after her death found this letter among her papers: In which he expreſſed great zeal for the cauſe: He ſaw the King was indifferent in the matter: But he was eaſy to thoſe who preſſed for a change: Which, he ſaid, nothing could ſo effectually hinder, as the ſending up many men of good ſenſe, but without any noiſe, who might inform the King of the averſion the nation had to that government, and aſſure him that, if in that point he would be eaſy to them, he might depend upon them as to every thing elſe; and particularly, if he ſtood in need of their ſervice in his other dominions: But he charged her to truſt very few of the Miniſters with this, and to take care that Sharp might know nothing of it: For he was then jealous of him. This had all the effect that the Earl of Lauderdale intended by it. The King was no more jealous of his favouring Preſbytery; but looked on him as a fit inſtrument to manage Scotland, and to ſerve him in the moſt deſperate deſigns: And on this all his credit with the King was founded. In the mean time Sharp, ſeeing the King cold in the matter of Epiſcopacy, thought it was neceſſary to lay the Preſbyterians aſleep, to make them apprehend no danger to their government, and to engage the Pub-

1660. lick Reſolutioners to proceed againſt all the Proteſters; that ſo thoſe who were like to be the moſt inflexible in the point of Epiſcopacy might be cenſured by their own party, and by that means the others might become ſo odious to the more violent Preſbyterians, that thereby they might be the more eaſily diſpoſed to ſubmit to Epiſcopacy, or at leaſt might have leſs credit to act againſt it. So he, being preſs'd by thoſe who employed him to procure ſomewhat from the King that might look like a confirmation of their government, and put to ſilence all diſcourſes of an intended change, obtained by the Earl of Lauderdale's means, that a letter ſhould be writ by the King to the Preſbytery of Edinburgh, to be communicated by them to all the other Preſbyteries in Scotland, in which he confirmed the General Aſſemblies that ſate at St. Andrews and Dundee while he was in Scotland, and that had confirmed the publick reſolutions; in which he ordered them to proceed to cenſure all thoſe who had then proteſted againſt them, and would not now ſubmit to them. The King did alſo confirm the Preſbyterian government, as it was by law eſtabliſhed. This was ſigned, and ſent down without communicating it to the Earl of Midletoun or his party. But as ſoon as he heard of it, he thought Sharp had betrayed the deſign; and ſent for him, and charged him with it. Sharp ſaid, in his own excuſe, that ſomewhat muſt be done for quieting the Preſbyterians, who were beginning to take the alarm: That might have produced ſuch applications, as would perhaps make ſome impreſſion on the King: Whereas now all was ſecured, and yet the King was engaged to nothing; for his confirming their government, as it was eſtabliſhed by law, could bind him no longer than while that legal eſtabliſhment was in force: So the reverſing of that would releaſe the King. This allayed the Earl of Midletoun's diſpleaſure a little.

little. Yet Primrose told me, he spoke often of it with great indignation, since it seemed below the dignity of a King thus to equivocate with his people, and to deceive them. It seemed, that Sharp thought it not enough to cheat the party himself, but would have the King share with him in the fraud. This was no honourable step to be made by a King, and to be contrived by a Clergyman. The letter was received with transports of joy: The Presbyterians reckoned they were safe, and began to proceed severely against the Protestors; to which they were set on by some aspiring men, who hoped to merit by the heat expressed on this occasion. And if Sharp's impatience to get into the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews had not wrought too strong on him, it would have given a great advantage to the restitution of Episcopacy, if a General Assembly had been called, and the two parties had been let loose on one another: That would have shewn the impossibility of maintaining the government of the Church in a party, and the necessity of setting a superiour order over them for keeping them in unity and peace. 1660.

A Ministry settled in Scotland.

The King settled the Ministry in Scotland. The Earl of Midletoun was declared the King's Commissioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the forces that were to be raised: The Earl of Glencairn was made Chancellour: The Earl of Lauderdale was Secretary of State: The Earl of Rothes President of the Council: The Earl of Crawford was continued in the Treasury: Primrose was Clerk Register, which is very like the place of Master of the Rolls in England. The rest depended on these. But the Earls of Midletoun and Lauderdale were the two heads of the parties. The Earl of Midletoun had a private instruction, which, as Lauderdale told me, was not communicated to him, to try the inclinations of the Nation for Episcopacy, and to consider of

1660. the beſt method of ſetting it up. This was drawn from the King by the Earl of Clarendon: For he himſelf was obſerved to be very cold in it, while theſe things were doing. Primroſe got an order from the King to put up all the publick regiſters of Scotland, which Cromwell had brought up, and lodged in the Tower of London, as a pawn upon that Kingdom, in imitation of what King Edward the firſt was ſaid to have done when he ſubdued that Nation. They were now put up in fifty hogſheads: And a ſhip was ready to carry them down. But it was ſuggeſted to Lord Clarendon, that the original Covenant, ſigned by the King, and ſome other declarations under his hand, were among them. And he, apprehending that at ſome time or other an ill uſe might have been made of theſe, would not ſuffer them to be ſhipped till they were viſited: Nor would he take Primroſe's promiſe of ſearching for theſe carefully, and ſending them up to him. So he ordered a ſearch to be made. None of the papers he looked for were found. But ſo much time was loſt, that the ſummer was ſpent: So they were ſent down in winter: And by ſome eaſterly guſts the ſhip was caſt away near Berwick. So we loſt all our records. And we have nothing now but ſome fragments in private hands to rely on, having made at that time ſo great a ſhipwreck of all our authentick writings. This heightened the diſpleaſure the Nation had at the deſigns then on foot.

A Council propoſed to ſit at Court for Scotch affairs.

The main thing, upon which all other matters depended, was the method in which the affairs of Scotland were to be conducted. The Earl of Clarendon moved, that there might be a Council ſettled to ſit regularly at Whitehall on Scotch affairs, to which every one of the Scotch Privy Council that happened to be on the place ſhould be admitted: But with this addition, that, as two Scotch Lords were called to the Engliſh Council, ſo ſix of the Engliſh were to be of the Scotch Council.

Council. The effect of this would have been, 1660.
that whereas the Scotch Counſellours had no great
force in Engliſh affairs, the Engliſh, as they were
men of great credit with the King, and were al-
ways on the place, would have the government of
the affairs of Scotland wholly in their hands. This
probably would have ſaved that Nation from much
injuſtice and violence, when there was a certain
method of laying their grievances before the King:
Complaints would have been heard, and matters
well examined: Engliſhmen would not, and durſt
not, have given way to crying oppreſſion, and il-
legal proceedings: For tho' theſe matters did not
fall under the cogniſance of an Engliſh Parlia-
ment, yet it would have very much blaſted a
man's credit, who ſhould have concurred in ſuch
methods of government as were put in practice
afterwards in that Kingdom: Therefore all people
quickly ſaw how wiſe a project this was, and how
happy it would have proved, if affairs had ſtill
gone in that channel. But the Earl of Lauder-
dale oppoſed this with all his ſtrength. He told
the King, it would quite deſtroy the ſcheme
he had laid before him, which muſt be managed
ſecretly, and by men that were not in fear of the
Parliament of England, nor obnoxious to it. He
ſaid to all Scotchmen, this would make Scotland
a province to England, and ſubject it to Engliſh
Counſellours, who knew neither the laws nor the
intereſts of Scotland, and yet would determine
every thing relating to it: And all the wealth of
Scotland would be employed to bribe them, who,
having no concern of their own in the affairs of
that Kingdom, muſt be ſuppoſed capable of be-
ing ſwayed by private conſiderations. To the
Preſbyterians he ſaid, this would infallibly bring
in, not only Epiſcopacy, but every thing elſe from
the Engliſh pattern. Men who had neither kin-
dred nor eſtates in Scotland would be biaſſed
chiefly by that which was moſt in vogue in Eng-
land,

1660. land, without any regard to the inclinations of the Scots. These things made great impressions on the Scotch Nation. The King himself did not much like it. But the Earl of Clarendon told him, Scotland, by a secret and ill management, had begun the embroilment in his father's affairs, which could never have happened, if the affairs of that Kingdom had been under a more equal inspection: If Scotland should again fall into new disorders, he must have the help of England to quiet them: And that could not be expected, if the English had no share in the conduct of matters there. The King yielded to it: And this method was followed for two or three years; but was afterwards broke by the Earl of Lauderdale, when he got into the chief management. He began early to observe some uneasiness in the King at the Earl of Clarendon's positive way. He saw the mistress hated him: And he believed she would in time be too hard for him: Therefore he made great applications to her. But his conversation was too coarse: And he had not money enough to support himself by presents to her: So he could not be admitted into that cabal which was held in her lodgings. He saw, that in a Council, where men of weight, who had much at stake in England, bore the chief sway, he durst not have proposed those things, by which he intended to establish his own interest with the King, and to govern that Kingdom which way his pride or passion might guide him. Among others, he took great pains to persuade me of the great service he had done his country by breaking that method of governing it; tho' we had many occasions afterwards to see how fatal that proved, and how wicked his design in it was.

The Committee of Estates meet in Scotland.

I have thus opened with some copiousness the beginnings of this reign; since, as they are little known, and I had them from the chief of both sides, so they may guide the reader to observe the

progreſs of things better in the ſequel than he could otherwiſe do. In Auguſt the Earl of Glencairn was ſent down to Scotland, and had orders to call together the Committee of Eſtates. This was a practice begun in the late times: When the Parliament made a receſs, they appointed ſome of every State to ſit, and to act as a Council of State in their name till the next ſeſſion; for which they were to prepare matters, and to which they gave an account of their proceedings. When the Parliament of Stirling was adjourned, the King being preſent, a Committee had been named: So, ſuch of theſe as were yet alive were ſummoned to meet, and to ſee to the quiet of the Nation, till the Parliament ſhould be brought together; which did not meet before January. On the day in which the Committee met, ten or twelve of the Proteſting Miniſters met likewiſe at Edinburgh; and had before them a warm paper prepared by one Guthery, one of the violenteſt Miniſters of the whole party. In it, after ſome cold compliment to the King upon his Reſtoration, they put him in mind of the Covenant which he had ſo ſolemnly ſworn while among them: They lamented that, inſtead of purſuing the ends of it in England, as he had ſworn to do, he had ſet up the Common Prayer in his Chappel, and the order of Biſhops: Upon which they made terrible denunciations of heavy judgments from God on him, if he did not ſtand to the Covenant, which they called the oath of God. The Earl of Glencairn had notice of this meeting: And he ſent and ſeized on them, together with this remonſtrance. The paper was voted ſcandalous and ſeditious: And the Miniſters were all clapt up in priſon, and were threaten'd with great ſeverities. Guthery was kept ſtill in priſon, who had brought the others together: But the reſt after a while's impriſonment were let go. Guthery, being Miniſter of Stirling while the King was there, had let 1660.

fly

1660. fly at him in his Sermons in a moſt indecent manner; which at laſt became ſo intolerable, that he was cited to appear before the King to anſwer for ſome paſſages in his ſermons: He would not appear, but declined the King and his Council, who, he ſaid, were not proper judges of matters of doctrine, for which he was only accountable to the judicatories of the Kirk. He alſo proteſted for remedy of law againſt the King, for thus diſturbing him in the exerciſe of his Miniſtry. This perſonal affront had irritated the King more againſt him, than againſt any other of the party. And it was reſolved to ſtrike a terrour into them all, by making an example of him. He was a man of courage, and went thro' all his trouble with great firmneſs. But this way of proceeding ſtruck the whole party with ſuch a conſternation, that it had all the effect which was deſigned by it: For whereas the pulpits had, to the great ſcandal of religion, been places where the preachers had for many years vented their ſpleen and arraigned all proceedings, they became now more decent, and there was a general ſilence every where with relation to the affairs of ſtate: Only they could not hold from many ſly and ſecret inſinuations, as if the Ark of God was ſhaking, and the Glory departing. A great many offenders were ſummoned, at the King's ſuit, before the Committee of Eſtates, and required to give bail, that they ſhould appear at the opening of the Parliament, and anſwer to what ſhould be then objected to them. Many ſaw, the deſign of this was to fright them into a compoſition, and alſo into a concurrence with the meaſures that were to be taken. For the greater part they complied, and redeemed themſelves from farther vexation by ſuch preſents as they were able to make. And in theſe tranſactions Primroſe and Fletcher were the great dealers.

A Parliament in Scotland.

In the end of the year the Earl of Midletoun came down with great magnificence: His way of living

living was the moſt ſplendid the nation had ever ſeen: But it was likewiſe the moſt ſcandalous; for vices of all ſorts were the open practices of thoſe about him. Drinking was the moſt notorious of all, which was often continued thro' the whole night to the next morning: And many diſorders happening after thoſe irregular heats, the people, who had never before that time ſeen any thing like it, came to look with an ill eye on every thing that was done by ſuch a ſet of lewd and vitious men. This laid in all men's minds a new prejudice againſt Epiſcopacy: For they, who could not examine into the nature of things, were apt to take an ill opinion of every change in religion that was brought about by ſuch bad inſtruments. There had been a face of gravity and piety in the former adminiſtration, which made the libertinage of the preſent time more odious. 1660.

The Earl of Midletoun opened the Parliament on the firſt of January with a ſpeech ſetting forth the bleſſing of the Reſtoration: He magnified the King's perſon, and enlarged on the affection that he bore to that his ancient Kingdom: He hoped they would make ſuitable returns of zeal for the King's ſervice, that they would condemn all the invaſions that had been made on the Regal authority, and aſſert the juſt prerogative of the Crown, and give ſupplies for keeping up ſuch a force as was neceſſary to ſecure the publick peace, and to preſerve them from the return of ſuch calamities as they had ſo long felt. The Parliament writ an anſwer to the King's letter full of duty and thanks. The firſt thing propoſed was to name Lords of the Articles. In order to the apprehending the importance of this, I will give ſome account of the conſtitution of that Kingdom. 1661.

The Lords of the Articles.

The Parliament was anciently the King's Court, where all who held land of him were bound to appear. All ſate in one houſe, but were conſidered

1661. ſidered as three eſtates. The firſt was the Church, repreſented by the Biſhops, and mitred Abbots, and Priors. The ſecond was the Baronage, the Nobility and Gentry who held their Baronies of the King. And the third was the Burroughs, who held of the King by Barony, tho' in a community. So that the Parliament was truly the Baronage of the Kingdom. The leſſer Barons grew weary of this attendance: So in King James the firſt's time (during the reign of Henry IV. of England) they were excuſed from it, and were impowered to ſend proxies, to an indefinite number, to repreſent them in Parliament. Yet they neglected to do this. And it continued ſo till King James the ſixth's time, in which the mitred Abbots being taken away, and few of the titular Biſhops that were then continued appearing at them, the Church Lands being generally in Lay hands, the Nobility carried matters in Parliament as they pleaſed: And as they oppreſſed the Burroughs, ſo they had the King much under them. Upon this the lower Barons got themſelves to be reſtored to the right which they had neglected near two hundred years. They were allowed by act of Parliament to ſend two from a county: Only ſome ſmaller counties ſent but one. This brought that conſtitution to a truer balance. The lower Barons have a right to chooſe at their county Courts after Michaelmas their Commiſſioners, to ſerve in any Parliament that may be called within that year. And they who chuſe them ſign a commiſſion to him who repreſents them. So the Sheriff has no ſhare of the return. And in the caſe of controverted elections the Parliament examines the commiſſions, to ſee who has the greateſt number, and judges whether every one that ſigns it had a right to do ſo. The Burroughs only chooſe their members when the ſummons goes out: And all are choſen by the men of the corporation, or, as they call them, the town council. All theſe Eſtates

Eſtates ſit in one houſe, and vote together. Anciently the Parliament ſate only two days, the firſt and the laſt. On the firſt they choſe thoſe who were to ſit on the articles, eight for every ſtate, to whom the King joined eight officers of ſtate. Theſe received all the heads of grievances or articles that were brought to them, and formed them into bills as they pleaſed: And on the laſt day of the Parliament, theſe were all read, and were approved or rejected by the whole body. So they were a committee that had a very extraordinary authority, ſince nothing could be brought before the Parliament but as they pleaſed. This was pretended to be done only for the ſhortening and diſpatching of Seſſions. The Crown was not contented with this limitation, but got it to be carried farther. The Nobility came to chooſe eight Biſhops, and the Biſhops to chooſe eight noble men: And theſe ſixteen chooſe the eight Barons, (ſo the repreſentative for the Shires are called,) and the eight Burgeſſes. By this means our Kings did upon the matter chooſe all the Lords of the articles. So entirely had they got the liberties of that Parliament into their hands. 1661.

During the late troubles they had ſtill kept up a diſtinction of three eſtates, the leſſer Barons making one: And then every Eſtate might meet apart, and name their own committee: But ſtill all things were brought in, and debated in full Parliament. So now the firſt thing propoſed was, the returning to the old cuſtom of naming Lords of the articles. The Earl of Tweedale oppoſed it, but was ſeconded only by one perſon. So it paſs'd with that ſmall oppoſition. Only, to make it go eaſier, it was promiſed, that there ſhould be frequent ſeſſions of Parliament, and that the acts ſhould not be brought in in a hurry, and carried with the haſte that had been practiſed in former times.

The

1661. The Parliament granted the King an additional revenue for life of 40000l. a year, to be raiſed by an exciſe on beer and ale, for maintaining a ſmall force: Upon which two troops and a regiment of foot guards were to be raiſed. They ordered the Marquis of Montroſe's quarters to be brought together: And they were buried with great ſtate. They fell next upon the acts of the former times that had limited the Prerogative: They repealed them, and aſſerted it with a full extent in a moſt extraordinary manner. Primroſe had the drawing of theſe acts. He often confeſſed to me, that he thought he was as one bewitched while he drew them: For, not conſidering the ill uſe might be made of them afterwards, he drew them with preambles full of extravagant rhetorick, reflecting ſeverely on the proceedings of the late times, and ſwelled them up with the higheſt phraſes and fulleſt clauſes that he could invent. In the act which aſſerted the King's power of the militia, the power of arming and levying the ſubjects was carried ſo far, that it would have ruined the Kingdom, if Gilmore, (an eminent Lawyer, and a man of great integrity, who had now the more credit, for he had always favoured the King's ſide,) had not obſerved that, as the act was worded, the King might require all the ſubjects to ſerve at their own charge, and might oblige them, in order to the redeeming themſelves from ſerving, to pay whatever might be ſet on them. So he made ſuch an oppoſition to this, that it could not paſs till a proviſo was added to it, that the Kingdom ſhould not be obliged to maintain any force levied by the King, otherwiſe than as it ſhould be agreed to in Parliament, or in a Convention of Eſtates. This was the only thing that was then looked to: For all the other acts paſs'd in the articles as Primroſe had penn'd them. They were brought into Parliament: And upon one

The Acts paſſed in this ſeſſion.

one hafty reading them they were put to the vote, 1661.
and were always carried.

One act troubled the Presbyterians extreamly. In the act asserting the King's power in treaties of peace and war, all leagues with any other Nation, not made by the King's authority, were declared treasonable: And in consequence of this the League and Covenant made with England in the year 1643 was condemned, and declared of no force for the future. This was the idol of all the Presbyterians: So they were much alarmed at it. But Sharp restrained all those with whom he had credit: He told them, the only way to preserve their government was, to let all that related to the King's authority be separated from it, and be condemned, that so they might be no more accused as enemies to monarchy, or as leavened with the principles of rebellion. He told them, they must be contented to let that pass, that the jealousy which the King had of them, as enemies to his prerogative, might be extinguished in the most effectual manner. This restrained many. But some hotter zealots could not be governed. One Macquair, a hot man and considerably learned, did in his church at Glasgow openly protest against this act, as contrary to the oath of God, and so void of itself. To protest against an act of Parliament was treason by their law. And Midletoun was resolved to make an example of him for terrifying others. But Macquair was as stiff as he was severe, and would come to no submission. Yet he was only condemned to perpetual banishment. Upon which he, and some others who were afterwards banished, went and settled at Rotterdam, where they formed themselves into a Presbytery, and writ many seditious books, and kept a correspondence over all Scotland, that being the chief seat of the Scotch trade: And by that means they did much more mischief to the government,

1661. than they could have done had they continued ſtill in Scotland.

An act reſcinding all Parliaments held ſince the year 1633.

The Lords of the articles grew weary of preparing ſo many acts as the practices of the former times gave occaſion for; but did not know how to meddle with thoſe acts that the late King had paſſed in the year 41, or the preſent King had paſſed while he was in Scotland. They ſaw, that, if they ſhould proceed to repeal thoſe by which Preſbyterian government was ratified, that would raiſe much oppoſition, and bring petitions from all that were for that government over the whole Kingdom; which Midletoun and Sharp endeavoured to prevent, that the King might be confirmed in what they had affirmed, that the general bent of the Nation was now turned againſt Preſbytery and for Biſhops. So Primroſe propoſed, but half in jeſt as he aſſured me, that the better and ſhorter way would be to paſs a general act reſciſſory, (as it was called,) annulling all the Parliaments that had been held ſince the year 1633, during the whole time of the war, as faulty and defective in their conſtitution. But it was not ſo eaſy to know upon what point that defect was to be fixed. The only colourable pretence in law was, that, ſince the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was not repreſented in thoſe Parliaments, they were not a full repreſentative of the Kingdom, and ſo not true Parliaments. But this could not be alledged by this preſent Parliament, which had no Biſhops in it: If that inferred a nullity, this was no Parliament. Therefore they could only fix the nullity upon the pretence of force and violence. Yet it was a great ſtrain to inſiſt on that, ſince it was viſible that neither the late King nor the preſent were under any force when they paſſed them: They came of their own accord, and paſs'd thoſe acts. If it was inſiſted on, that the ill ſtate of their affairs was in the nature of a force, the ill conſequences of this were viſible; ſince no Prince by this means could be bound

bound to any treaty, or be concluded by any law that limited his power, theſe being always drawn from them by the neceſſity of their affairs, which can never be called a force, as long as their perſons are free. So, upon ſome debate about it on thoſe grounds, at a private juncta the propoſition, tho' well liked, was let fall, as not capable to have good colours put upon it: Nor had the Earl of Midletoun any inſtruction to warrant his paſſing any ſuch act. Yet within a day or two, when they had drunk higher, they reſolved to venture on it. Primroſe was then ill. So one was ſent to him to deſire him to prepare a bill to that effect. He ſet about it: But perceived it was ſo ill grounded, and ſo wild in all the frame of it, that he thought, when it came to be better conſidered, it muſt certainly be laid aſide. But it fell out otherwiſe: His draught was copied out next morning, without altering a word in it, and carried to the articles, and from thence to the Parliament, where it met indeed with great oppoſition. The Earl of Crawford and the Duke of Hamilton argued much againſt it. The Parliament in the year 41 was legally ſummoned: The late King came thither in perſon with his ordinary attendance, and without the appearance of any force: If any acts then paſs'd needed to be reviewed, that might be well done: But to annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, which deſtroyed the whole ſecurity of government: Another Parliament might annul the preſent Parliament, as well as that which was now propoſed to be done. So no ſtop could be made, nor any ſecurity laid down for fixing things for the future: The Parliament in the year 48 proceeded upon inſtructions under the King's own hand, which was all that could be had conſidering his impriſonment: They had declared for the King, and raiſed an army for his preſervation. To this the Earl of Midletoun, who contrary to cuſtom managed the debate himſelf, anſwered, that tho' there was no viſible force on the late King in the 1661.

1661. year 41, yet they all knew he was under a real force by reaſon of the rebellion that had been in this Kingdom, and the apparent danger of one ready to break out in England, which forced him to ſettle Scotland on ſuch terms as he could bring them to: So that diſtreſs on his affairs was really equivalent to a force on his perſon: Yet he confeſſed, it was juſt, that ſuch an appearance of a Parliament ſhould be a full authority to all who acted under it: And care was taken to ſecure theſe by a proviſo that was put in the act to indemnify them: He acknowledged the deſign of the Parliament in the year 48 was good: Yet they declared for the King in ſuch terms, and had acted ſo hypocritically in order to the gaining of the Kirk party, that it was juſt to condemn the proceedings, tho' the intentions of many were honourable and loyal: For we went into it, he ſaid, as knaves, and therefore no wonder if we miſcarried in it as fools. This was very ill taken by all who had been concerned in it. The bill was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority: And the Earl of Midletoun immediately paſs'd it without ſtaying for an inſtruction from the King. The excuſe he made for it was, that, ſince the King had by his letter to the Preſbyterians confirmed their government as it was eſtabliſhed by law, there was no way left to get out of that, but the annulling all thoſe laws.

It was not liked by the King.

This was a moſt extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It ſhook all poſſible ſecurity for the future, and laid down a moſt pernicious precedent. The Earl of Lauderdale aggravated this heavily to the King. It ſhewed, that the Earl of Midletoun underſtood not the firſt principles of government, ſince he had, without any warrant for it, given the King's aſſent to a law that muſt for ever take away all the ſecurity that law can give: No government was ſo well eſtabliſhed, as not to be liable to a revolution:

revolution: This would cut off all hopes of peace and submission, if any disorder should happen at any time thereafter. And since the Earl of Clarendon had set it up for a maxim never to be violated, that acts of indemnity were sacred things, he studied to possess him against the Earl of Midletoun, who had now annulled the very Parliaments, in which two Kings had pass'd acts of indemnity. This raised a great clamour. And upon that the Earl of Midletoun complained in Parliament, that their best services were represented to the King as blemishes on his honour, and as a prejudice to his affairs: So he desired they would send up some of the most eminent of their body to give the King a true account of their proceedings. The Earls of Glencairn and Rothes were sent: For the Earl of Rothes gave secret engagements to both sides, resolving to strike into that to which he saw the King most inclined. The Earl of Midletoun's design was to accuse the Earl of Lauderdale of misrepresenting the proceedings of Parliament, and of belying the King's good subjects, called in the Scotch law Leasing making, which either to the King of the People or to the People of the King is capital. 1661.

Sharp went up with these Lords to press the speedy setting up of Episcopacy, now that the greatest enemies of that government were under a general consternation, and were upon other accounts so obnoxious that they durst not make any opposition to it, since no act of indemnity was yet pass'd. He had expressed a great concern to his old brethren, when the act rescissory pass'd, and acted that part very solemnly for some days: Yet he seemed to take heart again, and persuaded the ministers of that party, that it would be a service to them, since now the case of ratifying their government was separated from the rebellion of the late times: So that hereafter it was to subsist by a law pass'd in a Parliament that sate and acted in

The Presbyterians in great disorder.

1661. full freedom. So he undertook to go again to Court, and to move for an inſtruction to ſettle Preſbytery on a new and undiſputed bottom. The poor men were ſo ſtruck with the ill ſtate of their affairs, that they either truſted him, or at leaſt ſeemed to do it; for indeed they had neither ſenſe nor courage left them. During the ſeſſion of Parliament the moſt aſpiring men of the Clergy were pickt out to preach before the Parliament. They did not ſpeak out: But they all inſinuated the neceſſity of a greater authority than was then in the Church, for keeping them in order. One or two ſpoke plainer: Upon which the Preſbytery of Edinburgh went to the Earl of Midletoun, and complained of that, as an affront to the law and to the King's letter. He diſmiſſed them with good words, but took no notice of their complaint. The Synods in ſeveral places reſolved to prepare addreſſes both to King and Parliament, for an act eſtabliſhing their government. And Sharp diſſembled ſo artificially, that he met with thoſe who were preparing an addreſs to be preſented to the Synod of Fife, that was to ſit within a week after: And heads were agreed on. Honyman, afterwards Biſhop of Orkney, drew it up with ſo much vehemence, that Wood, their Divinity Profeſſor, told me, he and ſome others ſate up almoſt the whole night before the Synod met, to draw it over again in a ſmoother ſtrain. But Sharp gave the Earl of Midletoun notice of this. So the Earl of Rothes was ſent over to ſee to their behaviour. As ſoon as the Miniſters entred upon that ſubject, he in the King's name diſſolved the Synod, and commanded the Miniſters under pain of treaſon to retire to their ſeveral habitations. Such care was taken that no publick application ſhould be made in favour of Preſbytery. Any attempt that was made on the other hand met with great encouragement. The Synod of Aberdeen was the only body that made an addreſs looking towards Epiſ-

Epiſcopacy. In a long preamble they reflected on the confuſions and violence of the late times, of which they enumerated many particulars: And they concluded with a prayer, that ſince the legal authority upon which their Courts proceeded was now annulled, that therefore the King and Parliament would ſettle their government, conform to the Scriptures and the rules of the primitive Church. The Preſbyterians ſaw what was driven at, and how their words would be underſtood: But I heard one of them ſay, (for I was preſent at that meeting,) that no man could decently oppoſe thoſe words, ſince by that he would inſinuate that he thought Preſbytery was not conform to theſe. 1661.

In this ſeſſion of Parliament another act paſs'd, which was a new affliction to all the party: The twenty ninth of May was appointed to be kept as a holy day; ſince on that day an end had been put to three and twenty year's courſe of rebellion, of which the whole progreſs was reckoned up in the higheſt ſtrain of Primroſe's eloquence. The Miniſters ſaw, that by obſerving this act paſs'd with ſuch a preamble, they condemned all their former proceedings, as rebellious and hypocritical. They ſaw, that by obeying it they would loſe all their credit, and contradict all they had been building up in a courſe of ſo many years. Yet ſuch was the heat of that time, that they durſt not except to it on that account. So they laid hold on the ſubtilty of a holy day; and covered themſelves under that controverſy, denying it was in the power of any human authority to make a day holy. But withal they fell upon a poor ſhift: They enacted in their ſeveral Preſbyteries that they ſhould obſerve that day as a thankſgiving for the King's Reſtoration: So they took no notice of the act of Parliament, but obſerved it in obedience to their own act. But this, tho' it covered them from proſecution, ſince the law was obeyed, yet

1661. it laid them open to much contempt. When the Earls of Glencairn and Rothes came to Court, the King was soon satisfied with the account they gave of the proceedings of Parliament: And the Earl of Lauderdale would not own that he had ever misrepresented them. They were ordered to proceed in their charging of him, as the Earl of Clarendon should direct them. But he told them the assaulting of a Minister, as long as he had an interest in the King, was a practice that never could be approved: It was one of the uneasy things that a House of Commons of England sometimes ventured on, which was ungrateful to the Court: Such an attempt, instead of shaking the Earl of Lauderdale, would give him a faster root with the King. They must therefore content themselves with letting the King see how well his service went on in their hands, and how unjustly they had been misrepresented to him: And thus by degrees they would gain their point, and the Earl of Lauderdale would become useless to the King. So this design was let fall. But the Earl of Rothes assured Lauderdale, he had diverted the storm: Tho' Primrose told me, this was the true ground on which they proceeded. They became all friends, as to outward appearance.

Thus I have gone thro' the actings of the first session of this Parliament with relation to publick affairs. It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. I shall in the next place give an account of the attainders pass'd in it.

Argile's attainder. The first and chief of these was of the Marquis of Argile. He was indicted at the King's suit for a great many facts, that were reduced to three heads. The first was of his publick actings during the wars, of which many instances were given; such as his being concerned in the delivering up of

the

the King to the Engliſh at Newcaſtle, his oppoſing the engagement in the year 1648, and his heading the riſing in the Weſt in oppoſition to the Committee of Eſtates: In this, and many other ſteps made during the war, he was eſteemed the principal actor, and ſo ought to be made the greateſt example for terrifying others. The ſecond head conſiſted of many murders, and other barbarities, committed by his officers, during the war, on many of the King's party; chiefly on thoſe who had ſerved under the Marquis of Montroſe, many of them being murdered in cold blood. The third head conſiſted of ſome articles of his concurrence with Cromwell and the uſurpers, in oppoſition to thoſe who appeared for the King in the Highlands, his being one of his Parliament, and aſſiſting in proclaiming him Protector, with a great many other particulars, into which his compliance was branched out. He had counſel aſſigned him, who performed their part very well. 1661.

The ſubſtance of his defence was, that during the late wars he was but one among a great many more: He had always acted by authority of Parliament, and according to the inſtructions that were given him, as oft as he was ſent on any expedition or negotiation. As to all things done before the year 1641, the late King had buried them in an act of oblivion then paſſed, as the preſent King had alſo done in the year 1651: So he did not think he was bound to anſwer to any particular before that time. For the ſecond head, he was at London when moſt of the barbarities ſet out in it were committed: Nor did it appear that he gave any orders about them. It was well known that great outrages had been committed by the Macdonalds: And he believed his people, when they had the better of them, had taken cruel revenges: This was to be imputed to the heat of the time, and to the tempers of the people, who

1661. had been much provoked by the burning of his whole country, and by much blood that was ſhed. And as to many ſtories laid to the charge of his men, he knew ſome of them were mere forgeries, and others were aggravated much beyond the truth: But, what truth ſoever might be in them, he could not be anſwerable but for what was done by himſelf, or by his orders. As to the third head, of his compliance with the uſurpation, he had ſtood out till the nation was quite conquered: And in that caſe it was the received opinion both of divines and lawyers, that men might lawfully ſubmit to an uſurpation, when forced to it by an inevitable neceſſity. It was the epidemical ſin of the nation. His circumſtances were ſuch, that more than a bare compliance was required of him. What he did that way was only to preſerve himſelf and his family, and was not done on deſign to oppoſe the King's intereſt. Nor did his ſervice ſuffer by any thing he did. This was the ſubſtance of his defence in a long ſpeech, which he made with ſo good a grace and ſo ſkilfully, that his character was as much raiſed as his family ſuffered by the proſecution. In one ſpeech, excuſing his compliance with Cromwell, he ſaid, what could he think of that matter, after a man ſo eminent in the law as his Majeſty's Advocate had taken the engagement? This inflamed the other ſo much, that he called him an impudent villain, and was not ſo much as chid for that barbarous treatment. Lord Argile gravely ſaid, he had learned in his affliction to bear reproaches; but if the Parliament ſaw no cauſe to condemn him, he was leſs concerned at the King's Advocate's railing. The King's Advocate put in an additional article, of charging him with acceſſion to the King's death, for which all the proof he offered lay in a preſumption: Cromwell had come down to Scotland with his army in September 1648, and at that time he had many and long conferences

with

with Argile; and immediately upon his return to London the treaty with the King was broken off, and the King was brought to his trial: The advocate from thence inferred, that it was to be presumed that Cromwell and Argile had concerted that matter between them. While this proceſs was carried on, which was the ſolemneſt that ever was in Scotland, the Lord Lorn continued at Court ſoliciting for his father; and obtained a letter to be writ by the King to the Earl of Midletoun, requiring him to order his Advocate not to inſiſt on any publick proceedings before the indemnity he himſelf had paſs'd in the year 1651. He alſo required him, when the trial was ended, to ſend up the whole proceſs, and lay it before the King, before the Parliament ſhould give ſentence. The Earl of Midletoun ſubmitted to the firſt part of this: So all farther enquiry into thoſe matters was ſuperſeded. But as to the ſecond part of the letter, it looked ſo like a diſtruſt of the juſtice of the Parliament, that he ſaid, he durſt not let it be known, till he had a ſecond and more poſitive order, which he earneſtly deſired might not be ſent; for it would very much diſcourage this loyal and affectionate Parliament: And he begged earneſtly to have that order recalled; which was done. For ſome time there was a ſtop to the proceedings, in which Lord Argile was contriving an eſcape out of the Caſtle. He kept his bed for ſome days: And his Lady being of the ſame ſtature with himſelf, and coming to him in a chair, he had put on her cloaths, and was going into the chair: But he apprehended he ſhould be diſcovered, and his execution haſtened; and ſo his heart failed him. The Earl of Midletoun reſolved, if poſſible, to have the King's death faſtened on him. By this means, as he would die with the more infamy, ſo he reckoned this would put an end to the family, ſince no body durſt move in favour of the ſon of one judged guilty of that crime. And he, as was believed, 1661.

1661. believed, hoped to obtain a grant of his eſtate. Search was made into all the precedents of men who had been at any time condemned upon preſumption. And the Earl of Midletoun reſolved to argue the matter himſelf, hoping that the weight of his authority would bear down all oppoſition. He managed it indeed with more force than decency: He was too vehement, and maintained the argument with a ſtrength that did more honour to his parts than to his juſtice or his character. But Gilmore, tho' newly made Preſident of the Seſſion, which is the ſupream Court of Juſtice in that Kingdom, abhorred the precedent of attainting a man upon ſo remote a preſumption; and looked upon it as leſs juſtifiable than the much decried attainder of the Earl of Strafford. So he undertook the argument againſt Midletoun: They replied upon one another thirteen or fourteen times in a debate that laſted many hours. Gilmore had ſo clearly the better of the argument, that, tho' the Parliament was ſo ſet againſt Argile that every thing was like to paſs that might blacken him, yet, when it was put to the vote, he was acquitted as to that by a great majority: At which he expreſſed ſo much joy, that he ſeemed little concerned at any thing that could happen to him after that. All that remained was to make his compliance with the uſurpers appear to be treaſon. The debate was like to have laſted long. The Earl of Lowdun, who had been Lord Chancellour, and was counted the eloquenteſt man of that time, for he had a copiouſneſs in ſpeaking that was never exhauſted, (who was deſcended from his family and was his particular friend,) had prepared a long and learned argument on that head. He had gathered the opinions both of divines and lawyers, and had laid together a great deal out of hiſtory, more particularly out of the Scotch hiſtory, to ſhew that it had never been cenſured as a crime: But that on the contrary in all their confuſions

the

the men, who had merited the moſt of the Crown in all its ſhakings, were perſons who had got credit by compliance with the ſide that prevailed, and by that means had brought things about again. But, while it was very doubtful how it would have gone, Monk by an inexcuſable baſeneſs had ſearched among his letters, and found ſome that were writ by Argile to himſelf, that were hearty and zealous on their ſide. Theſe he ſent down to Scotland. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended that his compliance was feigned, or extorted from him. Every body blamed Monk for ſending theſe down, ſince it was a betraying the confidence that they had then lived in. They were ſent by an expreſs, and came to the Earl of Midletoun after the Parliament was engaged in the debate. So he ordered the letters to be read. This was much blamed, as contrary to the forms of juſtice, ſince probation was cloſed on both ſides. But the reading of them ſilenced all farther debate. All his friends went out: And he was condemned as guilty of treaſon. The Marquis of Montroſe only refuſed to vote. He owned, he had too much reſentment to judge in that matter. It was deſigned he ſhould be hanged, as the Marquis of Montroſe had been: But it was carried that he ſhould be beheaded, and that his head ſhould be ſet up in the ſame place, where Lord Montroſe's had been ſet. He received his ſentence decently, and compoſed himſelf to ſuffer. 1661

The day before his death he wrote to the King, juſtifying his intentions in all he had acted in the matter of the Covenant: He proteſted his innocence, as to the death of the late King: He ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and wiſhed the King a long and happy reign: He caſt his family and children upon his mercy; and prayed that they might not ſuffer for their father's fault. On the twenty ſeventh of May, the day appointed for his And execution.

1661. his execution, he came to the ſcaffold in a very ſolemn but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the Nobility and ſome Miniſters. He ſpoke for half an hour with a great appearance of ſerenity. Cunningham his phyſician told me he touched his pulſe, and that it did then beat at the uſual rate, calm and ſtrong. He did in a moſt ſolemn manner vindicate himſelf from all knowledge or acceſſion to the King's death: He pardoned all his enemies; and ſubmitted to the ſentence, as to the will of God: He ſpoke highly in juſtification of the Covenant, calling it the cauſe and work of God; and expreſſed his apprehenſion of ſad times like to follow; and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, and to reſolve to ſuffer rather than ſin againſt their conſciences. He parted with all his friends very decently. And after ſome time ſpent in his private devotions he was beheaded.

The execution of Guthry a Miniſter.

A few days after Guthry ſuffered. He was accuſed of acceſſion to the remonſtrance when the King was in Scotland, and for a book he had printed with the title "of the cauſes of God's wrath upon "the nation;" in which the treating with the King, the tendering him the Covenant, and the admitting him to the exerciſe of the government, were highly aggravated, as great acts of apoſtacy. His declining the King's authority to judge of his ſermons, and his proteſting for remedy of law againſt him, and the late ſeditious paper that he was drawing others to concur in, were the matters objected to him. He was a reſolute and ſtiff man: So when his lawyers offered him legal defences, he would not be adviſed by them, but reſolved to take his own way. He confeſſed, and juſtified all that he had done, as agreeing to the principles and practices of the Kirk, who had aſſerted all along that the doctrine delivered in their ſermons did not fall under the cogniſance of the temporal Courts, till it was firſt judged by the Church; for

for which he brought much tedious proof. He said, his protesting for remedy of law against the King was not meant at the King's person, but was only with relation to costs and damages. The Earl of Midletoun had a personal animosity against him; for in the late times he had excommunicated him: So his eagerness in the prosecution did not look well. The defence he made signified nothing to justify himself, but laid a great load on Presbytery; since he made it out beyond all dispute, that he had acted upon their principles, which made them the more odious, as having among them some of the worst maxims of the Church of Rome; that in particular, to make the pulpit a privileged place, in which a man might safely vent treason, and be secure in doing it, if the Church judicatory should agree to quit him. So upon this occasion great advantage was taken, to shew how near the spirit that had reigned in Presbytery came up to Popery. It was resolved to make a publick example of a Preacher: So he was singled out. He gave no advantage to those who wished to save him by the least step towards any submission, but much to the contrary. Yet, tho' all people were disgusted at the Earl of Midletoun's eagerness in the prosecution, the Earl of Tweedale was the only man that moved against the putting him to death. He said, banishment had been hitherto the severest censure that had been laid on the Preachers for their opinions: He knew Guthry was a man apt to give personal provocation: And he wished that might not have too great a share in carrying the matter so far. Yet he was condemned to die. I saw him suffer. He was so far from shewing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composedness of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words. He justified all he had done, and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, 1661.

1661. which he magnified highly. With him one Gouan was alſo hanged, who had deſerted the army while the King was in Scotland, and had gone over to Cromwell. The man was inconſiderable, till they made him more conſidered by putting him to death, on ſuch an account, at ſo great a diſtance of time.

Some others were proceeded againſt.

The groſs iniquity of the Court appeared in nothing more eminently than in the favour ſhewed Maccloud of Aſſin, who had betrayed the Marquis of Montroſe, and was brought over upon it. He in priſon ſtruck up to a high pitch of vice and impiety, and gave great entertainments: And that, notwithſtanding the baſeneſs of the man and of his crimes, got him ſo many friends, that he was let go without any cenſure. The proceedings againſt Wariſtoun were ſoon diſpatched, he being abſent. It was proved, that he had preſented the Remonſtrance, that he had acted under Cromwell's authority, and had ſate as a Peer in his Parliament, that he had confirmed him in his Protectorſhip, and had likewiſe ſate as one of the Committee of Safety: So he was attainted. Swintoun had been attainted in the Parliament at Stirling for going over to Cromwell: So he was brought before the Parliament to hear what he could ſay, why the ſentence ſhould not be executed. He was then become a Quaker; and did, with a ſort of eloquence that moved the whole houſe, lay out all his own errours, and the ill ſpirit he was in when he committed the things that were charged on him, with ſo tender a ſenſe, that he ſeemed as one indifferent what they ſhould do with him: And, without ſo much as moving for mercy, or even for a delay, he did ſo effectually prevail on them, that they recommended him to the King, as a fit object of his mercy. This was the more eaſily conſented to by the Earl of Midletoun, in hatred to the Earl of Lauderdale, who had got the gift of his eſtate. He had two great pleas in law:

law: The one was, that the record of his attainder at Stirling, with all that had paſs'd in that Parliament, was loſt: The other was, that by the act reſciſſory that Parliament being annulled, all that was done by it was void: But he urged neither, ſince there was matter enough to attaint him anew, if the defects of that ſuppoſed attainder had been obſerved. So till the act of indemnity was paſs'd he was ſtill in danger, having been the man of all Scotland that had been the moſt truſted and employed by Cromwell: But upon paſſing the act of indemnity he was ſafe. 1661.

The ſeſſion of Parliament was now brought to a concluſion, without any motion for an act of indemnity. The ſecret of this was, that ſince Epiſcopacy was to be ſet up, and that thoſe who were moſt like to oppoſe it were on other accounts obnoxious, it was thought beſt to keep them under that fear, till the change ſhould be made. The Earl of Midletoun went up to Court full of merit, and as full of pride. He had a mind to be Lord Treaſurer; and told the King, that, if he intended to ſet up Epiſcopacy, the Earl of Crawford, who was a noted Preſbyterian, muſt be put out of that poſt: It was the opinion of the King's zeal for that form of government that muſt bear down all the oppoſition that might otherwiſe be made to it: And it would not be poſſible to perſuade the nation of that, as long as they ſaw the white ſtaff in ſuch hands. Therefore, on the firſt day on which a Scotch Council was called after he came up, he gave a long account of the proceedings of Parliament, and magnified the zeal and loyalty that many had expreſſed, while others that had been not only pardoned, but were highly truſted by the King, had been often cold and backward, and ſometimes plainly againſt the ſervice. The Earl of Lauderdale was ill that day: So the Earl of Crawford undertook to anſwer this reflection, which he thought was meant of himſelf, for oppoſing

Midletoun gave an account of all that had paſſed in Parliament to the King.

1661. posing the act rescissory. He said, he had observed such an entire unanimity in carrying on the King's service, that he did not know of any that had acted otherwise: And therefore he moved, that the Earl of Midletoun might speak plain, and name persons. The Earl of Midletoun desired to be excused: He did not intend to accuse any: But yet he thought, he was bound to let the King know how he had been served. The Earl of Crawford still press'd him to speak out after so general an accusation: No doubt, he would inform the King in private who these persons were: And since he had already gone so far in publick, he thought he ought to go farther. The Earl of Midletoun was in some confusion; for he did not expect to be thus attack'd: So to get off he named the opposition that the Earl of Tweedale had made to the sentence pass'd on Guthry, not without making indecent reflections on it, as if his prosecution had flowed from the King's resentments of his behaviour to himself: And so he turned the matter, that the Earl of Tweedale's reflection, which was thought indeed pointed against himself, should seem as meant against the King. The Earl of Crawford upon this said, that the Earl of Midletoun ought to have excepted to the words when they were first spoken; and no doubt the Parliament would have done the King justice: But it was never thought consistent with the liberty of speech in Parliament, to bring men into question afterwards for words spoken in any debate, when they were not challenged as soon as they were spoken. The Earl of Midletoun excused himself: He said, the thing was pass'd before he made due reflections on it; and so asked pardon for that omission. The Earl of Crawford was glad he himself had escaped, and was silent as to the Earl of Tweedale's concern: So, no body offering to excuse him, an order was presently sent down for committing him to prison, and for examining

mining him upon the words he had ſpoken, and on his meaning in them. That was not a time in which men durſt pretend to privilege, or the freedom of debate: So he did not inſiſt on it; but ſent up ſuch an account of his words, and ſuch an explanation of them, as fully ſatisfied the King. So after the impriſonment of ſome weeks he was ſet at liberty. But this raiſed a great outcry againſt the Earl of Midletoun, as a thing that was contrary to the freedom of debate, and deſtructive of the liberty of Parliament. It lay the more open to cenſure, becauſe the Earl of Midletoun had accepted of a great entertainment from the Earl of Tweedale after Guthry's buſineſs was over: And it ſeemed contrary to the rules of hoſpitality, to have ſuch a deſign in his heart againſt a man in whoſe houſe he had been ſo treated: All the excuſe he made for it was, that he never intended it; but that the Earl of Crawford had preſs'd him ſo hard upon the complaint he had made in general, that he had no way of getting out of it without naming ſome particulars; and he had no other ready then at hand. 1661.

Another difference of greater moment fell in between him and the Earl of Crawford. The Earl of Midletoun was now raiſing the guards, that were to be paid out of the exciſe granted by the Parliament. So he moved, that the exciſe might be raiſed by collectors named by himſelf as General, that ſo he might not depend on the Treaſury for the pay of the forces. The Earl of Crawford oppoſed this with great advantage, ſince all revenues given the King did by the courſe of law come into the Treaſury. Scotland was not in a condition to maintain two Treaſurers: And, as to what was ſaid, of the neceſſity of having the pay of the army well aſcertained and ever ready, otherwiſe it would become a grievance to the Kingdom, he ſaid, the King was Maſter, and what orders ſoever he thought fit to ſend to the Treaſury,

1661. they ſhould be moſt punctually obeyed. But the Earl of Midletoun knew, there would be a great overplus of the exciſe beyond the pay of the troops: And he reckoned, that, if the collection was put in his hands, he would eaſily get a grant of the overplus at the year's end. The Earl of Crawford ſaid, no ſuch thing was ever pretended to by any General, unleſs by ſuch as ſet up to be independent, and who hoped by that means to make themſelves the maſters of the army. So he carried the point, which was thought a victory. And the Earl of Midletoun was much blamed for putting his intereſt at Court on ſuch an iſſue, where the pretenſion was ſo unuſual and ſo unreaſonable.

The next point was concerning Lord Argile's eſtate. The King was inclined to reſtore the Lord Lorn; tho' much pains was taken to perſuade him, that all the zeal he had expreſſed in his ſervice was only an artifice between his father and him to preſerve the family in all adventures: It was ſaid, that had been an ordinary practice in Scotland for father and ſon to put themſelves in different ſides. The Marquis of Argile had taken very extraordinary methods to raiſe his own family to ſuch a ſuperiority in the Highlands, that he was a ſort of a King among them. The Marquis of Huntly had married his ſiſter: And during their friendſhip Argile was bound with him for ſome of his debts. After that, the Marquis of Huntly, as he neglected his affairs, ſo he engaged in the King's ſide, by which Argile ſaw he muſt be undone. So he pretended, that he only intended to ſecure himſelf, when he brought in prior mortgages and debts, which, as was believed, were compounded at very low rates. The friends of the Marquis of Huntly's family preſs'd the King hard to give his heirs the confiſcation of that part of Argile's eſtate, in which the Marquis of Huntly's debts, and all the pretenſion on his eſtate were comprehended. And it was given to the Marquis

quis of Huntly, now Duke of Gordon, then a young child: But no care was taken to breed him a Proteſtant. The Marquis of Montroſe, and all others whoſe eſtates had been ruined under Argile's conduct, expected likewiſe reparation out of his eſtate; which was a very great one, but in no way able to ſatisfy all thoſe demands. And it was believed, that the Earl of Midletoun himſelf hoped to have carried away the main bulk of it: So that both the Lord Lorn and he concurred, tho' with different views, to put a ſtop to all the pretenſions made upon it. 1661.

The point of the greateſt importance then under conſideration was, whether Epiſcopacy ſhould be reſtored in Scotland, or not. The Earl of Midletoun aſſured the King, it was deſired by the greater and honeſter part of the nation. One Synod had as good as petitioned for it: And many others wiſhed for it, tho' the ſhare they had in the late wars made them think it was not fit or decent for them to move for it. Sharp aſſured the King, that none but the Proteſtors, of whom he had a very bad opinion, were againſt it; and that of the Reſolutioners there would not be found twenty that would oppoſe it. All thoſe who were for making the change agreed, that it ought to be done now, in the firſt heat of joy after the Reſtoration, and before the act of indemnity paſs'd. The Earl of Lauderdale and all his friends on the other hand aſſured the King, that the national prejudice againſt it was ſtill very ſtrong, that thoſe who ſeemed zealous for it ran into it only as a method to procure favour, but that thoſe who were againſt it would be found ſtiff and eager in their oppoſition to it, that by ſetting it up the King would loſe the affections of the nation, and that the ſupporting it would grow a heavy load on his government. The Earl of Lauderdale turned all this, that looked like a zeal for Preſbytery, to a dextrous inſinuating himſelf into the King's con-

It was reſolved to ſet up Epiſcopacy in Scotland.

1661. fidence; as one that designed nothing but his greatness and his having Scotland sure to him, in order to the executing of any design he might afterwards be engaged in. The King went very coldly into the design. He said, he remembred well the aversion that he himself had observed in that nation to any thing that looked like a superiority in the Church. But to that the Earl of Midletoun and Sharp answered, by assuring him that the insolencies committed by the Presbyterians while they governed, and the ten years usurpation that had followed, had made such a change in peoples tempers, that they were much altered since he had been among them. The King naturally hated Presbytery: And, having called a new Parliament in England, that did with great zeal espouse the interests of the Church of England, and were now beginning to complain of the evacuating the garrisons held by the army in that Kingdom, he gave way, tho' with a visible reluctancy, to the change of the Church government in Scotland. The aversion he seemed to express was imputed to his own indifference as to all those matters, and to his unwillingness to involve his government in new trouble. But the view of things that the Earl of Lauderdale had given him was the true root of all that coldness. The Earl of Clarendon set it on with great zeal. And so did the Duke of Ormond; who said, it would be very hard to maintain the government of the Church in Ireland, if Presbytery continued in Scotland; since the northern counties, which were the best stocked of any they had, as they were originally from Scotland, so they would still follow the way of that nation. Upon all this diversity of opinion, the thing was proposed in a Scotch Council at Whitehall. The Earl of Crawford declared himself against it: But the Earl of Lauderdale, Duke Hamilton, and Sir Robert Murray, were only for delaying the making any such

such change, till the King should be better satisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation. The result of the debate (all the rest who were present being earnest for the change) was, that a letter was writ to the Privy Council of Scotland, intimating the King's intentions for setting up Episcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The Earl of Glencairn ordered the letter to be read, having taken care that such persons should be present who he knew would speak warmly for it, that so others, who might intend to oppose it, might be frightened from doing it. None spoke against it, but the Earl of Kincairdin. He proposed, that some certain methods might be taken, by which they might be well informed, and so be able to inform the King of the temper of the nation, before they offered an advice, that might have such effects as might very much perplex, if not disorder, all their affairs. Some smart repartees passed between the Earl of Glencairn and him. This was all the opposition that was made at that board. So a letter was writ to the King from thence, encouraging him to go on, and assuring him, that the change he intended to make would give a general satisfaction to the main body of the nation. 1661.

Men sought out to be Bishops.

Upon that the thing was resolved on. It remained after this only to consider the proper methods of doing it, and the men who ought to be employed in it. Sheldon and the English Bishops had an aversion to all that had been engaged in the Covenant: So they were for seeking out all the Episcopal Clergy, who had been driven out of Scotland in the beginning of the troubles, and preferring them. There was but one of the old Bishops left alive, Sydserfe, who had been Bishop of Galloway. He had come up to London, not doubting but that he should be advanced to the Primacy of Scotland. It is true, he had of late done some very irregular things: When the act

1661. of uniformity required all men who held any benefices in England to be epiſcopally ordained, he, who by obſerving the ill effects of their former violence was become very moderate, with others of the Scotch Clergy that gathered about him, did ſet up a very indefenſible practice of ordaining all thoſe of the Engliſh Clergy who came to him, and that without demanding either oaths or ſubſcriptions of them. Some believed, that this was done by him, only to ſubſiſt on the fees that aroſe from the letters of orders ſo granted; for he was very poor. This did ſo diſguſt the Engliſh Biſhops at him and his company, that they took no care of him or them. Yet they were much againſt a ſet of Preſbyterian Biſhops. They believed they could have no credit, and that they would have no zeal. This touched Sharp to the quick: So he laid the matter before the Earl of Clarendon. He ſaid, theſe old Epiſcopal men by their long abſence out of Scotland knew nothing of the preſent generation: And by the ill uſage they had met with they were ſo irritated, that they would run matters quickly to great extremities: And, if there was a faction among the Biſhops, ſome valuing themſelves upon their conſtant ſteddineſs, and looking with an ill eye on thoſe who had been carried away with the ſtream, this would divide and diſtract their counſels; whereas a ſet of men of moderate principles would be more uniform in their proceedings. This prevailed with the Earl of Clarendon, who ſaw the King ſo remiſs in that matter, that he reſolved to keep things in as great temper as was poſſible. And he, not doubting but that Sharp would purſue that in which he ſeemed to be ſo zealous and hot, and carry things with great moderation, perſuaded the Biſhops of England to leave the management of that matter wholly to him. And Sharp, being aſſured of that at which he had long aimed, laid aſide his maſk; and owned, that he was to be Arch-

Archbiſhop of St. Andrews. He ſaid to ſome, 1661.
from whom I had it, that when he ſaw that the
King was reſolved on the change, and that ſome
hot men were like to be advanced, whoſe violence
would ruin the country, he had ſubmitted to that
poſt on deſign to moderate matters, and to cover
ſome good men from a ſtorm that might otherwiſe
break upon them. So deeply did he ſtill diſſemble:
For now he talked of nothing ſo much as of love
and moderation.

Sydſerfe was removed to be Biſhop of Orkney,
one of the beſt revenues of any of the Biſhopricks
in Scotland: But it had been almoſt in all times
a Sine-Cure. He lived little more than a year
after his tranſlation. He had died in more eſteem,
if he had died a year before it. But Sharp was
ordered to find out proper men for filling up the
other Sees. That care was left entirely to him.
The choice was generally very bad.

Two men were brought up to be conſecrated
in England, Fairfoul deſigned for the ſee of Glaſ-
gow, and Hamilton, brother to the Lord Belha-
ven, for Galloway. The former of theſe was a
pleaſant and facetious man, inſinuating and crafty:
But he was a better phyſician than a divine. His
life was ſcarce free from ſcandal: And he was emi-
nent in nothing that belonged to his own function.
He had not only ſworn the Covenant, but had per-
ſuaded others to do it. And when one objected
to him, that it went againſt his conſcience, he an-
ſwered, there were ſome very good medicines that
could not be chewed, but were to be ſwallowed
down; and ſince it was plain that a man could
not live in Scotland unleſs he ſware it, therefore
it muſt be ſwallowed down without any farther
examination. Whatever the matter was, ſoon af-
ter the conſecration his parts ſunk ſo faſt, that in a
few months he, who paſs'd his whole life long for
one of the cunningeſt men in Scotland, became
almoſt a changling; upon which it may be eaſily
collected

1661. collected what commentaries the Presbyterians would make. Sharp lamented this to me, as one of their great misfortunes. He said, it began to appear in less than a month after he came to London. Hamilton was a good natured man, but weak. He was always believed Episcopal. Yet he had so far complied in the time of the Covenant, that he affected a peculiar expression of his counterfeit zeal for their cause, to secure himself from suspicion: When he gave the sacrament, he excommunicated all that were not true to the Covenant, using a form in the Old Testament of shaking out the lap of his gown; saying, so did he cast out of the Church and communion all that dealt falsely in the Covenant.

Bishop Leighton's character.

With these there was a fourth man found out, who was then at London at his return from the Bath, where he had been for his health: And on him I will enlarge more copiously. He was the son of Doctor Leightoun, who had in Archbishop Laud's time writ "Zion's plea against the Prelates;" for which he was condemned in the Star-Chamber to have his ears cut and his nose slit. He was a man of a violent and ungoverned heat. He sent his eldest son Robert to be bred in Scotland, who was accounted a Saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin that ever I knew in any man. He was a master both of Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible,

poſſible, and to deſire that all other perſons ſhould think as meanly of him as he did himſelf: He bore all ſorts of ill uſage and reproach, like a man that took pleaſure in it. He had ſo ſubdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in a courſe of twenty two years intimate converſation with him, I never obſerved the leaſt ſign of paſſion, but upon one ſingle occaſion. He brought himſelf into ſo compoſed a gravity, that I never ſaw him laugh, and but ſeldom ſmile. And he kept himſelf in ſuch a conſtant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I heard him ſay one idle word. There was a viſible tendency in all he ſaid to raiſe his own mind, and thoſe he converſed with, to ſerious reflections. He ſeemed to be in a perpetual meditation. And, tho' the whole courſe of his life was ſtrict and aſcetical, yet he had nothing of the ſourneſs of temper that generally poſſeſſes men of that ſort. He was the freeſt from ſuperſtition, of cenſuring others, or of impoſing his own methods on them poſſible. So that he did not ſo much as recommend them to others. He ſaid, there was a diverſity of tempers; and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the beſt manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and ſurpriſing, yet juſt and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greateſt treaſure of the beſt and wiſeſt of all the ancient ſayings of the heathens as well as chriſtians, that I have ever known any man maſter of: And he uſed them in the apteſt manner poſſible. He had been bred up with the greateſt averſion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of England. From Scotland his father ſent him to travel. He ſpent ſome years in France, and ſpoke that language like one born there. He came afterwards and ſettled in Scotland, and had Preſbyterian ordination. But he quickly broke thro' the prejudices of his education. His preach-

1661.

ing

1661. ing had a ſublimity both of thought and expreſſion in it. The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was ſuch, that few heard him without a very ſenſible emotion: I am ſure I never did. His ſtyle was rather too fine: But there was a majeſty and beauty in it that left ſo deep an impreſſion, that I cannot yet forget the ſermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with this he ſeemed to look on himſelf as ſo ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others: And when he was a Biſhop he choſe to preach to ſmall auditories, and would never give notice before hand: He had indeed a very low voice, and ſo could not be heard by a great croud. He ſoon came to ſee into the follies of the Preſbyterians, and to diſlike their Covenant; particularly the impoſing it, and their fury againſt all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts: Theirs were narrow, as their tempers were ſour. So he grew weary of mixing with them. He ſcarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own pariſh at Newbottle near Edinburgh. Yet all the oppoſition that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than ſeemed to them conſiſtent with human nature: But his own practice did even outſhine his doctrine.

In the year 1648 he declared himſelf for the engagement for the King. But the Earl of Lothian, who lived in his pariſh, had ſo high an eſteem for him, that he perſuaded the violent men not to meddle with him: Tho' he gave occaſion to great exception; for when ſome of his pariſh, who had been in the engagement, were ordered to make publick profeſſion of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition, in which, he believed, they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injuſtice and violence, of drunkenneſs and other immoralities, and

he

he charged them to repent of these very seriously, 1661.
without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entred into a great correspondence with many of the Episcopal party, and with my own father in particular; and did wholly separate himself from the Presbyterians. At last he left them, and withdrew from his cure: For he could not do the things imposed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention so much, that he chose rather to leave them in a silent manner, than to engage in any disputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a Saint, and of something above human nature in him: So the mastership of the College of Edinburgh falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevail'd with to accept of it, because in it he was wholly separated from all Church matters. He continued ten years in that post: And was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had a great effect on many of them. He preached often to them: And if crouds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in Scotland, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in that Kingdom.

He had a brother well known at Court, Sir Elisha, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts, but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined: For, tho' he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a Papist of a form of his own: But he had changed his religion to raise himself at Court; for he was at that time Secretary to the Duke of York, and was very intimate with the Lord Aubigny, a brother of the Duke of Richmond's, who had changed his religion, and was a Priest, and had probably been

1661. been a Cardinal if he had lived a little longer. He maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions, than men of quality, who enter into orders in that Church, generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man: And that perhaps made him the more conſidered by the King, who loved and truſted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the King; for he was in the ſecret as to his religion, and was more truſted with the whole deſign, that was then managed in order to eſtabliſh it, than any man whatſoever. Sir Eliſha brought his brother and him acquainted: For Leightoun loved to know men in all the varieties of religion.

In the vacation time he made excurſions, and came oft to London; where he obſerved all the eminent men in Cromwell's Court, and in the ſeveral parties then about the city of London. But he told me, he could never ſee any thing among them that pleaſed him. They were men of unquiet and meddling tempers: And their diſcourſes and ſermons were dry and unſavoury, full of airy cant, or of bombaſt ſwellings. Sometimes he went over to Flanders, to ſee what he could find in the ſeveral orders of the Church of Rome. There he found ſome of Janſenius's followers, who ſeemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and ſtudied to bring things, if poſſible, to the purity and ſimplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much ſet. He thought controverſies had been too much inſiſted on, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raiſing himſelf at Court, fancied that his being made a Biſhop might render himſelf more conſiderable. So he poſſeſſed the Lord Aubigny with ſuch an opinion of him, that he made the King apprehend, that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married was not forgot) might contribute to carry on their deſign. He fancied ſuch a monaſtick man, who had

had a great ſtretch of thought, and ſo many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at leaſt to prepare the nation for Popery, if he did not directly come over to them; for his brother did not ſtick to ſay, he was ſure that lay at root with him. So the King named him of his own proper motion, which gave all thoſe that began to ſuſpect the King himſelf great jealouſies of him. Leightoun was averſe to this promotion, as much as was poſſible. His brother had great power over him; for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a ſhew of piety. He ſeemed to be a Papiſt rather in name and ſhew than in reality, of which I will ſet down one inſtance that was then much talked of. Some of the Church of England loved to magnify the ſacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real preſence, only blaming the Church of Rome for defining the manner of it; ſaying, Chriſt was preſent in a moſt unconceivable manner. This was ſo much the mode, that the King and all the Court went into it. So the King, upon ſome raillery about tranſubſtantiation, aſked Sir Eliſha if he believed it. He anſwered, he could not well tell; but he was ſure the Church of England believed it. And when the King ſeemed amazed at that, he replied, do not you believe that Chriſt is preſent in a moſt unconceivable manner? Which the King granted: Then ſaid he, that is juſt tranſubſtantiation, the moſt unconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When Leighton was prevailed on to accept a Biſhoprick, he choſe Dunblane, a ſmall dioceſe as well as a little revenue. But the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was annexed to that ſee. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might ſet up the Common Prayer in the King's Chapel; for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The Engliſh Clergy were well pleaſed with him, finding him both more learned, and more thoroughly theirs in the other points of uniformity, than

1661.

1661. than the reſt of the Scotch Clergy, whom they could not much value. And tho' Sheldon did not much like his great ſtrictneſs, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought ſuch a man as he was might give credit to Epiſcopacy, in its firſt introduction to a nation much prejudiced againſt it. Sharp did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his ſtrictneſs of life, nor his notions. He believed, they would not take the ſame methods, and fancied he might be much obſcured by him; for he ſaw he would be well ſupported. He ſaw the Earl of Lauderdale began to magnify him. And ſo Sharp did all he could to diſcourage him, but without any effect; for he had no regard to him. I bear ſtill the greateſt veneration for the memory of that man, that I do for any perſon; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate converſation with him, that continued to his death, for twenty three years, among the greateſt bleſſings of my life, and for which I know I muſt give an account to God in the great day in a moſt particular manner. And yet, tho' I know this account of his promotion may ſeem a blemiſh upon him, I would not conceal it, being reſolved to write of all perſons and things with all poſſible candor. I had the relation of it from himſelf, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes ſoever the Papiſts had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the deſign of bringing in Popery, and had therefore talked of ſome points of Popery with the freedom of an abſtracted and ſpeculative man; yet he expreſſed another ſenſe of the matter, when he came to ſee it was really intended to be brought in among us. He then ſpoke of Popery in the complex at much another rate: And he ſeemed to have more zeal againſt it, than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controverſy; for his abſtraction made him ſeem cold in

all those matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of Popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion, that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish, but had nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that Church under those just and visible prejudices, but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the trash that was among them maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved: So that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character. But it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it. And I was so singularly bless'd by knowing him as I did, that I am sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him; which I hope may be of some use to the world. 1661.

The Scotch Bishops consecrated.

When the time fixed for the consecration of the Bishops of Scotland came on, the English Bishops finding that Sharp and Leightoun had not Episcopal ordination, as Priests and Deacons, the other two having been ordained by Bishops before the wars, they stood upon it, that they must be ordain'd, first Deacons and then Priests. Sharp was very uneasy at this, and remembred them of what had happened when King James had set up Episcopacy. Bishop Andrews moved at that time the ordaining them, as was now proposed: But that was overruled by King James, who thought it went too far towards the unchurching of all those

1661. who had no Biſhops among them. But the late war, and the diſputes during that time, had raiſed theſe controverſies higher, and brought men to ſtricter notions, and to maintain them with more fierceneſs. The Engliſh Biſhops did alſo ſay, that by the late act of uniformity that matter was more poſitively ſettled, than it had been before; ſo that they could not legally conſecrate any, but thoſe who were, according to that conſtitution, made firſt Prieſts and Deacons. They alſo made this difference between the preſent time and King James's: For then the Scots were only in an imperfect ſtate, having never had Biſhops among them ſince the Reformation; ſo in ſuch a ſtate of things, in which they had been under a real neceſſity, it was reaſonable to allow of their orders, how defective ſoever: But that of late they had been in a ſtate of ſchiſm, had revolted from their Biſhops, and had thrown off that order; ſo that orders given in ſuch a wilful oppoſition to the whole conſtitution of the primitive Church was a thing of another nature. They were poſitive in the point, and would not diſpenſe with it. Sharp ſtuck more at it, than could have been expected from a man that had ſwallowed down greater matters. Leightoun did not ſtand much upon it. He did not think orders given without Biſhops were null and void. He thought, the forms of government were not ſettled by ſuch poſitive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apoſtolical practices, which, as he thought, authoriſed Epiſcopacy as the beſt form. Yet he did not think it neceſſary to the being of a Church. But he thought that every Church might make ſuch rules of ordination as they pleaſed, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church; and that the re-ordaining a Prieſt ordained in another Church imported no more, but that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received.

received. Theſe two were upon this privately or- 1661.
dained Deacons and Prieſts. And then all the four were conſecrated publickly in the Abbey of Weſtminſter. Leightoun told me, he was much ſtruck with the feaſting and jollity of that day: It had not ſuch an appearance of ſerioufneſs or piety, as became the new modelling of a Church. When that was over, he made ſome attempts to work up Sharp to the two deſigns which poſſeſſed him moſt. The one was, to try what could be done towards the uniting the Preſbyterians and them. He offered Uſher's reduction, as the plan upon which they ought to form their ſchemes. The other was, to try how they could raiſe men to a truer and higher ſenſe of piety, and bring the worſhip of that Church out of their extempore methods into more order; and ſo to prepare them for a more regular way of worſhip, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he obſerved that Sharp had neither formed any ſcheme, nor ſeemed ſo much as willing to talk of any. He reckoned, they would be eſtabliſhed in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, and ſo would be legally poſſeſſed of their Biſhopricks: And then every Biſhop was to do the beſt he could to get all once to ſubmit to his authority: And when that point was carried, they might proceed to other things, as ſhould be found expedient: But he did not care to lay down any ſcheme. Fairfoul, when he talked to him, had always a merry tale ready at hand to divert him: So that he avoided all ſerious diſcourſe, and indeed did not ſeem capable of any. By theſe means Leightoun quickly loſt all heart and hope; and ſaid often to me upon it, that in the whole progreſs of that affair there appeared ſuch croſs characters of an angry providence, that, how fully ſoever he was ſatisfied in his own mind as to Epiſcopacy itſelf, yet it ſeemed that God was againſt them, and that they were not like to be the men

1661. that ſhould build up his Church; ſo that the ſtruggling about it ſeemed to him like a fighting againſt God. He who had the greateſt hand in it proceeded with ſo much diſſimulation; and the reſt of the order were ſo mean and ſo ſelfiſh; and the Earl of Midletoun, with the other ſecular men that conducted it, were ſo openly impious and vitious, that it did caſt a reproach on every thing relating to religion, to ſee it managed by ſuch inſtruments.

1662. All the ſteps that were made afterwards were of a piece with this melancholy beginning. Upon the conſecration of the Biſhops, the Preſbyteries of Scotland that were ſtill ſitting began now to declare openly againſt Epiſcopacy, and to prepare proteſtations, or other acts or inſtruments, againſt them. Some were talking of entring into new engagements againſt the ſubmitting to them. So Sharp moved, that, ſince the King had ſet up Epiſcopacy, a Proclamation might be iſſued out, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Preſbytery, or other judicatory, till the Biſhops ſhould ſettle a method of proceeding in them. Upon the ſetting out this Proclamation, a general obedience was given to it: Only the miniſters, to keep up a ſhew of acting on an Eccleſiaſtick authority, met once and entred into their Books a proteſtation againſt the Proclamation, as an invaſion on the liberties of the Church, to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time, and for peace ſake. Sharp procured this without any advice: And it proved very fatal. For when King James brought in the Biſhops before, they had ſtill ſuffered the inferiour judicatories to continue ſitting, till the Biſhops came, and ſate down among them: Some of them proteſted indeed againſt that: Yet they ſate on ever after: And ſo the whole Church had a face of unity, while all ſate together in the ſame judicatories, tho' upon different principles.

The meetings of the Preſbyteries forbidden.

ciples. The old Preſbyterians ſaid, they ſate ſtill as in a Court ſettled by the laws of the Church and State: And tho' they looked on the Biſhops ſitting among them, and aſſuming a negative vote, as an uſurpation, yet, they ſaid, it did not infer a nullity on the Court: Whereas now, by this ſilencing theſe Courts, the caſe was much altered: For if they had continued ſitting, and the Biſhops had come among them, they would have ſaid, it was like the bearing with an uſurpation, when there was no remedy: And what proteſtations ſoever they might have made, or what oppoſition ſoever they might have given the Biſhops, that would have been kept within their own walls, but would not have broken out into ſuch a diſtraction, as the nation was caſt into upon this: All the oppoſition that might have been made would have died with thoſe few that were diſpoſed to make it: And, upon due care to fill the vacant places with worthy and well affected men, the nation might have been brought off from their prejudices. But theſe Courts being now once broken, and brought together afterwards by a ſort of connivance, without any legal authority, only as the Biſhops aſſiſtants and officials, to give him advice, and to act in his name, they pretended they could not ſit in them any more, unleſs they ſhould change their principles and become throughly Epiſcopal, which was too great a turn to be ſoon brought about. So fatally did Sharp precipitate matters. He affected to have the reins of the Church wholly put into his hands. The Earl of Lauderdale was not ſorry to ſee him commit errors; ſince the worſe things were managed, his advices would be thereby the more juſtified. And the Earl of Midletoun and his party took no care of any buſineſs, being almoſt perpetually drunk: By which they came in a great meaſure to loſe the King. For, tho', upon a frolick, the King, with a few in 1662.

1662. whoſe company he took pleaſure, would ſometimes run into exceſs, yet he did it ſeldom, and had a very bad opinion of all that got into the habit and love of drunkenneſs.

The new Biſhops came down to Scotland.

The Biſhops came down to Scotland ſoon after their conſecration, all in one coach. Leightoun told me, he believed they were weary of him, for he was very weary of them: But he, finding they intended to be received at Edinburgh with ſome pomp, left them at Morpeth, and came to Edinburgh a few days before them. He hated all the appearances of vanity. He would not have the title of Lord given him by his friends, and was not eaſy when others forced it on him. In this I always thought him too ſtiff: It provoked the other Biſhops, and looked like ſingularity and affectation, and furniſhed thoſe that were prejudiced againſt him with a ſpecious appearance, to repreſent him as a man of odd notions and practices. The Lord Chancellour, with all the Nobility and Privy Councellours, then at Edinburgh, went out, together with the Magiſtracy of the city, and brought the Biſhops in, as in triumph. I looked on: And tho' I was thoroughly Epiſcopal, yet I thought there was ſomewhat in the pomp of that entry, that did not look like the humility that became their function: Soon after their arrival, ſix other Biſhops were conſecrated, but not ordained Prieſts and Deacons. The See of Edinburgh was for ſome time kept vacant. Sharp hoped that Douglas might be prevailed on to accept it: But he would enter into no treaty about it. So the Earl of Midletoun forced upon Sharp one Wiſhart, who had been the Marquis of Montroſe's chaplain, and had been taken priſoner, and uſed with ſo much cruelty in the jayl of Edinburgh, that it ſeem'd but juſtice to advance a man in that place, where he had ſuffer'd ſo much.

The

The seſſion of Parliament came on in April 1662: Where the firſt thing that was propoſed by the Earl of Midletoun was, that ſince the act reſciſſory had annulled all the Parliaments after that held in the year 1633, the former laws in favour of Epiſcopacy were now again in force, the King had reſtored that function which had been ſo long glorious in the Church, and for which his bleſſed father had ſuffered ſo much: And tho' the Biſhops had a right to come and take their place in Parliament, yet it was a piece of reſpect to ſend ſome of every ſtate to invite them to come, and ſit among them. This was agreed to: So upon the meſſage the Biſhops came and took their places. Leightoun went not with them, as indeed he never came to Parliament but when there was ſomething before them that related to religion, or to the Church. 1662. They were brought into Parliament.

The firſt act that paſſed in this ſeſſion was for reſtoring Epiſcopacy, and ſettling the government of the Church in their hands. Sharp had the framing of this act, as Primroſe told me. The whole government and juriſdiction of the Church in the ſeveral dioceſes was declared to be lodged in the Biſhops, which they were to exerciſe with the advice and aſſiſtance of ſuch of their clergy, as were of known loyalty and prudence: All men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and ſubmit to the government of the Church, as now by law eſtabliſhed. This was plainly the ſetting Epiſcopacy on another bottom, than it had been ever on in Scotland before this time: For the whole body of the Preſbyterians did formerly maintain ſuch a ſhare in the adminiſtration, that the Biſhops had never pretended to any more, than to be their ſettled Preſidents with a negative voice upon them. But now it was ſaid, that the whole power was lodged ſimply in the Biſhop, who was only bound to carry along with him in the adminiſtration ſo many Preſbyters,

1662. as he thought fit to ſingle out, as his adviſers and aſſiſtants; which was the taking all power out of the body of the Clergy: Church judicatories were now made only the Biſhop's aſſiſtants: And the few of the Clergy that muſt aſſiſt being to be pickt out by him, that was only a matter of ſhew; nor had they any authority lodged with them, all that being veſted only in the Biſhop: Nor did it eſcape cenſure, that among the qualifications of thoſe Preſbyters that were to be the Biſhop's adviſers and aſſiſtants, loyalty and prudence were only named; and that piety and learning were forgot, which muſt always be reckoned the firſt qualifications of the Clergy. As to the obligation to own and ſubmit to the government thus eſtabliſhed by law, they ſaid, it was hard to ſubmit to ſo high an authority as was now lodged with the Biſhops; but to require them to own it, ſeemed to import an antecedent approving, or at leaſt a ſubſequent juſtifying of ſuch an authority, which carried the matter far beyond a bare obedience, even to an impoſing upon conſcience. Theſe were not only the exceptions made by the Preſbyterians, but by the Epiſcopal men themſelves, who had never carried the argument farther in Scotland, than for a precedency, with ſome authority in ordination, and a negative in matters of juriſdiction. They thought, the body of the Clergy ought to be a check upon the Biſhops, and that, without the conſent of the majority, they ought not to be legally impowered to act in ſo imperious a manner, as was warranted by this act. Many of them would never ſubſcribe to this form of owning and ſubmitting: And the more prudent Biſhops did not impoſe it on their Clergy. The whole frame of the act was liable to great cenſure. It was thought an inexcuſable piece of madneſs, that, when a government was brought in upon a nation ſo averſe to it, the firſt ſtep ſhould carry their power ſo high. All the Biſhops, except

cept Sharp, disowned their having any share in the penning this act; which indeed was pass'd in haste, without due consideration. Nor did any of the Bishops, no not Sharp himself, ever carry their authority so high, as by the act they were warranted to do. But all the enemies to Episcopacy had this act ever in their mouths, to excuse their not submitting to it; and said, it asserted a greater stretch of authority in Bishops, than they themselves thought fit to assume. 1662.

Soon after that act pass'd, some of the Presbyterian preachers were summoned to answer before the Parliament, for some reflections made in their sermons against Episcopacy. But nothing could be made of it: For their words were general, and capable of different senses. So it was resolved, for a proof of their loyalty, to tender them the oath of allegiance and supremacy. That had been enacted in the former Parliament, and was refused by none, but the Earl of Cassilis. He desired, that an explanation might be made of the supremacy: The words of the oath were large: And when the oath was enacted in England, a clear explanation was given in one of the articles of the Church of England, and more copiously afterwards in a discourse by Archbishop Usher, published by King James's order. But the Parliament would not satisfy him so far. And they were well pleased to see scruples raised about the oath, that so a colour might be put on their severities against such as should refuse it, as being men that refused to swear allegiance to the King. Upon that the Earl of Cassilis left the Parliament, and quitted all his employments: For he was a man of a most inflexible firmness. Many said, there was no need of an explanation, since how ambiguous soever the words might be in themselves, yet that oath, being brought from Scotland to England, ought to be understood in the same sense in which it was imposed in that Kingdom. On the other hand, there was

Scruples about the oath of supremacy.

1662. was juſt reaſon for ſome mens being tender in ſo ſacred a matter as an oath. The Earl of Caſſilis had offered to take the oath, provided he might join his explanation to it. The Earl of Midletoun was contented to let him ſay what he pleaſed, but he would not ſuffer him to put it in writing. The Miniſters, to whom it was now tendred, offered to take it upon the ſame terms; and in a petition to the Lords of the articles they offered their explanation. Upon that a debate aroſe, whether an act explanatory of the oath ſhould be offered to the Parliament, or not. This was the firſt time that Leightoun appeared in Parliament. He preſſed, it might be done, with much zeal. He ſaid, the land mourned by reaſon of the many oaths that had been taken: The words of this oath were certainly capable of a bad ſenſe: In compaſſion to Papiſts a limited ſenſe had been put on them in England: And he thought there ſhould be a like tenderneſs ſhewed to Proteſtants, eſpecially when the ſcruple was juſt, and there was an oath in the caſe, in which the matter ought certainly to be made clear: To act otherwiſe looked like the laying ſnares for people, and the making men offenders for a word. Sharp took this ill from him, and replied upon him with great bitterneſs: And ſaid, it was below the dignity of government to make acts to ſatisfy the weak ſcruples of peeviſh men: It ill became them, who had impoſed their Covenant on all people without any explanation, and had forced all to take it, now to expect ſuch extraordinary favours. Leightoun inſiſted, that it ought to be done for that very reaſon, that all people might ſee a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their ſeverity: And that it ill became the very ſame perſons, who had complained of that rigour, now to practiſe it themſelves; for thus it may be ſaid, the world goes mad by turns. This was ill taken by the Earl of Midletoun, and all his party: For

they

they designed to keep the matter so, that the Presbyterians should be possessed with many scruples on this head; and that, when any of the party should be brought before them, whom they believed in fault, but had not full proof against, the oath should be tendred as the trial of their allegiance, and that on their refusing it they should censure them as they thought fit. So the Ministers petition was rejected, and they were required to take the oath as it stood in the law, without putting any sense upon it. They refused to do it, and were upon that condemned to perpetual banishment, as men that denied allegiance to the King. And by this an engine was found out to banish as many as they pleased: For the resolution was taken up by the whole party to refuse it, unless with an explanation. So soon did men forget all their former complaints of the severity of imposing oaths, and began to set on foot the same practices now, when they had it in their power to do it. But how unbecoming soever this rigour might be in laymen, it was certainly much more indecent when managed by Clergymen. And the supremacy which was now turned against the Presbyterians was, not long after this, laid much heavier on the Bishops themselves: And then they desired an explanation, as much as the Presbyterians did now, but could not obtain it. 1662.

The Parliament was not satisfied with this oath: For they apprehended, that many would infer, that, since it came from England, it ought to be understood in the publick and established sense of the words that was pass'd there, both in an article of doctrine and in an act of Parliament. Therefore another oath was likewise taken from the English pattern, of abjuring the Covenant; both the League and the national Covenant. It is true, this was only imposed on men in the magistracy, or in publick employments. By it all the Presbyterians were turned out: For this oath was decried

by

1662. by the Miniſters as little leſs than open apoſtacy from God, and a throwing off their baptiſmal Covenant.

Debates about an act of indemnity.

The main buſineſs of this ſeſſion of Parliament, now that Epiſcopacy was ſettled, and theſe oaths were enacted, was the paſſing of the act of indemnity. The Earl of Midletoun had obtained of the King an inſtruction to conſent to the fining of the chief offenders, or to other puniſhments not extending to life. This was intended to enrich him and his party, ſince all the rich and great offenders would be ſtruck with the terror of this, and chooſe rather to make him a good preſent, than to be fined on record, as guilty perſons. This matter was debated at the Council in Whitehall. The Earls of Lauderdale and Crawford argued againſt it. They ſaid, the King had granted a full indemnity in England, out of which none were excepted but the regicides: It ſeemed therefore an unkind and an unequal way of proceeding towards Scotland, that had merited eminently at the King's hands ever ſince the year 1648, and ſuffered much for it, that the one Kingdom ſhould not have the ſame meaſure of grace and pardon that was granted in the other. The Earl of Midletoun anſwered, that all he deſired was in favour of the loyal party in Scotland, who were undone by their adhering to the King: The revenue of the Crown was too ſmall, and too much charged, to repair their loſſes: So the King had no other way to be juſt to them, but to make their enemies pay for their rebellion. Some plauſible limitations were offered to the fines to which any ſhould be condemned; as that they ſhould be only for offences committed ſince the year 1650, and that no man ſhould be fined in above a year's rent of his eſtate. Theſe were agreed to. So he had an inſtruction to paſs an act of indemnity, with a power of fining reſtrain'd to theſe rules. There was one Sir George Mackenzie,

kenzie, since made Lord Tarbot and Earl of Cromarty, a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, and had the art to recommend himself to all sides and parties by turns, and has made a great figure in that country now above fifty years. He had great notions of virtue and religion: But they were only notions, at least they have not had great effect on himself at all times. He became now the Earl of Midletoun's chief favourite. Primrose was grown rich and cautious: And his maxim having always been, that, when he apprehended a change, he ought to lay in for it by courting the side that was depressed, that so in the next turn he might secure friends to himself, he began to think that the Earl of Midletoun went too fast to hold out long. He had often advised him to manage the business of restoring Episcopacy in a slow progress. He had formed a scheme, by which it would have been the work of seven years. But the Earl of Midletoun's heat, and Sharp's vehemence, spoiled all his project. The Earl of Midletoun after his own disgrace said often to him, that his advices had been always wise and faithful: But he thought Princes were more sensible of services, and more apt to reflect on them, and to reward them, than he found they were. 1662.

When the settlement of Episcopacy was over, the next care was to prepare the act of indemnity. Some proposed, that, besides the power of fining, they should move the King, that he would consent to an instruction, impowering them likewise to put some under an incapacity to hold any publick trust. This had never been proposed in publick. But the Earl of Midletoun pretended, that many of the best affected of the Parliament had proposed it in private to himself. So he sent the Lord Tarbot up to the King with two draughts of an act of indemnity, the one containing an exception of some persons to be fined, and the other

It was desired that some might be incapacitated.

con-

1662. containing likewiſe a clauſe for the incapacitating of ſome, not exceeding twelve, from all publick truſt. He was ordered to lay both before the King: The one was penned according to the Earl of Midletoun's inſtructions: The other was drawn at the deſire of the Parliament, for which he prayed an inſtruction, if the King thought fit to approve of it. The Earl of Lauderdale had no apprehenſion of any deſign againſt himſelf in the motion. So he made no objection to it. And an inſtruction was drawn, impowering the Earl of Midletoun to paſs an act with that clauſe. Tarbot was then much conſidered at Court, as one of the moſt extraordinary men that Scotland had produced, and was the better liked, becauſe he was looked on as the perſon that the Earl of Midletoun intended to ſet up in the Earl of Lauderdale's room, who was then ſo much hated, that nothing could have preſerved him but the courſe that was taken to ruin him. So Lord Tarbot went back to Scotland. And the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Newburgh went down with him, by whoſe wild and ungoverned extravagancies the Earl of Midletoun's whole conduct fell under ſuch an univerſal odium and ſo much contempt, that, as his own ill management forced the King to put an end to his miniſtry, ſo he could not have ſerved there much longer with any reputation.

One inſtance of unuſual ſeverity was, that a letter of the Lord Lorn's to the Lord Duffus was intercepted, in which he did a little too plainly, but very truly, complain of the practices of his enemies in endeavouring to poſſeſs the King againſt him by many lies: But he ſaid, he had now diſcovered them, and had defeated them, and had gained the perſon upon whom the chief among them depended. This was the Earl of Clarendon, upon whom the Earl of Berkſhire had wrought ſo much, that he reſolved to oppoſe his reſtoration no more: And for this the Earl of Berkſhire was

to

to have a thouſand pounds. This letter was carried into the Parliament, and complained of as leaſing-making; ſince Lord Lorn pretended, he had diſcovered the lies of his enemies to the King, which was a ſowing diſſenſion between the King and his ſubjects, and the creating in the King an ill opinion of them. So the Parliament deſired, the King would ſend him down to be tried upon it. The King thought the letter very indiſcreetly writ, but could not ſee any thing in it that was criminal. Yet, in compliance with the deſire of ſo zealous a Parliament, Lord Lorn was ſent down upon his parole: But the King writ poſitively to the Earl of Midletoun, not to proceed to the execution of any ſentence that might paſs upon him. Lord Lorn upon his appearance was made a priſoner: And an indictment was brought againſt him for leaſing-making. He made no defence: But in a long ſpeech he ſet out the great provocation he had been under, the many libels that had been printed againſt him: Some of theſe had been put in the King's own hands, to repreſent him as unworthy of his grace and favour: So, after all that hard uſage, it was no wonder, if he had writ with ſome ſharpneſs: But he proteſted, he meant no harm to any perſon; his deſign being only to preſerve and ſave himſelf from the malice and lies of others, and not to make lies of any. In concluſion, he ſubmitted to the juſtice of the Parliament, and caſt himſelf on the King's mercy. He was upon this condemned to die, as guilty of leaſing-making: And the day of his execution was left to the Earl of Midletoun by the Parliament. 1662. Lorn condemned.

I never knew any thing more generally cried out on than this was, unleſs it was the ſecond ſentence paſs'd on him twenty years after this, which had more fatal effects, and a more tragical concluſion. He was certainly born to be the ſignaleſt inſtance in this age of the rigour, or rather of the

1662. the mockery of juſtice. All that was ſaid at this time to excuſe the proceeding was, that it was certain his life was in no danger. But ſince that depended on the King, it did not excuſe thoſe who paſs'd ſo baſe a ſentence, and left to poſterity the precedent of a Parliamentary judgment, by which any man may be condemned for a letter of common news. This was not all the fury with which this matter was driven: For an act was paſs'd againſt all perſons, who ſhould move the King for reſtoring the children of thoſe who were attainted by Parliament; which was an unheard-of reſtraint on applications to the King for his grace and mercy. This the Earl of Midletoun alſo paſs'd, tho' he had no inſtruction for it. There was no penalty put in the act: For it was a maxim of the pleaders for prerogative, that the fixing a puniſhment was a limitation on the Crown: Whereas an act forbidding any thing, tho' without a penalty, made the offenders criminal: And in that caſe they did reckon, that the puniſhment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. A Committee was next appointed for ſetting the fines. They proceeded without any regard to the rules the King had ſet them. The moſt obnoxious compounded ſecretly. No conſideration was had either of mens crimes, or of their eſtates: No proofs were brought. Enquiries were not ſo much as made: But as men were delated, they were marked down for ſuch a fine: And all was tranſacted in a ſecret Committee. When the liſt of the men and of their fines was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to divers; particularly ſome who had been under age all the time of tranſgreſſion, and others abroad. But to every thing of that kind an anſwer was made, that there would come a proper time in which every man was to be heard in his own defence: For the meaning of ſetting the fine was only this, that ſuch perſons ſhould have no benefit by the act of indem-

indemnity, unleſs they paid the fine: Therefore every one that could ſtand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, was thereby free from the fine, which was only his compoſition for the grace and pardon of the act. So all paſs'd in that great hurry. 1662.

The other point, concerning the incapacity, was carried farther than was perhaps intended at firſt; tho' the Lord Tarbot aſſured me, he had from the beginning deſigned it. It was infuſed into all people, that the King was weary of the Earl of Lauderdale, but that he could not decently throw him off, and that therefore the Parliament muſt help him with a fair pretence for doing it. Yet others were very apprehenſive, that the King could not approve of a Parliament's falling upon a Miniſter. So Lord Tarbot propoſed two expedients. The one was, that no perſon ſhould be named, but that every member ſhould do it by ballot, and ſhould bring twelve names in a paper; and that a ſecret Committee of three of every Eſtate ſhould make the ſcrutiny; and that they, without making any report to the Parliament, ſhould put thoſe twelve names on whom the greater number fell in the act of incapacity; which was to be an act apart, and not made a clauſe of the act of indemnity. This was taken from the oſtraciſm in Athens, and ſeemed the beſt method in an act of oblivion, in which all that was paſs'd was to be forgotten: And no ſeeds of feuds would remain, when it was not ſo much as known againſt whom any one had voted. The other expedient was, that a clauſe ſhould be put in the act, that it ſhould have no force, and that the names in it ſhould never be publiſhed, unleſs the King ſhould approve of it. By this means it was hoped, that, if the King ſhould diſlike the whole thing, yet it would be eaſy to ſoften that, by letting him ſee how entirely the act was in his power. Emiſſaries were ſent to every Parliament man, directing him

Some incapacitated by ballot.

1662. him how to make his liſt, that ſo the Earls of Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sir Robert Murray, might be three of the number. This was managed ſo carefully, that by a great majority they were three of the incapacitated perſons. The Earl of Midletoun paſs'd the act, tho' he had no inſtruction about it in this form. The matter was ſo ſecretly carried, that it was not let out till the day before it was done: For they reckoned their ſucceſs in it was to depend on the ſecrecy of it, and in their carrying it to the King, before he ſhould be poſſeſſed againſt it by the Earl of Lauderdale, or his party. So they took great care to viſit the packet, and to ſtop any that ſhould go to Court poſt: And all people were under ſuch terror, that no courage was left. Only Lord Lorn ſent one on his own horſes, who was to go on in croſs roads, till he got into Yorkſhire; for they had ſecured every ſtage to Durham. By this means the Earl of Lauderdale had the news three days before the Duke of Richmond and Lord Tarbot got to Court. He carried it preſently to the King, who could ſcarce believe it. But when he ſaw by the letters that it was certainly true, he aſſured the Earl of Lauderdale, that he would preſerve him, and never ſuffer ſuch a deſtructive precedent to paſs. He ſaid, he looked for no better upon the Duke of Richmond's going to Scotland, and his being perpetually drunk there. This mortified the Earl of Lauderdale; for it looked like the laying in an excuſe for the Earl of Midletoun. From the King, by his orders, he went to the Earl of Clarendon, and told all to him. He was amazed at it; and ſaid, that certainly he had ſome ſecret friend that had got into their confidence, and had perſuaded them to do as they had done on deſign to ruin them. But growing more ſerious, he added, he was ſure the King on his own account would take care not to ſuffer ſuch a thing to paſs: Otherwiſe no

The King was diſpleaſed with this.

man

man could ſerve him: If way was given to ſuch a method of proceeding, he himſelf would go out of his dominions as faſt as his gout would ſuffer him. 1662.

Two days after this the Duke of Richmond and Lord Tarbot came to Court. They brought the act of incapacity ſealed up, together with a letter from the Parliament, magnifying the Earl of Midletoun's ſervices, and another letter ſigned by ten of the Biſhops, ſetting forth his zeal for the Church, and his care of them all: And in particular they ſet out the deſign he was then on, of going round ſome of the worſt affected counties to ſee the Church eſtabliſhed in them, as a work that was highly meritorious. At the ſame time he ſent over the Earl of Newburgh to Ireland, to engage the Duke of Ormond to repreſent to the King the good effects that they began to feel in that Kingdom from the Earl of Midletoun's adminiſtration in Scotland, hoping the King would not diſcourage, much leſs change ſo faithful a miniſter. The King received the Duke of Richmond and Lord Tarbot very coldly. When they delivered the act of incapacity to him, he aſſured them, it ſhould never be open'd by him; and ſaid, their laſt actings were like madmen, or like men that were perpetually drunk. Lord Tarbot ſaid, all was yet entire, and in his hands, the act being to live or to die as he pleaſed: He magnified the Earl of Midletoun's zeal in his ſervice, and the loyal affections of his Parliament, who had on this occaſion conſulted both the King's ſafety, and his honour: The incapacity act was only intended, to put it out of the power of men, who had been formerly bad inſtruments, to be ſo any more: And even that was ſubmitted by them to the King's judgment. The King heard them patiently, and, without any farther diſcourſe on the ſubject, diſmiſſed them: So they hoped they had mollified him. But the Earl of Lauderdale turned the matter upon the

1662. Earl of Midletoun and Lord Tarbot, who had made the King believe that the Parliament desired leave to incapacitate some, whereas no such desire had ever been made in Parliament: And then, after the King, upon that misrepresentation, had given way to it, the Parliament was made to believe, that the King desired, that some might be put under that censure: So that the abuse had been equally put on both: Honours went by ballot at Venice: But punishments had never gone so, since the ostracism at Athens, which was the factious practice of a jealous Commonwealth, never to be set up as a precedent under a Monarchy: Even the Athenians were ashamed of it, when Aristides, the justest man among them, fell under the censure: And they laid it aside not long after.

Great pains taken to excuse Midletoun.

The Earl of Clarendon gave up the thing as inexcusable: But he studied to preserve the Earl of Midletoun. The change newly made in the Church of Scotland had been managed by him with zeal and success: But tho' it was well begun, yet if these laws were not maintained by a vigorous execution, the Presbyterians, who were quite dispirited by the steddiness of his conduct, would take heart again; especially if they saw the Earl of Lauderdale grow upon him, whom they looked on as theirs in his heart: So he prayed the King to forgive one single fault, that came after so much merit. He also sent advices to the Earl of Midletoun to go on in his care of establishing the Church, and to get the Bishops to send up copious accounts of all that he had done. The King ordered him to come up, and to give him an account of the affairs in Scotland. But he represented the absolute necessity of seeing some of the laws lately made put in execution: For it was hoped, the King's displeasure would be allayed, and go off, if some time could be but gained.

One

One act pass'd in the last Parliament that restored the rights of patronage, the taking away of which even Presbytery could not carry till the year 1649, in which they had the Parliament entirely in their hands. Then the election of Ministers was put in the Church session and the lay elders: So that, from that time all that had been admitted to Churches came in without presentations. One clause in the act declared all these incumbents to be unlawful possessors: Only it indemnified them for what was past, and required them before Michaelmas to take presentations from the patrons, who were obliged to give them being demanded, and to get themselves to be instituted by the Bishops; otherwise their Churches were declared vacant on Michaelmas day. This took in all the young and hot men: So the Presbyterians had many meetings about it, in which they all resolved not to obey the act. They reckoned, the taking institution from a Bishop was such an owning of his authority, that it was a renouncing of all their former principles: Whereas some few that had a mind to hold their benefices, thought that was only a secular law that gave a legal right to their tithes and benefices, and had no relation to their spiritual concerns; and therefore they thought they might submit to it, especially where Bishops were so moderate as to impose no subscription upon them, as the greater part were. But the resolution taken by the main body of the Presbyterians was, to pay no obedience to any of the acts made in this session, and to look on, and see what the State would do. The Earl of Midletoun was naturally fierce, and that was heightened by the ill state of his affairs at Court: So he resolved on a punctual execution of the law. He and all about him were at this time so constantly disordered, by high entertainments and other excesses, that, even in the short intervals between their drunken bouts, they were not cool nor calm enough to consider

1662. The Presbyterian Ministers silenced.

1662. what they were doing. He had alſo ſo mean an opinion of the party, that he believed they would comply with any thing rather than loſe their benefices. And therefore he declared, he would execute the law in its utmoſt rigour. On the other hand, the heads of the Preſbyterians reckoned, that if great numbers were turned out all at once, it would not be poſſible to fill their places on the ſudden; and that the government would be forced to take them in again, if there were ſuch a vacancy made, that a great part of the nation were left deſtitute, and had no divine ſervice among them. For that which all the wiſer of the party apprehended moſt was, that the Biſhops would go on ſlowly, and ſingle out ſome that were more factious upon particular provocations, and turn them out by degrees, as they had men ready to put in their room; which would have been more inſenſible, and more excuſable, if indiſcreet zealots had, as it were, forced cenſures from them. The advice ſent over all the country, from their leaders who had ſettled meaſures at Edinburgh, was, that they ſhould do and ſay nothing that might give a particular diſtaſte, but ſhould look on, and do their duty as long as they were connived at; and that if any proclamation ſhould be iſſued out, commanding them to be ſilent, they ſhould all obey at once. In theſe meaſures both ſides were deceived in their expectations. The Biſhops went to their ſeveral dioceſes: And according as the people ſtood affected they were well or ill received: And they held their ſynods every where in October. In the northern parts very few ſtood out: But in the weſtern parts ſcarce any came to them. The Earl of Midletoun went to Glaſgow before Michaelmas. So when the time fixed by the act was paſs'd, and that ſcarce any one in all thoſe Counties had paid any regard to it, he called a meeting of the Privy Council, that they might conſider what was fit to be done. Duke Hamilton told

told me, they were all ſo drunk that day, that they were not capable of conſidering any thing that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but the executing the law without any relenting or delay. So a proclamation was iſſued out, requiring all who had their livings without preſentations, and who had not obeyed the late act, to give over all farther preaching, or ſerving the cure, and to withdraw from their pariſhes immediately: And the military men that lay in the country were ordered to pull them out of their pulpits, if they ſhould preſume to go on in their functions. This was oppoſed only by Duke Hamilton, and Sir James Lockhart, father to Sir William Lockhart. They repreſented, that the much greater part of the preachers in theſe Counties had come into their Churches ſince the year 1649; that they were very popular men, both eſteemed and beloved of their people: It would be a great ſcandal, if they ſhould be turned out, and none be ready to be put in their places: And it would not be poſſible to find a competent number of well qualified men, to fill the many vacancies that this proclamation would make. The Earl of Midletoun would hear of nothing, but the immediate execution of the law. So the proclamation was iſſued out: And upon it above two hundred Churches were ſhut up in one day: And above one hundred and fifty more were to be turned out for not obeying, and ſubmitting to the Biſhops ſummons to their ſynods. All this was done without conſidering the conſequence of it, or communicating it to the other Biſhops. Sharp ſaid to my ſelf, that he knew nothing of it; nor did he imagine, that ſo raſh a thing could have been done, till he ſaw it in print. He was glad that this was done without his having any ſhare in it: For by it he was furniſhed with ſomewhat, in which he was no way concerned, upon which he might caſt all the blame of all that followed. Yet this was ſuitable enough

1662.

1662. to a maxim that he and all that ſort of people ſet up, that the execution of laws was that by which all governments maintained their ſtrength, as well as their honour. The Earl of Midletoun was ſurprized at this extraordinary ſubmiſſion of the Preſbyterians. He had fancied, that the greateſt part would have complied, and that ſome of the more intractable would have done ſome extraordinary thing, to have juſtified the ſeverities he would have exerciſed in that caſe; and was diſappointed both ways. Yet this obedience of a party, ſo little accuſtomed to it, was much magnified at Court. It was ſaid, that all plied before him: They knew he was ſteddy: So they ſaw how neceſſary it was not to change the management, if it was really intended to preſerve the Church. Lord Tarbot told me, that the King had expreſſed to himſelf the eſteem he had for Sheldon, upon the account of the courage that he ſhewed in the debate concerning the execution of the act of Uniformity at the day prefixed, which was St. Bartholomew's: For ſome ſuggeſted the danger that might ariſe, if the act were vigorouſly executed. From thence it ſeems the Earl of Midletoun concluded, the zeal he ſhewed now would be ſo acceptable, that all former errours would be forgiven, if he went through with it; as indeed he ſtuck at nothing. Yet the clamour of putting ſeveral Counties, as it were, under an interdict, was very great. So all endeavours were uſed to get as many as could be had to fill thoſe vacancies. And among others I was much preſſed, both by the Earl of Glencairn and the Lord Tarbot, to go into any of the vacant Churches that I liked. I was then but nineteen: Yet there is no law in Scotland limiting the age of a prieſt. And it was upon this account that I was let ſo far into the ſecret of all affairs: For they had ſuch an imagination of ſome ſervice I might do them, that they treated me with a very particular freedom and confidence. But I had imbibed

imbibed the principles of moderation so early, that, tho' I was entirely Episcopal, yet I would not engage with a body of men, that seemed to have the principles and tempers of Inquisitors in them, and to have no regard to religion in any of their proceedings. So I stood upon my youth, and could not be wrought on to go to the west; tho' the Earl of Glencairn offered to carry me with him under his protection. 1662.

There was a sort of an invitation sent over the Kingdom, like a hue and cry, to all persons to accept of benefices in the west. The livings were generally well endowed, and the parsonage houses were well built, and in good repair: And this drew many very worthless persons thither, who had little learning, less piety, and no sort of discretion. They came thither with great prejudices against them, and had many difficulties to wrestle with. The former incumbents, who were for the most part Protestors, were a grave sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour: But they had an appearance that created respect. They were related to the chief families in the country, either by blood or marriage; and had lived in so decent a manner, that the Gentry paid great respect to them. They used to visit their parishes much, and were so full of the scriptures, and so ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practise extempore sermons: For the custom in Scotland was after dinner or supper to read a chapter in the scripture: And where they happened to come, if it was acceptable, they on the sudden expounded the chapter. They had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore. I have often overheard them at it: And, tho' there was a large mixture of odd stuff, yet I have been astonished to hear how copious and ready they were in it. Their Ministers generally brought them about them on the sunday nights,

A general character of them.

1662. nights, where the ſermons were talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were deſired to ſpeak their ſenſe and their experience: And by theſe means they had a comprehenſion of matters of religion, greater than I have ſeen among people of that ſort any where. The preachers went all in one track, of raiſing obſervations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving theſe by reaſons, and then of applying thoſe, and ſhewing the uſe that was to be made of ſuch a point of doctrine, both for inſtruction and terrour, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themſelves upon it, and for furniſhing them with proper directions and helps: And this was ſo methodical, that the people grew to follow a ſermon quite through every branch of it. To this ſome added, the reſolving of doubts concerning the ſtate they were in, or their progreſs or decay in it; which they called caſes of conſcience: And theſe were taken from what their people ſaid to them at any time, very oft being under fits of melancholy, or vapours, or obſtructions, which, tho' they flowed from natural cauſes, were looked on as the work of the ſpirit of God, and a particular exerciſe to them; and they fed this diſeaſe of weak minds too much. Thus they had laboured very diligently, tho' with a wrong method and wrong notions. But as they lived in great familiarity with their people, and uſed to pray and to talk oft with them in private, ſo it can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and reverenced by them. They kept ſcandalous perſons under a ſevere diſcipline: For breach of ſabbath, for an oath, or the leaſt diſorder in drunkenneſs, perſons were cited before the Church ſeſſion, that conſiſted of ten or twelve of the chief of the pariſh, who with the Miniſter had this care upon them, and were ſolemnly reproved for it: For fornication they were not only reproved before theſe; but there was a high place in the church called the ſtool or pillar

of

of repentance, where they ſate at the times of wor- 1662.
ſhip for three Lords-days, receiving admonitions, and making profeſſion of repentance on all thoſe days; which ſome did with many tears, and ſerious exhortations to all the reſt, to take warning by their fall: For adultery they were to ſit ſix months in that place, covered with ſackcloth. Theſe things had a grave appearance. Their faults and defects were not ſo conſpicuous. They had a very ſcanty meaſure of learning, and a narrow compaſs in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent ſize of capacity, and apt to fly out into great exceſs of paſſion and indiſcretion. They were ſervile, and too apt to fawn upon, and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to cenſure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatſoever they heard to their prejudice. And they were ſuperſtitious and haughty. In their ſermons they were apt to enlarge on the ſtate of the preſent time, and to preach againſt the ſins of Princes and Courts: A topick that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage: And the people are glad to hear thoſe ſins inſiſted on, in which they perceive they have no ſhare, and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other mens ſins. But their opinions about the independence of the Church and Clergy on the Civil power, and their readineſs to ſtir up the people to tumults and wars, was that which begot ſo ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that very few, who were not deeply engaged with them in theſe conceits, pitied them much under all the ill uſage they now met with. I hope this is no impertinent nor ungrateful digreſſion. It is a juſt and true account of theſe men and thoſe times, from which a judicious reader will make good inferences. I will conclude this with a judicious anſwer that one of the wiſeſt and beſt of them, Colvil, who ſucceeded Leigh-

toun

1662. toun in the Headſhip of the College of Edinburgh, made to the Earl of Midletoun, when he preſs'd him in the point of defenſive arms to tell plainly his opinion, whether they were lawful or not. He ſaid, the queſtion had been often put to him, and he had always declined to anſwer it: But to him he plainly ſaid, he wiſhed that Kings and their Miniſters would believe them lawful, and ſo govern as men that expect to be reſiſted; but he wiſhed, that all their ſubjects would believe them to be unlawful, and ſo the world would be at quiet.

Prejudices infuſed againſt Epiſcopacy.

I do now return to end the account of the ſtate of that country at this time. The people were much troubled, when ſo many of their Miniſters were turned out. Their Miniſters had, for ſome months before they were thus ſilenced, been infuſing this into their people, both in publick and private; that all that was deſigned in this change of Church government was to deſtroy the power of godlineſs, and to give an impunity to vice; that Prelacy was a tyranny in the Church, ſet on by ambitious and covetous men, who aimed at nothing but authority and wealth, luxury and idleneſs; and that they intended to encourage vice, that they might procure to themſelves a great party among the impious and immoral. The people, thus prepoſſeſſed, ſeeing the Earl of Midletoun, and all the train that followed him thro' thoſe Counties, running into exceſſes of all ſorts, and railing at the very appearance of virtue and ſobriety, were confirmed in the belief of all that their Miniſters had told them. What they had heard concerning Sharp's betraying thoſe that had employed him, and the other Biſhops, who had taken the Covenant, and had forced it on others, and now preach'd againſt it, openly owning that they had in ſo doing gone againſt the expreſs dictate of their own conſcience, did very much heighten all their prejudices, and fixed them ſo in them, that

it

it was ſcarce poſſible to conquer them afterwards. All this was out of meaſure increaſed by the new incumbents, who were put in the places of the ejected preachers, and were generally very mean and deſpicable in all reſpects. They were the worſt preachers I ever heard: They were ignorant to a reproach: And many of them were openly vitious. They were a diſgrace to their orders, and the ſacred functions; and were indeed the dreg and refuſe of the northern parts. Thoſe of them, who aroſe above contempt or ſcandal, were men of ſuch violent tempers, that they were as much hated, as the others were deſpiſed. This was the fatal beginning of reſtoring Epiſcopacy in Scotland, of which few of the Biſhops ſeemed to have any ſenſe. Fairfoul, the moſt concerned, had none at all: For he fell into a paralytick ſtate, in which he languiſhed a year before he died. I have thus opened the firſt ſettlement in Scotland: Of which I my ſelf obſerved what was viſible, and underſtood the more ſecret tranſactions from thoſe, who had ſuch a ſhare in them, that it was not poſſible for them, to miſtake them: And I had no reaſon to think they intended to deceive, or miſinform me. 1662.

I will in the next place change the climate, and give as particular an account as I can of the ſettlement of England both in Church and State: Which, tho' it will be perhaps imperfect, and will in ſome parts be immethodical, yet I am well aſſured it will be found true; having picked it up at ſeveral times, from the Earl of Lauderdale, Sir Robert Murray, the Earl of Shaftſbury, the Earl of Clarendon the ſon of the Lord Chancellour, the Lord Hollis, and Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, who was the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, under whoſe protection I lived nine years when I was preacher at the Rolls, he being then Maſter of the Rolls. From ſuch hands I could 1660. The affairs of England.

1660. not be misled, when I laid all together, and considered what reason I had to make allowances for the different accounts that diversity of parties and interests may lead men to give, they too easily believing some things, and as easily rejecting others, as they stood affected.

After the King came over, no person in the House of Commons had the courage to move the offering propositions, for any limitation of prerogative, or the defining of any doubtful points. All was joy and rapture. If the King had applyed himself to business, and had pursued those designs which he studied to retrieve all the rest of his reign, when it was too late, he had probably in those first transports carried every thing that he would have desired, either as to revenue or power. But he was so given up to pleasure, that he devolved the management of all his affairs on the Earl of Clarendon; who, as he had his breeding in the law, so he had all along declared himself for the ancient liberties of England, as well as for the rights of the Crown. A domestick accident had happened to him, which heightened his zeal for the former. He, when he began to grow eminent in his profession, came down to see his aged father, a gentleman of Wiltshire: Who, one day, as they were walking in the field together, told him, that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative, to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves: So he charged him, if ever he grew to any eminence in his profession, that he should never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his country to his own interests, or to the will of a Prince. He repeated this twice: And immediately he fell into a fit of an apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. This the Earl of Clarendon told the Lady Ranelagh, who put him often in mind of it: And from her I had it.

He

He resolved not to stretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, and would neither set aside the Petition of Right, nor endeavour to raise the Courts of the Star Chamber or the High Commission again, which could have been easily done, if he had set about it: Nor did he think fit to move for the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments, till other matters were well settled. He took care indeed to have all the things that were extorted by the long Parliament from King Charles I. to be repealed. And since the dispute of the power of the Militia was the most important, and the most insisted on, he was very earnest to have that clearly determined for the future. But as to all the acts relating to property, or the just limitation of the prerogative, such as the matter of the ship-money, the tonnage and poundage, and the Habeas Corpus act, he did not touch on these. And as for the standing revenue, 1200000 l. a year was all that was asked: And, tho' it was much more than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it was readily granted. This was to answer all the ordinary expence of the government. It was believed, that if two millions had been asked, he could have carried it. But he had no mind to put the King out of the necessity of having recourse to his Parliament. The King came afterwards to believe, that he could have raised both his authority and revenue much higher, but that he had no mind to carry it farther, or to trust him too much. Whether all these things could have been got at that time, or not, is above my conjecture. But this I know, that all the Earl of Clarendon's enemies after his fall said, these things had been easily obtained, if he had taken any pains in the matter, but that he himself had no mind to it: And they infused this into the King, so that he believed it, and hated him mortally on that account. And in his difficulties afterwards he said often, all those things might

1660

Clarendon's just and moderate notions.

have

1660. have been prevented, if the Earl of Clarendon had been true to him.

Venner's fury.

The King had not been many days at Whitehall, when one Venner, a violent fifth-monarchy man, who thought it was not enough to believe that Chriſt was to reign on earth, and to put the ſaints in the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, (an opinion that they were all unſpeakably fond of,) but added to this, that the ſaints were to take the Kingdom themſelves. He gathered ſome of the moſt furious of the party to a meeting in Coleman ſtreet. There they concerted the day and the manner of their riſing to ſet Chriſt on his Throne, as they called it. But withal they meant to manage the government in his name; and were ſo formal, that they had prepared ſtandards and colours with their devices on them, and furniſhed themſelves with very good arms. But when the day came, there was but a ſmall appearance, not exceeding twenty. However they reſolved to venture out into the ſtreets, and cry out, No King but Chriſt. Some of them ſeemed perſuaded that Chriſt would come down, and head them. They ſcoured the ſtreets before them, and made a great progreſs. Some were afraid, and all were amazed at this piece of extravagance. They killed a great many, but were at laſt maſtered by numbers: And were all either killed, or taken and executed. Upon this ſome troops of guards were raiſed. And there was a great talk of a deſign, as ſoon as the Army was diſbanded, to raiſe a force that ſhould be ſo choſen and modelled that the King might depend upon it; and that it ſhould be ſo conſiderable, that there might be no reaſon to apprehend new tumults any more. The Earl of Southampton looked on a while: And, when he ſaw how this deſign ſeemed to be entertained and magnified, he entered into a very free expoſtulation with the Earl of Clarendon about it. He ſaid, they had felt the effects of a military government, tho' ſober

ſober and religious, in Cromwell's army: He believed vitious and diſſolute troops would be much worſe: The King would grow fond of them: And they would quickly become inſolent and ungovernable: And then ſuch men as he was muſt be only inſtruments to ſerve their ends. He ſaid, he would not look on, and ſee the ruin of his country begun, and be ſilent: A white ſtaff ſhould not bribe him. The Earl of Clarendon was perſuaded he was in the right, and promiſed he would divert the King from any other force, than what might be decent to make a ſhew with, and what might ſerve to diſperſe unruly multitudes. The Earl of Southampton ſaid, if it went no farther he could bear it; but it would not be eaſy to fix ſuch a number, as would pleaſe our Princes, and not give jealouſy. The Earl of Clarendon perſuaded the King, that it was neceſſary for him to carry himſelf with great caution, till the old Army ſhould be diſbanded: For, if an ill humour got among them, they knew both their courage and their principles, which the preſent times had for a while a little ſuppreſſed: Yet upon any juſt jealouſy there might be great cauſe to fear new and more violent diſorders. By theſe means the King was ſo wrought on, that there was no great occaſion given for jealouſy. The Army was to be diſbanded, but in ſuch a manner, with ſo much reſpect, and ſo exact an account of arrears, and ſuch gratuities, that it looked rather to be the diſmiſſing them to the next opportunity, and a reſerving them till there ſhould be occaſion for their ſervice, than a breaking of them. They were certainly the braveſt, the beſt diſciplined, and the ſobereſt Army that had been known in theſe latter ages: Every ſoldier was able to do the functions of an officer. The Court was in great quiet, when they got rid of ſuch a burden, as lay on them from the fear of ſuch a body of men. The guards, and the new troops that were raiſed, were 1660.

1660. made up of such of the Army as Monk recommended, and answered for. And with that his great interest at Court came to a stand. He was little considered afterwards.

The trial and execution of the Regicides.

In one thing the temper of the nation appeared to be contrary to severe proceedings: For, tho' the Regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crouds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime grew at last to be so much flatten'd by the frequent executions, and by most of those who suffered, dying with much firmness and shew of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the King was advised not to proceed farther, at least not to have the scene so near the Court as Charing-cross. It was indeed remarkable that Peters, a sort of an enthusiastical buffoon preacher, tho' a very vitious man, who had been of great use to Cromwell, and had been outragious in pressing the King's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an Inquisitor, was the man of them all that was the most sunk in his spirit, and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent of it, nor the strength of mind to suffer for it as all the rest of them did. He was observed all the while to be drinking some cordial liquors to keep him from fainting. Harrison was the first that suffered. He was a fierce and bloody enthusiast. And it was believed, that while the army was in doubt, whether it was fitter to kill the King privately, or to bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a private way was settled on, to be the man that should do it. So he was begun with. But, however reasonable this might be in itself, it had a very ill effect: For he was a man of great heat and resolution, fixed in his principles, and so persuaded of them, that he never looked after any

interests

intereſts of his own, but had oppoſed Cromwell when he ſet up for himſelf. He went thro' all the indignities and ſeverities of his execution, in which the letter of the law in caſes of treaſon was punctually obſerved, with a calmneſs, or rather a chearfulneſs, that aſtoniſhed the ſpectators. He ſpoke very poſitively, that what they had done was the cauſe and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raiſe up again, how much ſoever it ſuffered at that time. Upon this a report was ſpread, and generally believed, that he ſaid, he himſelf ſhould riſe again: Tho' the party denied that, and reported the words as I have ſet them down. One perſon eſcaped, as was reported, merely by his vices: Henry Martin, who had been a moſt violent enemy to Monarchy. But all that he moved for, was upon Roman or Greek principles. He never entered into matters of Religion, but on deſign to laugh both at them and all morality; for he was both an impious and vitious man. And now in his impriſonment he deliver'd himſelf up to vice and blaſphemy. It was ſaid, that this helped him to ſo many friends, that upon that very account he was ſpared. John Goodwin and Milton did alſo eſcape all cenſure, to the ſurprize of all people. Goodwin had ſo often not only juſtified, but magnified the putting the King to death, both in his ſermons and books, that few thought he could have been either forgot or excuſed; for Peters and he were the only preachers that ſpoke of it in that ſtrain. But Goodwin had been ſo zealous an Arminian, and had ſown ſuch diviſion among all the ſectaries upon theſe heads, that it was ſaid this procured him friends. Upon what account ſoever it was, he was not cenſured. Milton had appeared ſo boldly, tho' with much wit and great purity and elegancy of ſtyle, againſt Salmaſius and others, upon that argument of putting the King to death, and had diſcovered ſuch violence againſt the late King and all the Royal family, and againſt Monarchy, that it was thought 1660.

1660. a ſtrange omiſſion if he was forgot, and an odd ſtrain of clemency, if it was intended he ſhould be forgiven. He was not excepted out of the act of indemnity. And afterwards he came out of his concealment, and lived many years much viſited by all ſtrangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, tho' he was then blind; chiefly that of Paradiſe Loſt, in which there is a nobleneſs both of contrivance and execution, that, tho' he affected to write in blank verſe without rhime, and made many new and rough words, yet it was eſteemed the beautifulleſt and perfecteſt poem that ever was writ, at leaſt in our language.

1661. But as the ſparing theſe perſons was much cenſured, ſo on the other hand the putting Sir Henry Vane to death was as much blamed: For the declaration from Breda being full for an indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; ſince, tho' he was for changing the government, and depoſing the King, yet he did not approve of the putting him to death, nor of the force put on the Parliament, but did for ſome time, while theſe things were acted, withdraw from the ſcene. This was ſo repreſented by his friends, that an addreſs was made by both Houſes on his behalf, to which the King gave a favourable anſwer, tho' in general words. So he reckoned that he was ſafe, that being equivalent to an act of Parliament, tho' it wanted the neceſſary forms. Yet the great ſhare he had in the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of government, but above all the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the Court think it neceſſary to put him out of the way. He was naturally a very fearful man: This one who knew him well told me, and gave me eminent inſtances of it. He had a head as darkened in his notions of religion, as his mind was clouded with fear;

Vane's character.

fear: For tho' he ſet up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it conſiſted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and ſeemed to wait for ſome new and clearer manifeſtations. In theſe meetings he preached and prayed often himſelf, but with ſo peculiar a darkneſs, that tho' I have ſometimes taken pains to ſee if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. And ſince many others have ſaid the ſame, it may be reaſonable to believe he hid ſomewhat that was a neceſſary key to the reſt. His friends told me, he leaned to Origen's notion of an univerſal ſalvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of pre-exiſtence. When he ſaw his death was deſigned, he compoſed himſelf to it, with a reſolution that ſurpriſed all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some inſtances of this were very extraordinary, tho' they cannot be mentioned with decency. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, where a new and very indecent practice was begun. It was obſerved, that the dying ſpeeches of the Regicides had left impreſſions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government. So ſtrains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, who as ſoon as he began to ſpeak of the publick, upon a ſign given, ſtruck up with their drums. This put him in no diſorder. He deſired they might be ſtopped, for he underſtood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his devotions. And, as he was taking leave of thoſe about him, he happening to ſay ſomewhat with relation to the times, the drums ſtruck up a ſecond time: So he gave over, and died with ſo much compoſedneſs, that it was generally thought, the government had loſt more than it had gained by his death. 1661. And execution.

1661. The act of indemnity pass'd with very few exceptions; at which the Cavaliers were highly dissatisfied, and made great complaints of it. In the disposal of offices and places, as it was not possible to gratify all, so there was little regard had to mens merits or services. The King was determined to most of these by the cabal that met at Mistress Palmer's lodgings. And tho' the Earl of Clarendon did often prevail with the King to alter the resolutions taken there, yet he was forced to let a great deal go that he did not like. He would never make applications to Mistress Palmer, nor let any thing pass the seal in which she was named, as the Earl of Southampton would never suffer her name to be in the treasury books. Those virtuous Ministers thought it became them, to let the world see that they did not comply with the King in his vices. But whether the Earl of Clarendon spoke so freely to the King about his course of life, as was given out, I cannot tell. When the Cavaliers saw, they had not that share in places that they expected, they complained of it so highly, that the Earl of Clarendon, to excuse the King's passing them by, was apt to beat down the value they set on their services. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was compleated by the extent and comprehensiveness of the act of indemnity, which cut off their hopes of being re-imbursed out of the fines, if not the confiscations of those, who had during the course of the wars been on the Parliament's side. It is true, the first Parliament, called, by way of derogation, the Convention, had been too much on that side not to secure themselves and their friends. So they took care to have the most comprehensive words put in it, that could be thought of. But when the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a design to set aside the act of indemnity, and to have brought in a new one, the King did so positively insist on his

The King gave himself up to his pleasures.

The act of indemnity maintained.

his adhering to the act of indemnity, that the design of breaking into it was laid aside. The Earl of Clarendon owned it was his counsel. Acts or promises of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held sacred: A fidelity in the observation of them was the only foundation, upon which any government could hope to quiet seditions or civil wars: And if people once thought, that those promises were only made to deceive them, without an intention to observe them religiously, they would never for the future hearken to any treaty. He often said, it was the making those promises had brought the King home, and it was the keeping them must keep him at home. So that whole work from beginning to the end was entirely his. The angry men, that were thus disappointed of all their hopes, made a jest of the title of it, "An "act of oblivion and of indemnity;" and said, the King had pass'd an act of oblivion for his friends, and of indemnity for his enemies. To load the Earl of Clarendon the more, it was given out that he advised the King to gain his enemies, since he was sure of his friends by their principles. With this he was often charged, tho' he always denied it. Whether the King fastened it upon him after he had disgraced him, to make him the more odious, I cannot tell. It is certain, the King said many very hard things of him, for which he was much blamed: And in most of them he was but little believed. 1661.

It was natural for the King upon his Restoration to look out for a proper marriage. And it was soon observed, that he was resolved not to marry a Protestant. He pretended a contempt of the Germans, and of the northern Crowns. France had no sister. He had seen the Duke of Orleans's daughters, and liked none of them. Spain had only two Infantas: And as the eldest was married to the King of France, the second was to go to 1662. The King's marriage.

1662. Vienna. So the houſe of Portugal only remained, to furniſh him a wife, among the crowned heads. Monk began to hearken to a motion made him for this by a Jew, that managed the concerns of Portugal, which were now given for loſt, ſince they were abandoned by France by the treaty of the Pyrenees; in which it appears by Cardinal Mazarin's letters, that he did entirely deliver up their concerns; which was imputed to his deſire to pleaſe the Queen-mother of France, who, being a daughter of Spain, owned herſelf ſtill to be in the intereſts of Spain in every thing in which France was not concerned, for in that caſe ſhe pretended ſhe was true to the Crown of France. And this was the true ſecret of Cardinal Mazarin's carrying on that war ſo feebly as he did, to gratify the Queen-mother on the one hand, and his own covetouſneſs on the other: For the leſs publick expence was made, he had the greater occaſions of enriching himſelf, which was all he thought on. The Portugueze being thus, as they thought, caſt off by France, were very apprehenſive of falling under the Caſtillians, who, how weak ſoever they were in oppoſition to France, yet were like to be too hard for them, when they had nothing elſe on their hands. So, vaſt offers were made, if the King would marry their Infanta, and take them under his protection. Monk was the more encouraged to entertain the propoſition, becauſe ſome pretended, that, in the beginning of the war of Portugal, King Charles had entred into a negotiation for a marriage between his ſon and this infanta. And the veneration paid his memory was then ſo high, that every thing he had projected was eſteemed ſacred. Monk promiſed to ſerve the intereſts of Portugal: And that was, as Sir Robert Southwell told me, the firſt ſtep made in that matter. Soon after the King came into England, an embaſſy of congratulation came from thence, with orders to negotiate that buſineſs.

buſineſs. The Spaniſh Embaſſador, who had a pretenſion of merit from the King in behalf of that Crown, ſince they had received and entertained him at Bruſſels, when France had thrown him off, ſet himſelf much againſt this match: And among other things affirmed, that the Infanta was incapable of having children. But this was little conſidered. The Spaniards are not very ſcrupulous in affirming any thing that ſerves their ends: And this marriage was like to ſecure the Kingdom of Portugal. So it was no wonder that he oppoſed it: And little regard was had to all that he ſaid to break it. 1662.

An alliance propoſed from France.

At this time Monſieur Fouquet was gaining an aſcendant in the counſels of France, Cardinal Mazarin falling then into a languiſhing, of which he died a year after. He ſent one over to the King with a project of an alliance between France and England. He was addreſſed firſt to the Earl of Clarendon, to whom he enlarged on all the heads of the ſcheme he had brought, of which the match with Portugal was a main article. And, to make all go down the better, Fouquet deſired to enter into a particular friendſhip with the Earl of Clarendon; and ſent him the offer of 10000 l, and aſſured him of the renewing the ſame preſent every year. The Lord Clarendon told him, he would lay all that related to the King faithfully before him, and give him his anſwer in a little time: But for what related to himſelf, he ſaid, he ſerved a great and bountiful maſter, who knew well how to ſupport and reward his ſervants: He would ever ſerve him faithfully; and, becauſe he knew he muſt ſerve thoſe from whom he accepted the hire, therefore he rejected the offer with great indignation. He laid before the King the heads of the propoſed alliance, which required much conſultation. But in the next place he told both the King and his brother what had been offered to himſelf. They both adviſed him to accept of it. Why, ſaid he, have you a mind that I ſhould betray you? The King anſwered, he knew nothing

1662. nothing could corrupt him. Then, ſaid he, you know me better than I do my ſelf: For if I take the money I ſhall find the ſweet of it, and ſtudy to have it continued to me by deſerving it. He told them, how he had rejected the offer; and very ſeriouſly warned the King of the danger he ſaw he might fall into, if he ſuffered any of thoſe, who ſerved him, to be once penſioners to other Princes: Thoſe preſents were made only to biaſs them in their counſels, and to diſcover ſecrets by their means: And if the King gave way to it, the taking money would ſoon grow to a habit, and ſpread like an infection thro' the whole Court.

The Duke of York's marriage.

As the motion for the match with Portugal was carried on, an incident of an extraordinary nature happened in the Court. The Earl of Clarendon's daughter, being with child, and near her time, called upon the Duke of York to own his marriage with her. She had been maid of honour to the Princeſs Royal: And the Duke, who was even to his old age of an amorous diſpoſition, tried to gain her to comply with his deſires. She managed the matter with ſo much addreſs, that in concluſion he married her. Her father did very ſolemnly proteſt, that he knew nothing of the matter, till now that it broke out. The Duke thought to have ſhaken her from claiming it by great promiſes, and as great threatnings. But ſhe was a woman of a great ſpirit. She ſaid, ſhe was his wife, and would have it known that ſhe was ſo, let him uſe her afterwards as he pleaſed. Many diſcourſes were ſet about upon this occaſion. But the King ordered ſome Biſhops and Judges to peruſe the proofs ſhe had to produce: And they reported that, according to the doctrine of the Goſpel, and the law of England, it was a good marriage. So it was not poſſible to break it, but by trying how far the matter could be carried againſt her, for marrying a perſon ſo near the King without his leave. The King would not break with the Earl of Clarendon: And ſo he told his brother, he muſt drink as he brewed,

brewed, and live with her whom he had made his wife. All the Earl of Clarendon's enemies rejoyced at this: For they reckoned, how much ſoever it ſeemed to raiſe him at preſent, yet it would raiſe envy ſo high againſt him, and make the King ſo jealous of him, as being more in his brother's intereſts than in his own, that they looked on it as that which would end in his ruin. And he himſelf thought ſo, as his ſon told me: For, as ſoon as he knew of it, and when he ſaw his ſon lifted up with it, he proteſted to him, that he knew nothing of the matter, till it broke out; but added, that he looked on it, as that which muſt be all their ruin ſooner or later. 1662.

The Duke's character.

Upon this I will digreſs a little to give an account of the Duke's character, whom I knew for ſome years ſo particularly, that I can ſay much upon my own knowledge. He was very brave in his youth, and ſo much magnified by Monſieur Turenne, that, till his marriage leſſened him, he really clouded the King, and paſs'd for the ſuperior genius. He was naturally candid and ſincere, and a firm friend, till affairs and his religion wore out all his firſt principles and inclinations. He had a great deſire to underſtand affairs: And in order to that he kept a conſtant journal of all that paſs'd, of which he ſhewed me a great deal. The Duke of Buckingham gave me once a ſhort but ſevere character of the two brothers. It was the more ſevere, becauſe it was true: The King (he ſaid) could ſee things if he would, and the Duke would ſee things if he could. He had no true judgment, and was ſoon determined by thoſe whom he truſted: But he was obſtinate againſt all other advices. He was bred with high notions of the Kingly authority, and laid it down for a maxim, that all who oppoſed the King were rebels in their hearts. He was perpetually in one amour or other, without being very nice in his choice: Upon which the King ſaid once, he believed his brother had his miſtreſſes given him by his Prieſts for penance.

He

1660. He gave me this account of his changing his religion: When he escaped out of the hands of the Earl of Northumberland, who had the charge of his education, trusted to him by the Parliament, and had used him with great respect, all due care was taken, as soon as he got beyond sea, to form him to a strict adherence to the Church of England: Among other things much was said of the authority of the Church, and of the tradition from the Apostles in support of Episcopacy: So that, when he came to observe that there was more reason to submit to the Catholick Church than to one particular Church, and that other traditions might be taken on her word, as well as Episcopacy was received among us, he thought the step was not great, but that it was very reasonable to go over to the Church of Rome: And Doctor Steward having taught him to believe a real but inconceivable presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he thought this went more than half way to transubstantiation. He said, that a Nun's advice to him to pray every day, that, if he was not in the right way, God would set him right, did make a great impression on him. But he never told me when or where he was reconciled. He suffered me to say a great deal to him on all these heads. I shewed the difference between submission and obedience in matters of order and indifferent things, and an implicite submission from the belief of infallibility. I also shewed him the difference between a speculation of a mode of Christ's presence, when it rested in an opinion, and an adoration founded on it: Tho' the opinion of such a presence was wrong, there was no great harm in that alone: But the adoration of an undue object was idolatry. He suffered me to talk much and often to him on these heads. But I plainly saw, it made no impression: And all that he seemed to intend by it was, to make use of me as an instrument to soften the aversion, that people began to be possessed

feſſed with to him. He was naturally eager and revengeful: And was againſt the taking off any, that ſet up in an oppoſition to the meaſures of the Court, and who by that means grew popular in the Houſe of Commons. He was for rougher methods. He continued for many years diſſembling his religion, and ſeemed zealous for the Church of England: But it was chiefly on deſign to hinder all propoſitions, that tended to unite us among our ſelves. He was a frugal Prince, and brought his Court into method and magnificence: For he had 100000 l. a year allowed him. He was made High Admiral: And he came to underſtand all the concerns of the ſea very particularly. He had a very able Secretary about him, Sir William Coventry; a man of great notions and eminent virtues, the beſt Speaker in the Houſe of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief miniſtry, as it was once thought he was very near it. The Duke found all the great ſeamen had a deep tincture from their education: They both hated Popery, and loved liberty: They were men of ſevere tempers, and kept good diſcipline. But in order to the putting the fleet into more confident hands, the Duke began a method of ſending pages of honour, and other young perſons of quality, to be bred to the ſea. And theſe were put in command, as ſoon as they were capable of it, if not ſooner. This diſcouraged many of the old ſeamen, when they ſaw in what a channel advancement was like to go; who upon that left the ſervice, and went and commanded merchantmen. By this means the virtue and diſcipline of the navy is much loſt. It is true, we have a breed of many gallant men, who do diſtinguiſh themſelves in action. But it is thought, the Nation has ſuffered much by the vices and diſorders of thoſe Captains, who have riſen by their quality, more than by merit or ſervice. 1660.

The Ducheſs of York was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively ſenſe The Ducheſs's character.

1660. ſenſe of things. She ſoon underſtood what belonged to a Princeſs; and took ſtate on her rather too much. She writ well; and had begun the Duke's life, of which ſhe ſhewed me a volume. It was all drawn from his journal: And he intended to have employed me in carrying it on. She was bred to great ſtrictneſs in religion, and practiſed ſecret confeſſion. Morley told me, he was her confeſſor. She began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, till, upon her father's diſgrace, he was put from the Court. She was generous and friendly; but was too ſevere an enemy.

The Duke of Gloceſter's character.

The King's third brother, the Duke of Gloceſter, was of a temper different from his two brothers. He was active, and loved buſineſs, was apt to have particular friendſhips; and had an inſinuating temper, which was generally very acceptable. The King loved him much better than the Duke of York. But he was uneaſy, when he ſaw there was no poſt left for him, ſince Monk was General. So he ſpoke to the Earl of Clarendon, that he might be made Lord Treaſurer. But he told him, it was a poſt below his dignity. He would not be put off with that: For he could not bear an idle life, nor to ſee his brother at the head of the Fleet, when he himſelf had neither buſineſs nor dependence. But the mirth and entertainments of that time raiſed his blood ſo high, that he took the ſmall pox; of which he died, much lamented by all, but moſt particularly by the King, who was never in his whole life ſeen ſo much troubled, as he was on that occaſion. Thoſe, who would not believe he had much tenderneſs in his nature, imputed this rather to his jealouſy of the brother that ſurvived, ſince he had now loſt the only perſon that could ballance him. Not long after him the Princeſs Royal died likewiſe of the ſmall pox; but was not much lament-

ed.

ed. She had lived in her widowhood for some years with great reputation, kept a decent Court, and supported her brothers very liberally; and lived within bounds. But her mother, who had the art of making herself believe any thing she had a mind to, upon a conversation with the Queen Mother of France, fancied the King of France might be inclined to marry her. So she writ to her to come to Paris. In order to that, she made an equipage far above what she could support. So she ran herself into debt, sold all her jewels, and some estates that were in her power as her son's guardian; and was not only disappointed of that vain expectation, but fell into some misfortunes, that lessened the reputation she had formerly lived in. Upon her death it might have been expected, both in justice and gratitude, that the King would in a most particular manner have taken her son, the young Prince of Orange, into his protection. But he fell into better hands: For his grandmother became his guardian, and took care both of his estate and his education. 1660.

Thus two of the branches of the Royal family were cut off soon after the Restoration. And so little do the events of things answer the first appearances, that a Royal family of three Princes and two Princesses, all young and graceful persons, that promised a numerous issue, did moulder away so fast, that now, while I am writing, all is reduced to the person of the Queen, and the Duchess of Savoy. The King had a very numerous issue, tho' none by his Queen. The Duke had by both his wives, and some irregular amours, a very numerous issue. And the present Queen has had a most fruitful marriage as to issue, tho' none of them survive. The Princess Henriette was so pleased with the diversion of the French Court, that she was glad to go thither again to be married to that King's Brother. The prospect of the Royal family much changed.

As

1660. As the treaty with Portugal went on, France did engage in the concerns of that Crown, tho' they had by treaty promiſed the contrary to the Spaniards. To excuſe their perfidy, Count Schomberg, a German by birth, and a Calviniſt by his religion, was ordered to go thither, as one prevailed with by the Portugal Ambaſſador, and not as ſent over by the orders of the Court of France. He paſs'd thro' England to concert with the King the matters of Portugal, and the ſupply that was to be ſent thither from England. He told me, the King had admitted him into great familiarities with him at Paris. He had known him firſt at the Hague: For he was the Prince of Orange's particular favourite; but had ſo great a ſhare in the laſt violent actions of his life, ſeizing the States, and in the attempt upon Amſterdam, that he left the ſervice upon his death; and gained ſo great a reputation in France, that, after the Prince of Conde and Turenne, he was thought the beſt General they had. He had much free diſcourſe with the King, tho' he found his mind was ſo turned to mirth and pleaſure, that he ſeemed ſcarce capable of laying any thing to heart. He adviſed him to ſet up for the head of the Proteſtant religion: For tho', he ſaid to him, he knew he had not much religion, yet his intereſts led him to that. It would keep the Princes of Germany in a great dependence on him, and make him the umpire of all their affairs; and would procure him great credit with the Huguenots of France, and keep that Crown in perpetual fear of him. He adviſed the King to employ the military men that had ſerved under Cromwell, whom he thought the beſt officers he had ever ſeen: And he was ſorry to ſee, they were diſmiſs'd, and that a company of wild young men were thoſe the King relied on. But what he preſs'd moſt on the King, as the buſineſs then in agitation, was concerning the ſale of Dunkirk. The Spaniards pretended it ought to be

Schomberg went thro England to Portugal.

Dunkirk ſold to the French.

restored to them, since it was taken from them by Cromwell, when they had the King and his brothers in their armies: But that was not much regarded. The French pretended, that, by their agreement with Cromwell, he was only to hold it, till they had repayed the charge of the war: Therefore they, offering to lay that down, ought to have the place delivered to them. The King was in no sort bound by this. So the matter under debate was, whether it ought to be kept or sold? The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by France, said, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the King to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The Earl of Clarendon said, he understood not those matters; but appealed to Monk's judgment, who did positively advise the letting it go for the sum that France offered. To make the business go the easier, the King promised, that he would lay up all the money in the Tower; and that it should not be touched, but upon extraordinary occasions. Schomberg advised, in opposition to all this, that the King should keep it; for, considering the naval power of England, it could not be taken. He knew, that, tho' France spoke big, as if they would break with England unless that was delivered up, yet they were far from the thoughts of it. He had considered the place well; and he was sure it could never be taken, as long as England was master of the sea. The holding it would keep both France and Spain in a dependence upon the King. But he was singular in that opinion. So it was sold: And all the money, that was paid for it, was immediately squandred away among the mistress's creatures. 1661.

By this the King lost his reputation abroad. The Court was believed venal. And because the Earl of Clarendon was in greatest credit, the blame was cast chiefly on him; tho' his son assured me, Tangier a part of the Queen's portion.

1661. he kept himſelf out of that affair entirely *. The coſt beſtowed on that place ſince that time, and the great prejudice we have ſuffered by it, has made that ſale to be often reflected on very ſeverely. But it was pretended, that Tangier, which was offered as a part of the portion that the Infanta of Portugal was to bring with her, was a place of much greater conſequence. Its ſituation in the map is indeed very eminent. And if Spain had been then in a condition to put any reſtraint on our trade, it had been of great uſe to us; eſpecially, if the making a mole there had been more practicable, than it proved to be. It was then ſpoken of in the Court in the higheſt ſtrains of flattery. It was ſaid, this would not only give us the entire command of the Mediterranean trade, but it would be a place of ſafety for a ſquadron to be always kept there, for ſecuring our Weſt and Eaſt India trade. And ſuch mighty things were ſaid of it, as if it had been reſerved for the King's reign, to make England as glorious abroad, as it was happy at home: Tho' ſince that time we have never been able, neither by force nor treaty, to get ground enough round the town from the Moors, to maintain the garriſon. But every man that was employed there ſtudied only his own intereſt, and how to rob the King. If the money, that was laid out in the mole at different times, had been raiſed ſucceſſively, as faſt as the work could be carried on, it might have been made a very valuable place. But there were ſo many diſcontinuings, and ſo many new undertakings, that after an immenſe charge the Court grew weary of it: And in the year 1638 they ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to bring away the garriſon, and to deſtroy all the works.

* By Monſieur D'Eſtrade's Letters, publiſh'd ſome years after the Author's death, it ſhould ſeem, that the Earl of Clarendon had a conſiderable ſhare in that negotiation.

This matter of the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal was at last concluded. The Earl of Sandwich went for her, and was the King's proxy in the nuptial ceremony. The King communicated the matter both to the Parliament of England, and Scotland. And so strangely were people changed, that tho' they all had seen the mischievous effects of a Popish Queen in the former reign, yet not one person moved against it in either Parliament, except the Earl of Cassilis in Scotland; who moved for an address to the King to marry a Protestant. He had but one to second him: So entirely were men run from one extreme to another. 1661.

When the Queen was brought over, the King met her at Winchester in summer 1662. The Archbishop of Canterbury came to perform the ceremony: But the Queen was bigotted to such a degree, that she would not say the words of matrimony, nor bear the sight of the Archbishop. The King said the words hastily: And the Archbishop pronounced them married persons. Upon this some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only de facto, in which no consent had been given. But the Duke of York told me, they were married by the Lord Aubigny according to the Roman ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses: And he added, that, a few days before he told me this, the Queen had said to him, that she heard some intended to call her marriage in question; and that, if that was done, she must call on him as one of her witnesses to prove it. I saw the letter that the King writ to the Earl of Clarendon the day after their marriage, by which it appeared very plainly that the marriage was consummated, and that the King was well pleased with her. The King himself told me, she had been with child: And Willis the great Physician told Doctor Lloyd, from whom I had it, that 1662. The manner of the King's marriage.

1662. she had once miscarried of a child, which was so far advanced, that, if it had been carefully look'd to, the sex might have been distinguished. But she proved a barren wife, and was a woman of a mean appearance, and of no agreeable temper: So that the King never considered her much. And she made ever after but a very mean figure.

The King lived in an avowed course of lewdness.

For some time the King carried things decently, and did not visit his mistress openly. But he grew weary of that restraint; and shook it off so entirely, that he had ever after that mistresses to the end of his life, to the great scandal of the world, and to the particular reproach of all that served about him in the Church. He usually came from his mistresses lodgings to Church, even on Sacrament days. He held as it were a Court in them: And all his Ministers made applications to them. Only the Earls of Clarendon and Southampton would never so much as make a visit to any of them, which was maintaining the decencies of virtue in a very solemn manner. The Lord Clarendon put the justice of the Nation in very good hands; and employed some who had been on the bench in Cromwell's time, the famous Sir Matthew Hale in particular.

1660. The business of Ireland was a harder province.

The settlement of Ireland.

The Irish that had been in the rebellion had made a treaty with the Duke of Ormond, then acting in the King's name, tho' he had no legal power under the Great Seal, the King being then a prisoner. But the Queen-mother got, as they gave out, the Crown of France to become the guarantee for the performance. By the treaty they were to furnish him with an army, to adhere to the King's interests, and serve under the Duke of Ormond: And for this they were to be pardoned all that was pass'd, to have the open exercise of their religion, and a free admittance into all employments, and to have a free Parliament without the curb of

Poyning's law. But after the misfortune at Dub- 1660.
lin, they ſet up a ſupreme council again, and re-
fuſed to obey the Duke of Ormond; in which the Pope's Nuncio conducted them. After ſome diſputes, and that the Duke of Ormond ſaw he could not prevail with them to be commanded by him any more, he left Ireland. And Cromwell came over, and reduced the whole country, and made a ſettlement of the confiſcated eſtates, for the pay of the undertakers for the Iriſh war, and of the officers that had ſerved in it. The King had in his Declaration from Breda promiſed to confirm the ſettlement of Ireland. So now a great debate aroſe between the native Iriſh and the Engliſh ſettled in Ireland. The former claimed the articles that the Duke of Ormond had granted them. He in anſwer to this ſaid, they had broken them firſt on their part, and ſo had forfeited their claim to them. They ſeemed to rely much on the Court of France, and on the whole Popiſh party abroad, as they were the moſt conſiderable branch of it here at home. But England did naturally incline to ſupport the Engliſh Intereſts. And, as that intereſt in Ireland had gone in very unanimouſly, to the deſign of the King's Reſtoration, and had merited much on that account, ſo they drew over the Duke of Ormond to join with them, in order to an act confirming Cromwell's ſettlement. Only a Court of claims was ſet up, to examine the pretenſions of ſome of the Iriſh, who had ſpecial excuſes for themſelves, why they ſhould not be included in the general forfeiture of the Nation. Some were under age: Others were travelling, or ſerving abroad: And many had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the King's ſervice, when he was in Flanders; chiefly under the Duke of York, who pleaded much for them, and was always depended on by them, as their chief patron. It was thought moſt equitable, to ſend over men from England,

1660. who were not concerned in the intereſts or paſſions of the parties of that Kingdom, to try thoſe claims. Their proceedings were much cried out on: For it was ſaid, that every man's claim, who could ſupport it with a good preſent, was found good, and that all the members of that Court came back very rich. So that, tho' the Iriſh thought they had not juſtice enough done them, the Engliſh ſaid they had too much. When any thing was to be proved by witneſſes, ſets of them were hired, to depoſe according to the inſtructions given them. This was then cried out on, as a new ſcene of wickedneſs, that was then opened, and which muſt in the end ſubvert all juſtice and good government. The infection has ſpread ſince that time, and croſſed the ſea. And the danger of being ruined by falſe witneſſes has become ſo terrible, that there is no ſecurity againſt it, but from the ſincerity of juries. And if theſe come to be packt, then all men may be ſoon at mercy, if a wicked government ſhould ſet on a violent proſecution, as has happened oftner than once. I am not inſtructed enough in the affairs of Ireland, to carry this matter into farther particulars. The Engliſh intereſt was managed chiefly by two men of a very indifferent reputation: The Earls of Angleſey, and Orrery. The chief manager of the Iriſh intereſt was Richard Talbot, one of the Duke's bedchamber men, who had much cunning, and had the ſecret both of his maſter's pleaſures, and of his religion, for ſome years, and was afterwards raiſed by him to be Earl and Duke of Tirconnel. Thus I have gone over the ſeveral branches of the ſettlement of matters after the Reſtoration. I have reſerved the affairs of the Church laſt, as thoſe about which I have taken the moſt pains to be well informed; and which I do therefore offer to the reader with ſome aſſurance, and on which I hope due reflection will be made.

At

At the Reſtoration, Juxon, the ancienteſt and moſt eminent of the former Biſhops, who had aſſiſted the late King in his laſt hours, was promoted to Canterbury, more out of decency, than that he was then capable to fill that poſt; for as he was never a great divine, ſo he was now ſuperannuated. Tho' others have aſſured me, that after ſome diſcourſes with the King he was ſo much ſtruck with what he obſerved in him, that upon that he loſt both heart and hope. The King treated him with outward reſpect, but had no great regard to him. Sheldon and Morley were the men that had the greateſt credit. Sheldon was eſteemed a learned man before the wars: But he was now engaged ſo deep in politicks, that ſcarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dextrous man in buſineſs, had a great quickneſs of apprehenſion, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleaſantneſs of converſation, perhaps too great. He had an art, that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a moſt obliging manner: But few depended much on his profeſſions of friendſhip. He ſeemed not to have a deep ſenſe of religion, if any at all: And ſpoke of it moſt commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a wiſe and honeſt Clergyman. Sheldon was at firſt made Biſhop of London, and was upon Juxon's death promoted to Canterbury. Morley had been firſt known to the world as a friend of the Lord Falkland's: And that was enough to raiſe a man's character. He had continued for many years in the Lord Clarendon's family, and was his particular friend. He was a Calviniſt with relation to the Arminian points, and was thought a friend to the Puritans before the wars: But he took care after his promotion to free himſelf from all ſuſpicions of that kind. He was a pious and

1660.

The Biſhops who had then the greateſt credit.

1660. charitable man, of a very exemplary life, but extream paſſionate, and very obſtinate. He was firſt made Biſhop of Worceſter. Doctor Hammond, for whom that See was deſigned, died a little before the Reſtoration, which was an unſpeakable loſs to the Church: For, as he was a man of great learning, and of moſt eminent merit, he having been the perſon, that during the bad times, had maintained the cauſe of the Church in a very ſingular manner, ſo he was a very moderate man in his temper, tho' with a high principle; and probably he would have fallen into healing counſels. He was alſo much ſet on reforming abuſes, and for raiſing in the Clergy a due ſenſe of the obligations they lay under. But by his death Morley was advanced to Worceſter: And not long after he was removed to Wincheſter, void by Duppa's death, who had been the King's tutor, tho' no way fit for that poſt; but he was a meek and humble man, and much loved for the ſweetneſs of his temper; and would have been more eſteemed, if he had died before the Reſtoration; for he made not that uſe, of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, that was expected. Morley was thought always the honeſter man of the two, as Sheldon was certainly the abler man.

Debates concerning the uniting with the Preſbyterians.

The firſt point in debate was, whether conceſſions ſhould be made, and pains taken to gain the Diſſenters, or not; eſpecially the Preſbyterians. The Earl of Clarendon was much for it; and got the King to publiſh a declaration ſoon after his Reſtoration concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs, to which if he had ſtood, very probably the greateſt part of them might have been gained. But the Biſhops did not approve of this: And after the ſervice they did that Lord, in the Duke of York's marriage, he would not put any hardſhip on thoſe who had ſo ſignally obliged him. This diſguſted the Lord Southampton, who was for carrying on the deſign, that had been much talked of during the

the wars, of moderating matters both with rela- 1660.
tion to the government of the Church, and the
worſhip and ceremonies: Which created ſome coldneſs between him and the Earl of Clarendon, when the Lord Chancellour went off from thoſe deſigns. The conſideration that thoſe Biſhops and their party had in the matter was this: The Preſbyterians were poſſeſſed of moſt of the great benefices in the Church, chiefly in the City of London, and in the two Univerſities. It is true, all that had come into the room of thoſe who were turned out by the Parliament, or by the viſitors ſent by them, were removed by the courſe of law, as men that were illegally poſſeſſed of other mens rights: And that even where the former incumbents were dead, becauſe a title originally wrong was ſtill wrong in law. But there were a great many of them in very eminent poſts, who were legally poſſeſſed of them. Many of theſe, chiefly in the city of London, had gone into the deſign of the Reſtoration in ſo ſignal a manner, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that they had great merit, and a juſt title to very high preferment. Now, as there remained a great deal of the old animoſity againſt them, for what they had done during the wars, ſo it was ſaid, it was better to have a ſchiſm out of the Church than within it; and that the half conformity of the Puritans before the war, had ſet up a faction in every city and town between the lecturers and the incumbents, that the former took all methods to render themſelves popular, and to raiſe the benevolence of their people, which was their chief ſubſiſtence, by diſparaging the government both in Church and State. They had alſo many ſtories among them, of the credit they had in the elections of Parliament men, which they infuſed in the King, to poſſeſs him with the neceſſity of having none to ſerve in the Church, but perſons that ſhould be firmly tied to his intereſt, both by principle, and by ſubſcriptions and oaths.

1660. oaths. It is true, the joy then ſpread thro' the Nation had got at this time a new Parliament to be elected, of men ſo high and ſo hot, that unleſs the Court had reſtrained them, they would have carried things much farther than they did, againſt all that had been concerned in the late wars: But they were not to expect ſuch ſucceſs at all times: Therefore they thought it was neceſſary to make ſure work at this time: And, inſtead of uſing methods to bring in the ſectaries, they reſolved rather to ſeek the moſt effectual ones for caſting them out, and bringing a new ſet of men into the Church. This took with the King, at leaſt it ſeemed to do ſo. But, tho' he put on an outward appearance of moderation, yet he was in another and deeper laid deſign, to which the heat of theſe men proved ſubſervient, for bringing in of Popery. A Popiſh Queen was a great ſtep to keep it in countenance at Court, and to have a great many Prieſts going about the Court making converts. It was thought, a toleration was the only method for ſetting it a going all the Nation over. And nothing could make a toleration for Popery paſs, but the having great bodies of men put out of the Church, and put under ſevere laws, which ſhould force them to move for a toleration, and ſhould make it reaſonable to grant it to them. And it was reſolved, that whatever ſhould be granted of that ſort ſhould go in ſo large a manner, that Papiſts ſhould be comprehended within it. So the Papiſts had this generally ſpread among them, that they ſhould oppoſe all propoſitions for comprehenſion, and ſhould animate the Church party to maintain their ground againſt all the ſectaries. And in that point they ſeemed zealous for the Church. But at the ſame time they ſpoke of toleration, as neceſſary both for the peace and quiet of the Nation, and for the encouragement of trade. And with this the Duke was ſo poſſeſſed, that he declared himſelf a moſt violent enemy to comprehenſion,

henſion, and as zealous for toleration. The King being thus reſolved on fixing the terms of conformity to what they had been before the war, without making the leaſt abatement or alteration, they carried on ſtill an appearance of moderation, till the ſtrength of the parties ſhould appear in the new Parliament. 1660.

So, after the declaration was ſet out, a commiſſion was granted to twelve of a ſide, with nine aſſiſtants to each ſide, who were appointed to meet at the Savoy, and to conſider on the ways of uniting both ſides. At their firſt meeting, Sheldon told them, that thoſe of the Church had not deſired this meeting, as being ſatisfied with the legal eſtabliſhment; and therefore they had nothing to offer; but it belonged to the other ſide, who moved for alterations, to offer both their exceptions to the laws in being, and the alterations that they propoſed. He told them, they were to lay all they had to offer before them at once; for they would not engage to treat about any one particular, till they ſaw how far their demands went: And he ſaid, that all was to be tranſacted in writing, tho' the others inſiſted on an amicable conference; which was at firſt denied: Yet ſome hopes were given of allowing it at laſt. Papers were upon this given in. The Preſbyterians moved, that Biſhop Uſher's Reduction ſhould be laid down as a ground-work to treat on; that Biſhops ſhould not govern their dioceſe by their ſingle authority, nor depute it to Lay officers in their Courts, but ſhould in matters of ordination and juriſdiction take along with them the counſel and concurrence of the Preſbyters. They did offer ſeveral exceptions to the Liturgy, againſt the many reſponſes by the people; and they deſired, all might be made one continued prayer. They deſired that no leſſons ſhould be taken out of the Apocryphal books; that the Pſalms uſed in the daily ſervice ſhould be according to the new tranſlation. They excepted

A treaty in the Savoy.

1660. excepted to many parts of the office of baptiſm, that import the inward regeneration of all that were baptized. But as they propoſed theſe amendments, ſo they did alſo offer a Liturgy new drawn by Mr. Baxter. They inſiſted mainly againſt kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, chiefly againſt the impoſing it; and moved that the poſture might be left free, and that the uſe of the ſurplice, of the croſs in baptiſm, of God-fathers being the ſponſors in baptiſm, and of the holy days, might be aboliſhed. Sheldon ſaw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raiſed a mighty outcry againſt them, as people that could never be ſatisfied. But nothing gave ſo great an advantage againſt them, as their offering a new Liturgy. In this they were divided among themſelves. Some were for inſiſting only on a few important things, reckoning that, if they were gained, and a union followed upon that, it would be eaſier to gain other things afterwards. But all this was overthrown by Mr. Baxter, who was a man of great piety; and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been eſteemed one of the learned men of the age: He writ near two hundred books: Of theſe, three are large folios: He had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much ſimplicity; but was moſt unhappily ſubtle and metaphyſical in every thing. There was a great ſubmiſſion paid to him by the whole party. So he perſuaded them, that from the words of the commiſſion they were bound to offer every thing, that they thought might conduce to the good or peace of the Church, without conſidering what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding ſo much might have, in irritating the minds of thoſe who were then the ſuperior body in ſtrength and number. All the whole matter was at laſt reduced to one ſingle point,

point, whether it was lawful to determine the certain use of things indifferent in the worship of God? The Bishops held them to that point, and pressed them to shew that any of the things imposed were of themselves unlawful. The Presbyterians declined this; but affirmed, that other circumstances might make it become unlawful to settle a peremptory law about things indifferent; which they applied chiefly to kneeling in the Sacrament, and stood upon it that a law, which excluded all that did not kneel from the Sacrament, was unlawful, as a limitation in the point of communion put on the laws of Christ, which ought to be the only condition of those who had a right to it. Upon this point there was a free conference that lasted some days. The two men, that had the chief management of the debate, were the most unfit to heal matters, and the fittest to widen them, that could have been found out. Baxter was the opponent, and Gunning was the respondent; who was afterwards advanced, first to Chichester, and then to Ely: He was a man of great reading, and noted for a special subtilty of arguing: All the arts of sophistry were made use of by him on all occasions, in as confident a manner, as if they had been sound reasoning: He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpose: He was much set on the reconciling us with Popery in some points: And, because the charge of idolatry seemed a bar to all thoughts of reconciliation with them, he set himself with very great zeal to clear the Church of Rome of idolatry: This made many suspect him as inclining to go over to them: But he was far from it; and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs: He was for our conforming in all things to the rules of the Primitive Church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the use of oil, with many other rituals: He formed many in Cam- 1660.

bridge

1660. bridge upon his own notions, who have carried them perhaps farther than he intended. Baxter and he ſpent ſome days in much logical arguing, to the diverſion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in diſputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect. In concluſion, this commiſſion, being limited to ſuch a number of days, came to an end, before any one thing was agreed on. The Biſhops inſiſted on the laws that were ſtill in force, to which they would admit of no exception, unleſs it was proved that the matter of thoſe laws was ſinful. They charged the Preſbyterians with having made a ſchiſm, upon a charge againſt the Church for things, which now they themſelves could not call ſinful. They ſaid, there was no reaſon to gratify ſuch a ſort of men in any thing: One demand granted would draw on many more: All authority both in Church and State was ſtruck at by the poſition they had inſiſted on, that it was not lawful to impoſe things indifferent, ſince they ſeemed to be the only proper matter in which human authority could interpoſe. So this furniſhed an occaſion to expoſe them as enemies to all order. Things had been carried at the Savoy with great ſharpneſs, and many reflections. Baxter ſaid once, ſuch things would offend many good men in the Nation. Stearn, the Archbiſhop of York, upon that took notice that he would not ſay Kingdom, but Nation, becauſe he would not acknowledge a King. Of this great complaints were made, as an indecent return for the zeal they had ſhewn in the Reſtoration.

1661. The conference broke up without doing any good. It did rather hurt, and heightened the ſharpneſs that was then in peoples minds to ſuch a degree, that it needed no addition to raiſe it higher. The Preſbyterians laid their complaints before the King: But little regard was had to them. And now

The terms of conformity made harder.

now all the concern that seemed to employ the Bishops thoughts was, not only to make no alteration on their account, but to make the terms of conformity much stricter than they had been before the war. So it was resolved to maintain conformity to the height, and to put lecturers in the same condition with the incumbents, as to oaths and subscriptions; and to oblige all persons to subscribe an unfeigned assent and consent to all and every particular, contained and prescribed in the book of Common Prayer. Many, who thought it lawful to conform in submission, yet scrupled at this, as importing a particular approbation of every thing: And great distinction was made between a conformity in practice, and so full and distinct an assent. Yet men got over that, as importing no more but a consent of obedience: For tho' the words of the subscription, which were also to be publickly pronounced before the congregation, declaring the person's unfeigned assent and consent, seemed to import this, yet the clause of the act that enjoined this carried a clear explanation of it; for it enacted this declaration as an assent and consent to the use of all things contained in the book. Another subscription was enacted, with relation to the League and Covenant; by which they were required to declare it unlawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King, renouncing the traiterous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or those commissioned by him, together with a declaration, that no obligation lay on them or any other person from the League or Covenant, to endeavour any change or alteration of government in Church and State, and that the Covenant was in itself an unlawful oath. This was contriv'd against all the old men, who had both taken the Covenant themselves, and had press'd it upon others. So they were now to own themselves very guilty in that matter. And those, who 1661.

1661. who thought it might be lawful, upon great and illegal provocation, to reſiſt unjuſt invaſions on the laws and liberties of the ſubjects, excepted to the ſubſcription, tho' it was ſcarce ſafe for any at that time to have inſiſted on that point. Some thought, that ſince the King had taken the Covenant, he at leaſt was bound to ſtand to it.

The Act of Uniformity.

Another point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity, which was more at large formerly: Thoſe, who came to England from the foreign Churches, had not been required to be ordained among us: But now all, that had not Epiſcopal ordination, were made incapable of holding any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice. Some few alterations were made in the Liturgy by the Biſhops themſelves: A few new collects were made, as the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thankſgiving. A collect was alſo drawn for the Parliament, in which a new epithet was added to the King's title, that gave great offence, and occaſioned much indecent raillery: He was ſtyled our moſt religious King. It was not eaſy to give a proper ſenſe to this, and to make it go well down; ſince, whatever the ſignification of religion might be in the Latin word, as importing the ſacredneſs of the King's perſon, yet in the Engliſh language it bore a ſignification that was no way applicable to the King. And thoſe who took great liberties with him have often aſked him, what muſt all his people think, when they heard him prayed for as their moſt religious King? Some other leſſer additions were made. But care was taken, that nothing ſhould be altered, as it had been moved by the Preſbyterians; for it was reſolved to gratify them in nothing. One important addition was made, chiefly by Gawden's men: He preſſed that a declaration, explaining the reaſons of their kneeling at the Sacrament, which had been in King Edward's Liturgy, but was left out in Queen Elizabeth's time, ſhould be again ſet where it had once

once been. The Papists were highly offended, 1661.
when they saw such an express declaration made against the real presence, and the Duke told me, that when he asked Sheldon how they came to declare against a doctrine, which he had been instructed was the doctrine of the Church, Sheldon answered, ask Gawden about it, who is a Bishop of your own making: For the King had ordered his promotion for the service he had done. The Convocation that prepared those alterations, as they added some new holy days, St. Barnabas, and the Conversion of St. Paul, so they took in more lessons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the story of Bell and the Dragon: New offices were also drawn for two new days, the thirtieth of January, called King Charles the Martyr, and the twenty ninth of May, the day of the King's birth and return. Sancroft drew for these some offices of a very high strain. Yet others of a more moderate strain were preferred to them. But he, coming to be advanced to the See of Canterbury, got his offices to be published by the King's authority, in a time when so high a style as was in them did not sound well in the Nation. Such care was taken in the choice and returns of the members of the Convocation, that every thing went among them as was directed by Sheldon and Morley. When they had prepared all their alterations, they offered them to the King, who sent them to the House of Commons, upon which the Act of Uniformity was prepared by Keeling, afterwards Lord Chief Justice.

When it was brought into the House, many did apprehend that so severe an act might have ill effects, and began to abate of their first heat: Upon which reports were spread, and much aggravated as they were reported to the House of Commons, of the Plots of the Presbyterians in several Counties. Many were taken up on those reports. But none were ever tried for them. So,

1661. the thing being let fall, it has been given out since, that these were forged by the direction of some hot spirits, who might think such arts were necessary to give an alarm, and by rendring the party odious to carry so severe an act against them. The Lord Clarendon himself was charged as having directed this piece of artifice: But I could never see any ground for fastening it on him: Tho' there were great appearances of foul dealing among some of the fiercer sort. The Act pass'd by no great majority: And by it all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the twenty fourth of August, St. Bartholomew's day, in the year 1662, were deprived of all Ecclesiastical benefices, without leaving any discretional power with the King in the execution of it, and without making provision for the maintenance of those who should be so deprived: A severity neither practised by Queen Elizabeth in the enacting her Liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the Royalists, in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence. St. Bartholomew's day was pitched on, that, if they were then deprived, they should lose the profits of the whole year, since the tithes are commonly due at Michaelmas. The Presbyterians remembred what a St. Bartholomew's had been held at Paris ninety years before, which was the day of that massacre, and did not stick to compare the one to the other. The Book of Common-prayer with the new corrections was that to which they were to subscribe. But the corrections were so long a preparing, and the vast number of copies, above two thousand, that were to be wrought off for all the parish Churches of England, made the impression go on so slowly, that there were few Books set out to sale when the day came. So, many that were well affected to the Church, but that made conscience of subscribing to a book that they had not seen, left their benefices on that very account. Some made a journey

to

to London on purpoſe to ſee it. With ſo much precipitation was that matter driven on, that it ſeemed expected, that the Clergy ſhould ſubſcribe implicitely to a book they had never ſeen. This was done by too many, as I was informed by ſome of the Biſhops. But the Preſbyterians were now in great difficulties. They had many meetings, and much diſputing about conformity. Reynolds accepted of the Biſhoprick of Norwich. But Calamy and Baxter refuſed the Sees of Litchfield and Hereford. And about two thouſand of them fell under the Parliamentary deprivation, as they gave out. The numbers have been much controverted. This raiſed a grievous outcry over the Nation; tho' it was leſs conſidered at that time, than it would have been at any other. Baxter told me, that had the terms of the King's Declaration been ſtood to, he did not believe that above three hundred of theſe would have been ſo deprived. Some few, and but few, of the Epiſcopal party were troubled at this ſeverity, or apprehenſive of the very ill effects it was like to have. Here were many men, much valued, ſome on better grounds, and others on worſe, who were now caſt out ignominiouſly, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much ſpiteful uſage, and caſt upon thoſe popular practices that both their principles and their circumſtances ſeemed to juſtify, of forming ſeparate congregations, and of diverting men from the publick worſhip, and from conſidering their ſucceſſors as the lawful paſtors of thoſe Churches in which they had ſerved. The blame of all this fell heavieſt on Sheldon. The Earl of Clarendon was charged with his having entertained the Preſbyterians with hopes and good words, while he was all the while carrying on, or at leaſt giving way to the Biſhop's project. When the Convocation had gone thro' the book of Common-prayer, it was in the next place propoſed, that, according to a clauſe in the King's licence, 1661.

1661. they ſhould conſider the Canons of the Church. They had it then in their power to have reformed many abuſes, and particularly to have provided an effectual remedy to the root of all thoſe, which ariſe from the poor maintenance that is reſerved to the incumbents. Almoſt all the leaſes of the Church eſtates over England were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The leaſes for years were determined: And the wars had carried off ſo many men, that moſt of the leaſes for lives were fallen into the incumbents hands. So that the Church eſtates were in them: And the fines raiſed by the renewing the leaſes roſe to about a million and a half. It was an unreaſonable thing to let thoſe who were now promoted carry off ſo great a treaſure. If the half had been applied to the buying of tithes or glebes for ſmall Vicarages, here a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation. In ſome ſees forty or fifty thouſand pound was raiſed, and applied to the enriching the Biſhops families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to St. Paul's in London: And a noble collection was made for redeeming all the Engliſh ſlaves that were in any part of Barbary. But this fell far ſhort of what might have been expected. In this the Lord Clarendon was heavily charged, as having ſhown that he was more the Biſhop's friend than the Church's. It is true, the law made thoſe fines belong to the incumbents. But ſuch an extraordinary occaſion deſerved, that a law ſhould have been made on purpoſe. What the Biſhops did with thoſe great fines was a pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more care of themſelves than of the Church. The men of merit and ſervice were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this great acceſſion of wealth there broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hoſpitality; while

The great fines then raiſed on the Church eſtates ill applied.

while others made purchaſes, and left great eſtates, moſt of which we have ſeen melt away. And with this overſet of wealth and pomp, that came on men in the decline of their parts and age, they, who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the Church: They left preaching and writing to others, while they gave themſelves up to eaſe and ſloth. In all which ſad repreſentation ſome few exceptions are to be made; but ſo few, that, if a new ſet of men had not appeared of another ſtamp, the Church had quite loſt her eſteem over the Nation. 1661.

Divines called Latitudinarians.

Theſe were generally of Cambridge, formed under ſome divines, the chief of whom were Drs. Whitchcot, Cudworth, Wilkins, More, and Worthington. Whitchcot was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had great credit with ſome that had been eminent in the late times; but made all the uſe he could of it to protect good men of all perſuaſions. He was much for liberty of conſcience: And being diſguſted with the dry ſyſtematical way of thoſe times, he ſtudied to raiſe thoſe who converſed with him to a nobler ſet of thoughts, and to conſider religion as a ſeed of a deiform nature, (to uſe one of his own phraſes.) In order to this, he ſet young ſtudents much on reading the ancient Philoſophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin, and on conſidering the Chriſtian religion as a doctrine ſent from God, both to elevate and ſweeten human nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wiſe and kind inſtructor. Cudworth carried this on with a great ſtrength of genius, and a vaſt compaſs of learning. He was a man of great conduct and prudence: Upon which his enemies did very falſly accuſe him of craft and diſſimulation. Wilkins was of Oxford, but removed to Cambridge. His firſt riſe was in the Elector Palatine's family, when he was in England. Afterwards he married

1661. Cromwell's ſiſter; but made no other uſe of that alliance, but to do good offices, and to cover the Univerſity from the ſourneſs of Owen and Goodwin. At Cambridge he joined with thoſe who ſtudied to propagate better thoughts, to take men off from being in parties, or from narrow notions, from ſuperſtitious conceits, and a fierceneſs about opinions. He was alſo a great obſerver and a promoter of experimental philoſophy, which was then a new thing, and much looked after. He was naturally ambitious, but was the wiſeſt Clergyman I ever knew. He was a lover of mankind, and had a delight in doing good. More was an open hearted, and ſincere chriſtian philoſopher, who ſtudied to eſtabliſh men in the great principles of religion againſt atheiſm, that was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reaſon of the hypocriſy of ſome, and the fantaſtical conceits of the more ſincere enthuſiaſts.

Hobbs's Leviathan.

Hobbs, who had long followed the Court, and paſſed there for a mathematical man, tho' he really knew little that way, being diſguſted by the Court, came into England in Cromwell's time, and publiſhed a very wicked book, with a very ſtrange title, The Leviathan. His main principles were, that all men acted under an abſolute neceſſity, in which he ſeemed protected by the then received doctrine of abſolute decrees. He ſeemed to think that the univerſe was God, and that ſouls were material, Thought being only ſubtil and imperceptible motion. He thought intereſt and fear were the chief principles of ſociety: And he put all morality in the following that, which was our own private will or advantage. He thought religion had no other foundation than the laws of the land. And he put all the law in the will of the Prince, or of the people: For he writ his book at firſt in favour of abſolute monarchy, but turned it afterwards to gratify the republican party. Theſe were his true principles, tho' he had diſguiſed them, in order

order to catch unwary readers. And this ſet of notions came to ſpread much. The novelty and boldneſs of them ſet many on reading them. The impiety of them was acceptable to men of corrupt minds, which were but too much prepared to receive them, by the extravagancies of the late times. So this ſet of men at Cambridge ſtudied to aſſert, and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds, and in a philoſophical method. In this More led the way to many that came after him. Worthington was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and practiſed a moſt ſublime way of ſelf denial and devotion. All theſe, and thoſe who were formed under them, ſtudied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared againſt ſuperſtition on the one hand, and enthuſiaſm on the other. They loved the conſtitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them: But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wiſhed that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correſpondence, with thoſe who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philoſophy and in divinity: From whence they were called men of Latitude. And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers faſtened upon them the name of Latitudinarians. They read Epiſcopius much. And the making out the reaſons of things being a main part of their ſtudies, their enemies called them Socinians. They were all very zealous againſt popery. And ſo, they becoming ſoon very conſiderable, the Papiſts ſet themſelves againſt them to decry them as Atheiſts, Deiſts, or at beſt Socinians. And now that the main principle of religion was ſtruck at by Hobbs and his followers, the Papiſts acted upon this a very ſtrange part. They went in ſo far even into the argument for Atheiſm, as to publiſh many 1661.

1661. books, in which they affirmed, that there was no certain proofs of the Christian religion, unless we took it from the authority of the Church as infallible. This was such a delivering up of the cause to them, that it raised in all good men a very high indignation at Popery; that party shewing, that they chose to make men, who would not turn Papists, become Atheists, rather than believe Christianity upon any other ground than infallibility.

A character of some divines.

The most eminent of those, who were formed under those great men I have mention'd, were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Patrick. The first of these was a man of a clear head, and a sweet temper. He had the brightest thoughts, and the most correct style of all our divines; and was esteemed the best preacher of the age. He was a very prudent man; and had such a management with it, that I never knew any Clergy-man so universally esteemed and beloved, as he was for above twenty years. He was eminent for his opposition to Popery. He was no friend to persecution, and stood up much against Atheism. Nor did any man contribute more to bring the City to love our worship, than he did. But there was so little superstition, and so much reason and gentleness in his way of explaining things, that malice was long levelled at him, and in conclusion broke out fiercely on him. Stillingfleet was a man of much more learning, but of a more reserved, and a haughtier temper. He in his youth writ an Irenicum for healing our divisions, with so much learning and moderation, that it was esteemed a master-piece. His notion was, that the Apostles had settled the Church in a constitution of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, but had made no perpetual law about it, having only taken it in, as they did many other things, from the customs and practice of the synagogue; from which he inferred, that certainly the constitution was lawful since authorised by them, but not necessary, since they had made no

settled

settled law about it. This took with many; but was cried out upon by others as an attempt against the Church. Yet the argument was managed with so much learning and skill, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it. After that, he wrote against infidelity, beyond any that had gone before him. And then he engaged to write against Popery, which he did with such an exactness and livelyness, that no books of controversy were so much read and valued, as his were. He was a great man in many respects. He knew the world well, and was esteemed a very wise man. The writing of his Irenicum was a great snare to him: For, to avoid the imputations which that brought upon him, he not only retracted the book, but he went into the humours of a high sort of people, beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things. He applied himself much to the study of the law and records, and the original of our constitution, and was a very extraordinary man. Patrick was a great preacher. He wrote much, and well, and chiefly on the Scriptures. He was a laborious man in his function, of great strictness of life, but a little too severe against those who differed from him. But that was, when he thought their doctrines struck at the fundamentals of religion. He became afterwards more moderate. To these I shall add another divine, who, tho' of Oxford, yet as he was formed by Bishop Wilkins, so he went into most of their principles; but went far beyond them in learning. Lloyd was a great critick in the Greek and Latin authors, but chiefly in the Scriptures; of the words and phrases of which he carried the most perfect concordance in his memory, and had it the readiest about him, of all men that ever I knew. He was an exact historian, and the most punctual in chronology of all our divines. He had read the most books, and with the best judgment, and had made the most copious abstracts out of them, of any in this

1661.

1661. this age: So that Wilkins used to say, he had the most learning in ready cash of any he ever knew. He was so exact in every thing he set about, that he never gave over any part of study, till he had quite mastered it. But when that was done, he went to another subject, and did not lay out his learning with the diligence with which he laid it in. He had many volumes of materials upon all subjects laid together in so distinct a method, that he could with very little labour write on any of them. He had more life in his imagination, and a truer judgment, than may seem consistent with such a laborious course of study. Yet, as much as he was set on learning, he had never neglected his pastoral care. For several years he had the greatest cure in England, St. Martins, which he took care of with an application and diligence beyond any about him; to whom he was an example, or rather a reproach, so few following his example. He was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he saw a proper opportunity: Even his love of study did not divert him from that. He did upon his promotion find a very worthy successor in his cure, Tenison, who carried on and advanced all those good methods that he had begun, in the management of that great cure. He endowed schools, set up a publick library, and kept many Curates to assist him in his indefatigable labours among them. He was a very learned man, and took much pains to state the notions and practices of heathenish idolatry, and so to fasten that charge on the Church of Rome. And, Whitehall lying within that parish, he stood as in the front of the battle all King James's reign; and maintained, as well as managed, that dangerous post with great courage and much judgment, and was held in very high esteem for his whole deportment, which was ever grave and moderate. These have been the greatest divines we have had these forty years; And may we ever

have

have a ſucceſſion of ſuch men, to fill the room of thoſe who have already gone off the ſtage, and of thoſe who, being now very old, cannot hold their poſts long. Of theſe I have writ the more fully, becauſe I knew them well, and have lived long in great friendſhip with them; but moſt particularly with Tillotſon and Lloyd. And, as I am ſenſible I owe a great deal of the conſideration that has been had for me, to my being known to be their friend, ſo I have really learned the beſt part of what I know from them. But I owed them much more on the account of thoſe excellent principles and notions, of which they were in a particular manner communicative to me. This ſet of men contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the way of preaching; which among the divines of England before them was over-run with pedantry, a great mixture of quotations from fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text with the concordance of every word in it, and a giving all the different expoſitions with the grounds of them, and the entring into ſome parts of controverſy, and all concluding in ſome, but very ſhort, practical applications, according to the ſubject or the occaſion. This was both long and heavy, when all was pye balled, full of many ſayings of different languages. The common ſtyle of ſermons was either very flat and low, or ſwelled up with rhetorick to a falſe pitch of a wrong ſublime. The King had little or no literature, but true and good ſenſe; and had got a right notion of ſtyle; for he was in France, at a time when they were much ſet on reforming their language. It ſoon appear'd that he had a true taſte. So this help'd to raiſe the value of theſe men, when the King approved of the ſtyle their diſcourſes generally ran in; which was clear, plain, and ſhort. They gave a ſhort paraphraſe of their text, unleſs where great difficulties required a more copious enlargement: But even then they cut off unneceſſary ſhews

1661.

The way of preaching which then prevailed.

1661. shews of learning, and applied themselves to the matter, in which they opened the nature and reasons of things so fully, and with that simplicity, that their hearers felt an instruction of another sort, than had commonly been observed before: So they became very much followed: And a set of these men brought off the City in a great measure, from the prejudices they had formerly to the Church.

1662. There was a great debate in Council, a little before St. Bartholomew's day, whether the Act of Uniformity should be punctually executed, or not. Some moved to have the execution of it delayed to the next session of Parliament. Others were for executing it in the main, but to connive at some eminent men, and to put Curates into their Churches to read and officiate according to the Common-prayer, but to leave them to preach on, till they should die out. The Earl of Manchester laid all these things before the King with much zeal, but with no great force. Sheldon on the other hand press'd the execution of the law: England was accustomed to obey laws: So while they stood on that ground, they were safe, and needed fear none of the dangers that seemed to be threatened: He also undertook to fill all the vacant pulpits, that should be forsaken in London, better and more to the satisfaction of the people, than they had been before: And he seemed to apprehend, that a very small number would fall under the deprivation, and that the gross of the party would conform. On the other hand, those who led the party took great pains to have them all stick together: They infused it into them, that if great numbers stood out, that would shew their strength, and produce new laws in their favour; whereas they would be despised, if, after so much noise made, the greater part of them should conform. So it was thought, that many went out in the croud

The Act of Uniformity executed with rigour.

to keep their friends company. Many of these were distinguished by their abilities and zeal. They cast themselves upon the providence of God, and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance, as of men that were ready to suffer persecution for their consciences. This begot esteem, and raised compassion: Whereas the old Clergy, now much enriched, were as much despised. But the young Clergy that came from the Universities did good service. Learning was then high at Oxford; chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the Polyglot Bible, then lately set forth. They read the fathers much there. Mathematicks and the new philosophy were in great esteem. And the meetings that Wilkins had begun at Oxford were now held in London too, in so publick manner, that the King himself encouraged them much, and had many experiments made before him. 1662.

The men that formed the Royal Society in London were Sir Robert Murray, the Lord Brounker, a profound mathematician, and Doctor Ward, soon after promoted to Exeter, and afterwards removed to Salisbury. Ward was a man of great reach, went deep in mathematical studies, and was a very dextrous man, if not too dextrous; for his sincerity was much questioned. He had complied during the late times, and held in by taking the Covenant: So he was hated by the high men as a time-server. But the Lord Clarendon saw, that most of the Bishops were men of merit by their sufferings, but of no great capacity for business. He brought Ward in, as a man fit to govern the Church: For Ward, to get his former errors to be forgot, went into the high notions of a severe conformity, and became the most considerable man on the Bishops bench. He was a profound States-man, but a very indifferent Clergy-man. Many Physicians, and other ingenious men went into the Society for natural Philosophy. But he who The Royal society.

1662. who laboured moſt, at the greateſt charge, and with the moſt ſucceeſs at experiments, was Robert Boyle, the Earl of Cork's youngeſt ſon. He was looked on by all who knew him, as a very perfect pattern. He was a very devout Chriſtian, humble and modeſt, almoſt to a fault, of a moſt ſpotleſs and exemplary life in all reſpects. He was highly charitable; and was a mortified and ſelf-denied man, that delighted in nothing ſo much as in the doing good. He neglected his perſon, deſpiſed the world, and lived abſtracted from all pleaſures, deſigns, and intereſts. I preached his funeral ſermon, in which I gave his character ſo truly, that I do not think it neceſſary now to enlarge more upon it. The Society for Philoſophy grew ſo conſiderable, that they thought fit to take out a patent, which conſtituted them a body, by the name of the Royal Society; of which Sir Robert Murray was the firſt Preſident, Biſhop Ward the ſecond, and the Lord Brounker the third. Their hiſtory is writ ſo well by Doctor Sprat, that I will inſiſt no more on them, but go on to other matters.

Conſultations among the Papiſts.

After St. Bartholomew's day, the Diſſenters, ſeeing both Court and Parliament was ſo much ſet againſt them, had much conſultation together what to do. Many were for going over to Holland, and ſettling there with their Miniſters. Others propoſed New-England, and the other Plantations. Upon this the Earl of Briſtol drew to his houſe a meeting of the chief Papiſts in Town: And after an oath of ſecrecy he told them, now was the proper time for them to make ſome ſteps towards the bringing in of their religion: In order to that it ſeemed adviſable for them to take pains to procure favour to the Nonconformiſts; (for that became the common name to them all, as Puritan had been before the war:) They were the rather to beſtir themſelves to procure a toleration for them in general terms, that they themſelves might

might be comprehended within it. The Lord Aubigny seconded the motion. He said, it was so visibly the interest of England to make a great body of the trading men stay within the Kingdom, and be made easy in it, that it would have a good grace in them to seem zealous for it: And, to draw in so great a number of those, who had been hitherto the hottest against them, to feel their care, and to see their zeal to serve them, he recommended to them to make this the subject of all their discourses, and to engage all their friends in the design. Bennet did not meet with them, but was known to be of the secret; as the Lord Stafford told me in the Tower a little before his death. But that Lord soon withdrew from those meetings: For he apprehended the Earl of Bristol's heat, and that he might raise a storm against them by his indiscreet meddling. 1662.

The King was so far prevailed on by them, that in December 1662 he set out a Declaration, that was generally thought to be procured by the Lord Bristol: But it had a deeper root, and was designed by the King himself. In it the King expressed his aversion to all severities on the account of religion, but more particularly to all sanguinary laws; and gave hopes both to Papists and Nonconformists, that he would find out such ways for tempering the severities of the laws, that all his subjects should be easy under them. The wiser of the Nonconformists saw at what all this was aimed, and so received it coldly. But the Papists went on more warmly, and were preparing a scheme for a toleration for them. And one part of it raised great disputes among themselves. Some were for their taking the oath of allegiance, which renounced the Popes deposing power. But all those that were under a management from Rome refused this. And the Internuntio at Brussels proceeded to censure those that were for it, as enemies to the Papal authority. A proposition was also

A Declaration for toleration.

1662. also made for having none but secular Priests tolerated in England, who should be under a Bishop, and under an established government. But that all the regulars, in particular all Jesuits, should be under the strictest penalties forbid the Kingdom.

Designed for the Papists.

The Earl of Clarendon set this on; for he knew well it would divide the Papists among themselves. But, tho' a few honest Priests, such as Blacklow, Serjeant, Caron, and Walsh were for it, yet they could not make a party among the leading men of their own side. It was pretended, that this was set on foot with a design to divide them, and so to break their strength. The Earl of Clarendon knew, that Cardinal de Retz, for whom he saw the King had a particular esteem, had come over incognito, and had been with the King in private. So, to let the King see how odious a thing his being suspected of Popery would be, and what a load it would lay on his government if it came to be believed, he got some of his party, as Sir Allen Brodrick told me, to move in the House of Commons for an Act rendring it capital to say the King was a Papist. And, whereas the King was made to believe that the old Cavaliers were become milder with relation to Popery, the Lord Clarendon upon this new Act inferred, that it still appeared that the opinion of his being a Papist would so certainly make him odious, that for that reason the Parliament had made the spreading those reports so penal. But this was taken by another handle, while some said, that this Act was made on purpose, that, tho' the design of bringing in Popery should become ever so visible, none should dare to speak of it. The Earl of Clarendon had a quite contrary design in it, to let the King see how fatal the effects of any such suspicions were like to be. When the Earl of Bristol's declaration was proposed in Council, Lord Clarendon and the Bishops opposed it. But there

was

was nothing in it directly againſt law, hopes being only given of endeavours to make all men eaſy under the King's government: So it paſs'd. The Earl of Briſtol carried it as a great victory. And he, with the Duke of Buckingham, and all Lord Clarendon's enemies, declared openly againſt him. But the poor Prieſts, who had made thoſe honeſt motions, were very ill looked on by all their own party, as men gained on deſign to betray them. I knew all this from Peter Walſh himſelf, who was the honeſteſt and learnedeſt man I ever knew among them. He was of Iriſh extraction, and of the Franciſcan order: And was indeed in all points of controverſy almoſt wholly Proteſtant: But he had ſenſes of his own, by which he excuſed his adhering to the Church of Rome: And he maintained, that with theſe he could continue in the communion of that Church without ſin: And he ſaid, that he was ſure he did ſome good ſtaying ſtill on that ſide, but that he could do none at all if he ſhould come over: He thought, no man ought to forſake that religion in which he was born and bred, unleſs he was clearly convinced, that he muſt certainly be damned if he continued in it. He was an honeſt and able man, much practiſed in intrigues, and knew well the methods of the Jeſuits, and other Miſſionaries. He told me often, there was nothing which the whole Popiſh party feared more than an union of thoſe of the Church of England with the Preſbyterians: They knew, we grew the weaker, the more our breaches were widened; and that, the more we were ſet againſt one another, we would mind them the leſs. The Papiſts had two maxims, from which they never departed: The one was to divide us: And the other was to keep themſelves united, and either to ſet on an indiſcriminated toleration, or a general proſecution; for ſo we loved to ſoften the harſh word of perſecution. And he obſerved, not without great indignation at us for 1662.

1662. our folly, that we, instead of uniting among ourselves, and dividing them, according to their maxims, did all we could to keep them united, and to disjoint our own body: For he was persuaded, if the government had held an heavy hand on the Regulars and the Jesuits, and had been gentle to the Seculars, and had set up a distinguishing test, renouncing all sort of power in the Pope over the temporal rights of Princes, to which the Regulars and the Jesuits could never submit, that this would have engaged them into such violent quarrels among themselves, that censures would have been thundred at Rome against all that should take any such test; which would have procured much disputing, and might have probably ended in the revolt of the soberer part of that Church. But he found, that, tho' the Earl of Clarendon and the Duke of Ormond liked the project, little regard was had to it by the governing party in the Court.

1663. Bristol's designs. The Church party was alarmed at all this. And tho' they were unwilling to suspect the King or the Duke, yet the management for Popery was so visible, that in the next session of Parliament the King's declaration was severely arraigned, and the authors of it were plainly enough pointed at. This was done chiefly by the Lord Clarendon's Friends. And at this the Earl of Bristol was highly displeased, and resolved to take all possible methods to ruin the Earl of Clarendon. He had a great skill in astrology, and had possessed the King with an high opinion of it: And told the Duke of Buckingham, as he said to the Earl of Rochester, Wilmot, from whom I had it, that he was confident that he would lay that before the King, which would totally alienate him both from his brother and from the Lord Clarendon: For he could demonstrate by the principles of that art, that he was to fall by his brother's means, if not

not by his hand: And he was ſure this would work on the King. It would ſo, ſaid the Duke of Buckingham, but in another way than he expected: For it would make the King be ſo afraid of offending him, that he would do any thing rather than provoke him. Yet the Lord Briſtol would lay this before the King. And the Duke of Buckingham believed, that it had the effect ever after, that he had apprehended: For tho' the King never loved nor eſteemed the Duke, yet he ſeemed to ſtand in ſome ſort of awe of him. 1663.

He accuſed Clarendon in the Houſe of Lords.

But this was not all: The Lord Briſtol reſolved to offer articles of impeachment againſt the Earl of Clarendon to the Houſe of Lords, tho' it was plainly provided againſt by the ſtatute againſt appeals in the reign of Henry the fourth. Yet both the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Briſtol, the fathers of theſe two Lords, had broken thro' that in the former reign. So the Lord Briſtol drew his impeachment, and carried it to the King, who took much pains on him in a ſoft and gentle manner to diſſuade him from it. But he would not be wrought on. And he told the King plainly, that, if he forſook him, he would raiſe ſuch diſorders that all England ſhould feel them, and the King himſelf ſhould not be without a large ſhare in them. The King, as the Earl of Lauderdale told me, who ſaid he had it from himſelf, ſaid, he was ſo provoked at this, that he durſt not truſt himſelf in anſwering it, but went out of the room, and ſent the Lord Aubigny to ſoften him: But all was in vain. It is very probable, that the Lord Briſtol knew the ſecret of the King's religion, which both made him ſo bold, and the King ſo fearful. The next day he carried the charge to the Houſe of Lords. It was of a very mixed nature: In one part he charged the Lord Clarendon with raiſing jealouſies, and ſpreading reports of the King's being a Papiſt: And yet in the other articles he charged him with

1663. correſpondence with the Court of Rome, in order to the making the Lord Aubigny a Cardinal, and ſeveral other things of a very ſtrange nature. As ſoon as he put it in, he, it ſeems, either repented of it, or at leaſt was prevailed with to abſcond. He was ever after that looked on, as a man capable of the higheſt extravagancies poſſible. He made the matter worſe by a letter that he wrote to the Lords, in which he expreſſed his fear of the danger the King was in by the Duke's having of guards. Proclamations went out for diſcovering him. But he kept out of the way till the ſtorm was over. The Parliament expreſſed a firm reſolution to maintain the Act of Uniformity. And the King being run much in debt, they gave him four ſubſidies, being willing to return to the ancient way of taxes by ſubſidies. But theſe were ſo evaded, and brought in ſo little money, that the Court reſolved never to have recourſe to that method of raiſing money any more, but to betake themſelves for the future to the aſſeſſment begun in the war. The Convocation gave at the ſame time four ſubſidies, which proved as heavy on them, as they were light on the temporality. This was the laſt aid that the ſpirituality gave: For the whole proving ſo inconſiderable, and yet ſo unequally heavy on the Clergy, it was reſolved on hereafter to tax Church benefices as temporal eſtates were taxed; which proved indeed a lighter burden, but was not ſo honourable as when it was given by themſelves. Yet intereſt prevailing above the point of honour, they acquieſced in it. So the Convocations being no more neceſſary to the Crown, this made that there was leſs regard had to them afterwards. They were often diſcontinued, and prorogued: And when they met, it was only for form. The Parliament did paſs another Act, that was very acceptable to the Court, and that ſhewed a confidence in the King, repealing the Act of triennial Parlia-

Parliaments, which had been obtained with ſo much difficulty, and was clogged with ſo many clauſes, which ſeemed to transfer the power from the Crown to the people, that, when it was carried, it was thought the greateſt ſecurity that the people had for all their other liberties. But it was now given up without a ſtruggle, or any clauſes for a certainty of Parliaments, beſides a general one, that there ſhould be a Parliament called within three years after the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, and ſo ever afterwards; but without any ſevere clauſes, in caſe the Act was not obſerved. 1663.

As for our foreign negotiations I know nothing in particular concerning them. Secretary Bennet had them all in his hands: And I had no confidence with any about him. Our concerns with Portugal were publick: And I knew no ſecrets about theſe.

A Plot diſcovered.

By a melancholy inſtance to our private family it appeared, that France was taking all poſſible methods to do every thing that the King deſired. The Commonwealths-men were now thinking, that they ſaw the ſtream of the Nation beginning to turn againſt the Court: And upon that they were meeting, and laying plots to retrieve their loſt game. One of theſe being taken, and apprehending he was in danger, begg'd his life of the King, and ſaid, if he might be aſſured of his pardon, he would tell where my uncle Wariſton was, who was then in Rouen: For the air of Hamborough agreed ſo ill with him, that he was adviſed to go to France; and this man was in the ſecret. The King ſent one to the Court of France, deſiring he might be put in his hands: And this was immediately done: And no notice was ſent to my uncle to go out of the way, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, when a perſon is not charged with aſſaſſinations or any infamous action, but only with crimes of State. He was ſent over, and kept ſome months

1663. in the Tower of London; and from that was sent to Scotland, as shall be told afterwards.

The design of a war with the States.

The design of a war with Holland was now working. I have been very positively assured by States-men of both sides, that the French set it on in a very artificial manner: For while they encouraged us to insist on some extravagant demands, they at the same time pressed the Dutch not to yield to them: And as they put them in hopes, that, if a rupture should follow, they would assist them according to their alliance, so they assured us that they would do us no hurt. Downing was then employed in Holland, a crafty fawning man, who was ready to turn to every side that was uppermost, and to betray those who by their former friendship and services thought they might depend on him; as he did some of the Regicides, whom he got in his hands under trust, and then delivered them up. He had been Cromwell's Ambassadour in Holland, where he had offered personal affronts both to the King and the Duke: Yet he had by some base practices got himself to be so effectually recommended by the Duke of Albermarle, that all his former offences were forgiven, and he was sent into Holland as the King's Ambassadour, whose behaviour towards the King himself the States had observed. So they had reason to conclude he was sent over with no good intent, and that he was capable of managing a bad design, and very ready to undertake it. There was no visible cause of war. A complaint of a ship taken was ready to have been satisfied. But Downing hindred it. So it was plain, the King hated them; and fancied they were so feeble, and the English were so much superior to them, that a war would humble them to an entire submission and dependence on him in all things. The States had treated, and presented the King with great magnificence, and at a vast charge, during the time that he had staid among them, after England had

had declared for him. And, as far as appear- 1663.
ances could go, the King ſeem'd ſenſible of it:
Inſomuch that the party for the Prince of Orange were not pleaſed, becauſe their applications to him could not prevail to make him interpoſe, either in the behalf of himſelf, or of his friends, to get the reſolutions taken againſt him to be repealed, or his party again put in places of truſt and command. The King put that off as not proper to be preſſed by him at that time. But neither then nor afterwards did he beſtir himſelf in that matter. Tho', if either gratitude or intereſt had been of force, and if theſe had not been over-ruled by ſome more prevalent conſiderations, he muſt have been inclined to make ſome returns for the ſervices the late Prince did him: And he muſt have ſeen, what a figure he muſt make by having the Prince of Orange tied to him in intereſt, as much as he was by blood. France and Popery were the true ſprings of all theſe counſels. It was the intereſt of the King of France, that the Armies of the States might fall under ſuch a feebleneſs, that they ſhould be in no condition to make a vigorous reſiſtance, when he ſhould be ready either to invade them, or to fall into Flanders; which he was reſolved to do, whenſoever the King of Spain ſhould die. The French did thus ſet on the war between the Engliſh and the Dutch, hoping that our Fleets ſhould mutually weaken one another ſo much, that the naval force of France, which was increaſing very conſiderably, ſhould be near an equality to them, when they ſhould be ſhattered by a war. The States were likewiſe the greateſt ſtrength of the Proteſtant intereſt, and were therefore to be humbled. So, in order to make the King more conſiderable both at home and abroad, the Court reſolved to prepare for a war, and to ſeek for ſuch colours as might ſerve to juſtify it. The Earl of Clarendon was not let into the ſecret of this deſign, and was always againſt it. But

1663. his intereſt was now ſunk low: And he began to feel the power of an imperious miſtreſs over an amorous King, who was ſo diſguſted at the Queen, that he abandoned himſelf wholly to amour and luxury.

This was, as far as I could penetrate into it, the ſtate of the Court for the firſt four years after the Reſtoration. I was in the Court a great part of the years 1662, 1663, and 1664; and was as inquiſitive as I could poſſibly be, and had more than ordinary occaſions to hear and ſee a great deal.

The affairs of Scotland.

But now I return to the affairs of Scotland: The Earl of Midletoun after a delay of ſome months came up to London, and was very coldly received by the King. The Earl of Lauderdale moved that a Scotch Council might be called. The Lord Clarendon got this to be delayed a fortnight. When it met, the Lord Lauderdale accuſed the Earl of Midletoun of many malverſations in the great truſt he had been in, which he aggravated ſeverely. The Lord Midletoun deſired he might have what was objected to him in writing. And when he had it, he ſent it to Scotland; ſo that it was ſix weeks before he had his anſwer ready; all on deſign to gain time. He excuſed ſome errors in point of form, by ſaying, that, having ſerved in a military way, he underſtood not ſo exactly what belonged to law and form: But inſiſted on this, that he deſigned nothing, but that the King's ſervice might go on, and that his friends might be taken care of, and his enemies be humbled, and that ſo loyal a Parliament might be encouraged, who were full of zeal and affection to his ſervice; that, in complying with them, he had kept every thing ſo entirely in his Majeſty's power, that the King was under no difficulties by any thing they had done. In the mean while Sheldon was very earneſt with the King to forgive the Lord Midletoun's crime,

Midletoun was accuſed by Lauderdale.

other-

otherwiſe he concluded the change ſo newly made in the Church would be ſo ill ſupported, that it muſt fall to the ground. The Duke of Albermarle, who knew Scotland, and had more credit on that head than on any other, pretended that the Lord Midletoun's party was that on which the King could only rely: He magnified both their power and their zeal; and repreſented the Earl of Lauderdale's friends, as cold and hollow in the King's ſervice: And, to ſupport all this, the letters that came from Scotland were full of the inſolencies of the Preſbyterians, and of the dejection the Biſhops and their friends were under. Sharp was prevailed on to go up. He promiſed to all the Earl of Midletoun's friends, that he would ſtick firm to him; and that he would lay before the King, that his ſtanding or falling muſt be the ſtanding or falling of the Church. Of this the Earl of Lauderdale had advice ſent him. Yet when he came to London, and ſaw that the King was alienated from the Lord Midletoun, he reſolved to make great ſubmiſſions to the Lord Lauderdale. When he reproached him for his engagements with the Earl of Midletoun, he denied all; and ſaid, he had never gone farther than what was decent, conſidering his poſt. He alſo denied, he had writ to the King in his favour. But the King had given the original letter to the Lord Lauderdale, who upon that ſhewed it to Sharp; with which he was ſo ſtruck, that he fell a crying in a moſt abject manner. He begged pardon for it; and ſaid, what could a company of poor men refuſe to the Earl of Midletoun, who had done ſo much for them, and had them ſo entirely in his power. The Lord Lauderdale upon this comforted him; and ſaid, he would forgive them all that was paſt, and would ſerve them and the Church, at another rate than Lord Midletoun was capable of doing. So Sharp became wholly his. Of all this Lord Lauderdale 1663.

gave

1663. gave me a full relation the next day; and ſhewed me the papers that paſs'd between Lord Midletoun and him. Sharp thought he had eſcaped well. The Earl of Midletoun treated the Biſhops too much as his creatures, and aſſumed a great deal to himſelf, and expreſſed a ſort of authority over them; which Sharp was uneaſy under, tho' he durſt not complain of it, or reſiſt it: Whereas he reckoned, that Lord Lauderdale, knowing the ſuſpicions that lay on him, as favouring the Preſbyterians, would have leſs credit and courage in oppoſing any thing, that ſhould be neceſſary for their ſupport. It proved that in this he judged right: For the Lord Lauderdale, that he might maintain himſelf at Court, and with the Church of England, was really more compliant and eaſy to every propoſition that the Biſhops made, than he would otherwiſe have been, if he had been always of the Epiſcopal party. But all he did that way was againſt his heart, except when his paſſions were vehemently ſtirred, which a very ſlight occaſion would readily do.

When the Earls of Lauderdale and Midletoun had been writing papers and anſwers for above three months, an accident happened which haſtened Lord Midletoun's diſgrace. The Earl of Lauderdale laid before the King the unjuſt proceedings in the laying on of the fines. And, to make all that party ſure to himſelf, he procured a letter from the King to the Council in Scotland, ordering them to iſſue out a proclamation, for ſuperſeding the execution of the Act of fining till farther order. The Privy Council being then for the greater part compoſed of Lord Midletoun's friends, it was pretended by ſome of them, that, as long as he was the King's Commiſſioner, they could receive and execute no orders from the King, but thro' his hands. So they writ to him, deſiring him to repreſent to the King, that this would be an affront put on the proceedings of

Par-

Parliament, and would raiſe the ſpirits of a party that ought to be kept down. Lord Midletoun writ back, that he had laid the matter before the King; and that he, conſidering better of it, ordered, that no proceeding ſhould be made upon his former letter. This occaſioned a hot debate in Council. It was ſaid, a letter under the King's hand could not be countermanded, but from the ſame hand. So the Council wrote to know the King's mind in the matter. The King proteſted he knew nothing of it, and that Lord Midletoun had not ſpoke one word on the ſubject to him. He upon that ſent for him, and chid him ſo ſeverely, that Lord Midletoun concluded from it that he was ruined. Yet he always ſtood upon it, that he had the King's order by word of mouth for what he had done, tho' he was not ſo cautious as to procure an inſtruction under his hand for his warrant. It is very probable, that he ſpoke of it to the King, when his head was full of ſomewhat elſe, ſo that he did not mind it; and that, to get rid of the Earl of Midletoun, he bid him do whatſoever he propoſed, without reflecting much on it. For the King was at that time often ſo diſtracted in his thoughts, that he was not at all times maſter of himſelf. The Queen-Mother had brought over from France one Mrs. Steward, reckoned a very great beauty, who was afterwards married to the Duke of Richmond. The King was believed to be deeply in love with her. Yet his former Miſtreſs kept her ground ſtill. And, what with her humours and jealouſy, and what with this new amour, the King had very little quiet, between both their paſſions and his own. 1663.

Towards the end of May, the King called many of the Engliſh Counſellours together, and did order all the papers that had paſſed between the Earls of Lauderdale and Midletoun to be read to them. When that was done, many of them who were Midletoun's friends ſaid much in excuſe of his

1663. his errors, and of the neceſſity of continuing him ſtill in that high truſt. But the King ſaid, his errors were ſo great and ſo many, that the credit of his affairs muſt ſuffer, if he continued them any longer in ſuch hands. Yet he promiſed them, he would be ſtill kind to him; for he looked on him as a very honeſt man. Few days after that, Secretary Morrice was ſent to him, with a warrant under the King's hand, requiring him to deliver up his commiſſion, which he did. And ſo his Miniſtry came to an end, after a ſort of a reign of much violence and injuſtice: For he was become very imperious. He and his company were delivered up to ſo much exceſs, and to ſuch a madneſs of frolick and intemperance, that as Scotland had never ſeen any thing like it, ſo upon this diſgrace there was a general joy over the Kingdom: Tho' that laſted not long; for thoſe that came after him grew worſe than ever he was like to be. He had lived in great magnificence, which made him acceptable to many: And he was a firm friend, tho' a violent enemy. The Earl of Rothes was declared the King's Commiſſioner. But the Earl of Lauderdale would not truſt him. So he went down with him, and kept him too viſibly in a dependence on him, for all his high character.

And turned out of all.

Wariſton's execution.

One of the firſt things that was done in this ſeſſion of Parliament, was the execution of my unfortunate uncle, Wariſton. He was ſo diſordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to a government to proceed againſt him: His memory was ſo gone, that he did not know his own children. He was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he had to ſay, why his execution ſhould not be awarded. He ſpoke long, but in a broken and diſordered ſtrain, which his enemies fancied was put on to create pity. He was ſentenced to die. His deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a man in his condition. Yet when the day of his execution came, he was very

very ſerene. He was chearful, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with his death. He read a ſpeech twice over on the ſcaffold, that to my knowledge he compoſed himſelf, in which he juſtified all the proceedings in the Covenant, and aſſerted his own ſincerity; but condemned his joyning with Cromwell and the Sectaries, tho' even in that his intentions had been ſincere, for the good of his Country, and the ſecurity of religion. Lord Lauderdale had lived in great friendſhip with him: But he ſaw the King was ſo ſet againſt him, that he, who at all times took more care of himſelf than of his friends, would not in ſo critical a time ſeem to favour a man, whom the Preſbyterians had ſet up as a ſort of an idol among them, and on whom they did depend more, than on any other man then alive. 1663.

The buſineſs of the Parliament went on as the Lord Lauderdale directed. The whole proceeding in the matter of the balloting was laid open. It appeared, that the Parliament had not deſired it, but had been led into it by being made believe that the King had a mind to it. And of all the members of Parliament, not above twelve could be prevailed on to own, that they had adviſed the Earl of Midletoun to aſk leave of the King for it, whoſe private ſuggeſtions he had repreſented to the King as the deſire of the Parliament. This finiſhed his diſgrace, as well as it occaſioned the putting all his party out of employments.

An Act againſt Conventicles.

While they were going on with their affairs, they underſtood that an Act had paſs'd in the Parliament of England againſt all Conventicles, impowering Juſtices of Peace to convict offenders without Juries; which was thought a great breach on the ſecurity of the Engliſh conſtitution, and a raiſing the power of Juſtices to a very arbitrary pitch. Any meeting for religious worſhip, at which five were preſent more than the family, was declared a Conventicle. And every perſon above ſixteen,

1663. sixteen, that was present at it, was to lye three months in prison, or to pay 5 l. for the first offence; six months for the second offence, or to pay 20 l. fine; and for the third offence, being convict by a Jury, was to be banished to any plantation, except New England or Virginia, or to pay an 100 l. All people were amazed at this severity. But the Bishops in Scotland took heart upon it, and resolved to copy from it. So an Act pass'd there, almost in the same terms. And, at the passing it, Lord Lauderdale in a long speech expressed great zeal for the Church. There was some little opposition made to it by the Earl of Kincardin, who was an enemy to all persecution. But, tho' some few voted against it, it was carried by a great majority.

The constitution of a National Synod.

Another Act pass'd, declaring the constitution of a National Synod. It was to be composed of the Archbishops and Bishops, of all Deans, and of two to be deputed from every Presbytery; of which the Moderator of the Presbytery named by the Bishop was to be one: All things were to be proposed to this Court by the King or his Commissioner. And whatsoever should be agreed to by the majority and the President, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was to have the force of an Ecclesiastical law, when it should be confirmed by the King. Great exceptions were taken to this Act. The Church was restrained from meddling with any thing, but as it should be laid before them by the King; which was thought a severe restraint, like that of the Proponentibus Legatis so much complained of at Trent. The putting the negative, not in the whole bench of the Bishops, but singly in the President, was thought very irregular. But it pass'd with so little observation, that the Lord Lauderdale could scarce believe it was penned as he found it to be, when I told him of it. Primrose told me, Sharp put that clause in with his own hand. The inferi-

our Clergy complained, that the power was wholly taken from them; ſince as one of their deputies was to be a perſon named by the Biſhops, ſo, the Moderators claiming a negative vote in their Preſbyteries as the Biſhops delegates, the other half were only to conſiſt of Perſons to whom they conſented. The Act was indeed ſo penned, that no body moved for a National Synod, when they ſaw how it was to be conſtituted. 1663.

Two other Acts paſs'd in favour of the Crown. The Parliament of England had laid great impoſitions on all things imported from Scotland: So the Parliament, being ſpeedily to be diſſolved, and not having time to regulate ſuch impoſitions on Engliſh goods, as might force the Engliſh to bring that matter to a juſt balance, they put that confidence in the King, that they left the laying of impoſitions on all foreign merchandize wholly to him.

An Act offering an Army to the King.

Another Act was looked on as a pompous complement: And ſo it paſs'd without obſervation, or any oppoſition. In it they made an offer to the King of an Army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, to be ready upon ſummons to march with forty days proviſion into any part of his Majeſty's dominions, to oppoſe invaſions, to ſuppreſs inſurrections, or for any other cauſe in which his authority, power, or greatneſs was concerned. No body dreamt, that any uſe was ever to be made of this. Yet the Earl of Lauderdale had his end in it, to let the King ſee what uſe he might make of Scotland, if he ſhould intend to ſet up arbitrary government in England. He told the King, that the Earl of Midletoun and his party underſtood not, what was the greateſt ſervice that Scotland could do him: They had not much treaſure to offer him: The only thing they were capable of doing was, to furniſh him with a good Army, when his affairs in England ſhould require it. And of this he made great uſe afterwards to advance himſelf, tho' it could never have ſignified any thing to the advancing

1663. vancing the King's ends. Yet ſo eaſy was it to draw the Parliament of Scotland to paſs Acts of the greateſt conſequence in a hurry, without conſidering the effects they might have. After theſe Acts were paſs'd, the Parliament was diſſolved; which gave a general ſatisfaction to the country, for they were a furious ſet of people. The government was left in the Earl of Glencairn's hands, who began, now that he had little favour at Court, to ſet himſelf on all occaſions to oppoſe Sharp's violent notions. The Earl of Rothes ſtuck firm to Sharp; and was recommended by him to the Biſhops of England, as the only man that ſupported their intereſts. The King at this time reſtored Lord Lorn to his Grand-father's honour, of being Earl of Argile, paſſing over his Father; and gave him a great part of his eſtate, leaving the reſt to be ſold for the payment of debts, which did not raiſe in value above a third part of them. This occaſioned a great outcry, that continued long to purſue him.

1664. Sharp went up to London to complain of the Lord Glencairn, and of the Privy Council; where, he ſaid, there was ſuch a remiſſneſs, and ſo much popularity appeared on all occaſions, that, unleſs ſome more ſpirit were put into the adminiſtration, it would be impoſſible to preſerve the Church. That was the word always uſed, as if there had been a charm in it. He moved, that a letter might be writ, giving him the precedence of the Lord Chancellour. This was thought an inexcuſable piece of vanity: For in Scotland, when there was no Commiſſioner, all matters paſs'd thro' the Lord Chancellour's hands, who by Act of Parliament was to preſide in all Courts, and was conſidered as repreſenting the King's perſon. He alſo moved, that the King would grant a ſpecial commiſſion to ſome perſons, for executing the Laws relating to the Church. All the Privy Counſellours were to be of it. But to theſe he deſired many

Sharp drove very violently.

many others might be added, for whom he under- 1664.
took, that they would execute them with zeal.
Lord Lauderdale saw that this would prove a High-Commission Court: Yet he gave way to it, tho' much against his own mind. Upon these things I took the liberty, tho' then too young to meddle in things of that kind, to expostulate very freely with him. I thought he was acting the Earl of Traquair's part, giving way to all the follies of the Bishops on design to ruin them. He upon that ran into a great deal of freedom with me: He told me many passages of Sharp's past life: He was persuaded he would ruin all: But, he said, he was resolved to give him line: For he had not credit enough to stop him; nor would he oppose any thing that he proposed, unless it were very extravagant: He saw the Earl of Glencairn and he would be in a perpetual war: And it was indifferent to him, how matters might go between them: Things would run to a height: And then the King would of himself put a stop to their carier: For the King said often, he was not Priest-ridden: He would not venture a war, nor travel again for any party. This was all that I could obtain from the Earl of Lauderdale. I pressed Sharp himself to think of more moderate methods. But he despised my applications: And from that time he was very jealous of me.

Lauderdale gave way to it.

Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, died this year: And one Burnet succeeded him, who was a near kinsman of the Lord Rutherford's; who, from being Governor of Dunkirk, when it was sold, was sent to Tangier, but soon after in an unhappy encounter, going out to view some grounds, was intercepted, and cut to pieces by the Moors. Upon Rutherford's recommendation, Burnet, who had lived many years in England, and knew nothing of Scotland, was sent thither, first to be Bishop of Aberdeen: And from thence he was raised to Glasgow. He was of himself a soft and good natured

Burnet Archbishop of Glasgow.

1664. man, tolerably learned, and of a blameleſs life: But was a man of no genius: And tho' he was inclined to peaceable and moderate counſels, yet he was much in the power of others, and took any impreſſion that was given him very eaſily. I was much in his favour at firſt, but could not hold it long: For as I had been bred up by my father to love liberty and moderation, ſo I ſpent the greateſt part of the year 1664 in Holland and France, which contributed not a little to root and fix me in thoſe principles.

A view of the ſtate of affairs in Holland and France.

I ſaw much peace and quiet in Holland, notwithſtanding the diverſity of opinions among them; which was occaſioned by the gentleneſs of the government, and the toleration that made all people eaſy and happy. An univerſal induſtry was ſpread thro' the whole country. There was little aſpiring to preferment in the State, becauſe little was to be got that way. They were then apprehending a war with England, and were preparing for it. From thence, where every thing was free, I went to France, where nothing was free. The King was beginning to put things in great method, in his revenue, in his troops, in his government at home, but above all in the increaſing of trade, and the building of a great fleet. His own deportment was ſolemn and grave, ſave only that he kept his Miſtreſſes very avowedly. He was diligent in his own counſels, and regular in the diſpatch of his affairs: So that all things about him looked like the preparing of matters for all that we have ſeen acted ſince. The King of Spain was conſidered as dying: And the Infant his ſon was like to die as ſoon as he: So that it was generally believed, the French King was deſigning to ſet up a new Empire in the Weſt. He had carried the quarrel at Rome about the Corſes ſo high with the Houſe of Ghigi, that the Proteſtants were beginning to flatter themſelves with great hopes. When I was in France, Cardinal Ghigi came, as Legate,

to

to give the King full satisfaction in that matter. Lord Hollis was then Ambassadour at Paris. I was so effectually recommended to him, that he used me with great freedom, which he continued to do to the end of his days. He stood upon all the points of an Ambassadour with the stiffness of former ages, which made him very unacceptable to a high-spirited young Prince, who began even then to be flattered, as if he had been somewhat more than a mortal. This established me in my love of law and liberty, and in my hatred of absolute power. When I came back, I stay'd for some months at Court, and observed the scene as carefully as I could, and became acquainted with all the men that were employed in Scotch affairs. I had more than ordinary opportunities of being well informed about them. This drew a jealousy on me from the Bishops, which was increased from the friendship into which Leightoun received me. I pass'd for one, who was no great friend to Church power, nor to persecution. So it was thought, that Lord Lauderdale was preparing me, as one who was known to have been always Episcopal, to be set up against Sharp and his set of men, who were much hated by one side, and not loved, nor trusted, by the other. 1664.

In the mean while the Earl of Glencairn died, which set Sharp at ease, but put him on new designs. He apprehended, that the Earl of Tweedale might be advanced to that post: For in the settlement of the Duchess of Buccleugh's estate, who was married to the Duke of Monmouth, the best beloved of all the King's children, by which, in default of issue by her, it was to go to the Duke of Monmouth and the issue he might have by any other wife, the Earl of Tweedale, tho' his children were the next heirs, who were by this depriv'd of their right, had yet given way to it in so frank a manner, that the King was enough inclined both to oblige and to trust him. But Sharp had

Sharp aspired to be Chancellour of Scotland.

1664. great ſuſpicions of him, as cold in their concerns. So he writ to Sheldon, that upon the diſpoſal of the ſeals the very being of the Church did ſo abſolutely depend, that he begged he would preſs the King very earneſtly in the matter, and that he would move that he might be called up before that poſt ſhould be filled. The King bid Sheldon aſſure him, he ſhould take a ſpecial care of that matter, but that there was no occaſion for his coming up: For the King by this time had a very ill opinion of him. Sharp was ſo mortified with this, that he reſolved to put all to hazard; for he believed all was at ſtake: And he ventured to come up. The King received him coldly; and aſked him, if he had not received the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's letter. He ſaid, he had: But he would chooſe rather to venture on his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, than to ſee the Church ruined thro' his caution or negligence: He knew the danger they were in in Scotland, where they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies: His Majeſty's protection, and the execution of the law, were the only things they could truſt to: And theſe ſo much depended on the good choice of a Chancellour, that he could not anſwer it to God and the Church, if he did not beſtir himſelf in that matter: He knew many thought of himſelf for that poſt: But he was ſo far from that thought, that, if his Majeſty had any ſuch intention, he would rather chooſe to be ſent to a plantation: He deſired, that he might be a Churchman in heart, but not in habit, that ſhould be raiſed to that truſt. Theſe were his very words, as the King reported them. From him he went to Sheldon, and preſs'd him to move the King for himſelf, and furniſhed him with many reaſons to ſupport the propoſition; a main one being, that the late King had raiſed his predeceſſor Spotſwood to that truſt. Sheldon upon that did move the King with more than ordinary earneſtneſs in it.

The

The King ſuſpected Sharp had ſet him on, and charged him to tell him the truth. The other did it, tho' not without ſome uneaſineſs. Upon that the King told him what he had ſaid to himſelf. And then it may be eaſily imagined in what a ſtyle they both ſpoke of him. Yet Sheldon prayed the King that, whatſoever he might think of the man, he would conſider the Archbiſhop and the Church; which the King aſſured him he would do. Sheldon told Sharp, that he ſaw the motion for himſelf did not take; ſo he muſt think of ſomewhat elſe. Sharp propoſed, that the ſeals might be put in the Earl of Rothes's hands, till the King ſhould pitch on a proper perſon. He alſo propoſed, that the King would make him his Commiſſioner, in order to the preparing matters for a National Synod, that they might ſettle a book of Common-prayer, and a book of Canons. This, he ſaid, muſt be carried on ſlowly, and with great caution; of which the late troubles did demonſtrate the neceſſity. 1664.

All this was eaſily agreed to: For the King loved the Lord Rothes: And the Earl of Lauderdale would not oppoſe his advancement: Tho' it was a very extravagant thing to ſee one man poſſeſs ſo many of the chief places of ſo poor a Kingdom. The Earl of Crawford would not abjure the Covenant: So he had been made Lord Treaſurer in his place: He continued to be ſtill, what he was before, Lord Preſident of the Council: And, upon the Earl of Midletoun's diſgrace, he was made Captain of a troop of guards: And now he was both the King's Commiſſioner, and upon the matter Lord Chancellour. Sharp reckoned this was his maſter-piece. Lord Rothes, being thus advanced by his means, was in all things governed by him. His inſtructions were ſuch as Sharp propoſed, to prepare matters for a National Synod, and in the mean while to execute the Laws, that related to the Church, with a ſteddy firmneſs,

Rothes had the whole power of Scotland put in his hands.

1664. So, when he parted from White-hall, Sharp ſaid to the King, that he had now done all that could be deſired of him for the good of the Church: So that, if all matters went not right in Scotland, none muſt bear the blame, but either the Earl of Lauderdale or Rothes. And ſo they came to Scotland, where a very furious ſcene of illegal violence was opened. Sharp governed Lord Rothes, who abandoned himſelf to pleaſure. And, when ſome cenſured this, all the anſwer that was made, was, a ſevere piece of raillery, that the King's Commiſſioner ought to repreſent his perſon.

1665. The government of Scotland as to civil matters was very eaſy. All were quiet and obedient. But all thoſe Counties that lye towards the Weſt became very fierce and intractable: And the whole work of the Council was to deal with them, and to ſubdue them. It was not eaſy to prove any thing againſt any of them, for they did ſtick firm to one another. The people complained of the new ſet of Miniſters, that was ſent among them, as immoral, ſtupid, and ignorant. Generally they forſook their Churches. And, if any of them went to Church, they ſaid, they were little edified with their ſermons. And the whole country was full of ſtrange reports of the weakneſs of their preaching, and of the indecency of their whole deportment. The people treated them with great contempt, and with an averſion that broke out often into violence and injuſtice. But their Miniſters on their parts were not wanting in their complaints, aggravating matters, and poſſeſſing the Biſhops with many ſtories of deſigns and plottings againſt the State. So, many were brought before the Council, and the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for pretended riots, and for uſing their Miniſters ill, but chiefly for not coming to Church, and for holding Conventicles. The proofs were often defective, and lay rather in preſumptions, than

Illegal and ſevere proceedings in Scotland.

than clear evidence: And the punishments pro- 1665.
posed were often arbitrary, not warranted by law. So the Judges and other lawyers, that were of those Courts, were careful to keep proceedings according to forms of law: Upon which Sharp was often complaining, that favour was shown to the enemies of the Church, under the pretence of law. It was said, that the people of the country were in such a combination, that it was not possible to find witnesses to prove things fully: And he often said, must the Church be ruined for punctilio's of law? When he could not carry matters by a vote, as he had a mind, he usually looked to the Earl of Rothes; who upon that was ever ready to say, he would take it upon him to order the matter as Sharp proposed, and would do it in the King's name. Great numbers were cast in prison, where they were kept long, and ill used: And sometimes they were fined, and the younger sort whipt about the streets. The people grew more sullen on all this ill usage. Many were undone by it, and went over to the Scots in Ulster, where they were well received, and had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion.

Burnet was sent up to possess the King with the apprehensions of a rebellion, in the beginning of the Dutch war. He proposed that about twenty of the chief gentlemen of those Counties might be secured: And he undertook for the peace of the country, if they were clap'd up. This was plainly illegal. But the Lord Lauderdale opposed nothing. So it was done: But with a very ill effect. For those Gentlemen, knowing how obnoxious they were, had kept measures a little better: But they being put in prison, both their friends and tenants laid all to the door of the Clergy, and hated them the more, and used them the worse for it. The Earls of Argile, Tweedale, and Kincardin, who were considered as the Lord Lauderdale's chief friends, were cold in all those matters.

1665. They ſtudied to keep proceedings in a legal channel, and were for moderate cenſures. Upon which Sharp ſaid, they appeared to be the friends and favourers of the enemies of the Church.

Turner executed the laws in a military way.

Wherever the people had generally forſaken their Churches, the guards were quartered thro' the country. Sir James Turner, that commanded them, was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk; and that was very often. So he was ordered by the Lord Rothes to act according to ſuch directions as Burnet ſhould ſend him. And he went about the country, and received ſuch lifts, as the Miniſters brought him, of thoſe who came not to Church: And, without any other proof or any legal conviction, he ſet ſuch a fine on them, as he thought they could pay, and ſent ſoldiers to lie on them till it was paid. I knew him well afterwards, when he came to himſelf, being out of employment. He was a learned man; but had been always in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me, he had no regard to any law, but acted, as he was commanded, in a military way. He confeſſed, it went often againſt the grain with him, to ſerve ſuch a debauched and worthleſs company, as the Clergy generally were; and that ſometimes he did not act up to the rigour of his orders; for which he was often chid, both by Lord Rothes and Sharp, but was never check'd for his illegal and violent proceedings. And, tho' the complaints of him were very high, ſo that, when he was afterwards ſeized on by the party, they intended to make a ſacrifice of him; yet when they looked into his orders, and found that his proceedings, how fierce ſoever, fell ſhort of theſe, they ſpared him, as a man that had merited by being ſo gentle among them.

The truth is, the whole face of the government looked liker the proceedings of an inquiſition, than of legal Courts. And yet Sharp was never ſatisfied. So Lord Rothes and he went up to

Court

Court in the first year of the Dutch war. When they waited first on the King, Sharp put him in mind of what he had said at his last parting, that if their matters went not well, none must be blamed for it, but either the Earl of Lauderdale, or of Rothes: And now he came to tell his Majesty, that things were worse than ever: And he must do the Earl of Rothes the justice to say, he had done his part. Lord Lauderdale was all on fire at this, but durst not give himself vent before the King. So he only desired, that Sharp would come to particulars: And then he should know what he had to say. Sharp put that off in a general charge; and said, he knew the party so well, that, if they were not supported by secret encouragements, they would have been long ago weary of the opposition they gave the government. The King had no mind to enter farther into their complaints. So Lord Rothes and he withdrew; and were observed to look very pleasantly upon one another, as they went away. Lord Lauderdale told the King, he was now accused to his face: But he would quickly let him see what a man Sharp was. So he obtained a message from the King to him, of which he himself was to be the bearer, requiring him to put his complaints in writing, and to come to particulars. He followed Sharp home, who received him with such a gayity, as if he had given him no provocation. But Lord Lauderdale was more solemn; and told him, it was the King's pleasure, that he should put the accusation, with which he had charged him in writing. Sharp pretended, he did not comprehend his meaning. He answered, the matter was plain: He had accused him to the King: And he must either go through with it, and make it out, otherwise he would charge him with leasing-making: And spoke in a terrible tone to him. Upon that, as he told me, Sharp fell a trembling, and weeping: He protested, he meant no harm to him: He was 1665.

only

1665. only ſorry that his friends were, upon all occaſions, pleading for favour to the Fanaticks: (That was become the name of reproach.) Lord Lauderdale ſaid, that would not ſerve turn: He was not anſwerable for his friends, except when they acted by directions from him. Sharp offer'd to go with him preſently to the King, and to clear the whole matter. Lord Lauderdale had no mind to break openly with him. So he accepted of this, and carried him to the King; where he retracted all he had ſaid, in ſo groſs a manner, that the King ſaid afterwards, Lord Lauderdale was ill natured to preſs it ſo heavily, and to force Sharp on giving himſelf the lye in ſuch coarſe terms.

Sharp ſtudies to bring Midletoun into buſineſs again.

This went to Sharp's heart: So he made a propoſition to the Earl of Dumfreis, who was a great friend of the Lord Midletoun's, to try if a reconciliation could be made between him and the Earl of Rothes, and if he would be content to come into the government under Lord Rothes. Lord Dumfreis went into Kent, where the Lord Midletoun was then employed in a military command, on the account of the war: And he laid Sharp's propoſition before him. The Earl of Midletoun gave Lord Dumfreis power to treat in his name; but ſaid, he knew Sharp too well to regard any thing that came from him. Before Lord Dumfreis came back, Sharp had tried Lord Rothes, but found he would not meddle in it: And they both underſtood, that the Earl of Clarendon's intereſt was declining, and that the King was like to change his meaſures. So when Lord Dumfreis came back to give Sharp an account of his negotiation, he ſeemed ſurpriſed, and denied he had given him any ſuch commiſſion. This enraged the Earl of Dumfreis ſo, that he publiſhed the thing in all companies: Among others he told it very particularly to my ſelf.

At that time Leightoun was prevailed on to go to Court, and to give the King a true account of the

the proceedings in Scotland; which, he ſaid, were ſo violent, that he could not concur in the planting the Chriſtian religion itſelf, in ſuch a manner, much leſs a form of government. He therefore begged leave to quit his Biſhoprick, and to retire: For he thought he was in ſome ſort acceſſary to the violences done by others, ſince he was one of them, and all was pretended to be done to eſtabliſh them and their order. There were indeed no violences committed in his dioceſe. He went round it continually every year, preaching and catechiſing from pariſh to pariſh. He continued in his private and aſcetic courſe of life, and gave all his income, beyond the ſmall expence of his own perſon, to the poor. He ſtudied to raiſe in his Clergy a greater ſenſe of ſpiritual matters, and of the care of ſouls; and was in all reſpects a burning and ſhining light, highly eſteemed by the greater part of his dioceſe: Even the Preſbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly courſe of life. The King ſeemed touched with the ſtate that the country was in: He ſpoke very ſeverely of Sharp; and aſſured Leightoun, he would quickly come to other meaſures, and put a ſtop to thoſe violent methods: But he would by no means ſuffer him to quit his Biſhoprick. So the King gave orders that the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſhould be diſcontinued; and ſignified his pleaſure, that another way of proceeding was neceſſary for his affairs. 1665.

He underſtood by his intelligence from Holland, that the exiles at Rotterdam were very buſy, and that perhaps the Dutch might furniſh the malcontents of Scotland with money and arms: So he thought it was neceſſary to raiſe more troops. Two gallant officers, that had ſerved him in the wars, and, when theſe were over, had gone with his letters to ſerve in Muſcovy, where one of them, Dalziell, was raiſed to be a General, and the other, Drumond, was advanced to be a Lieutenant General, More forces raiſ'd in Scotland.

1665. neral, and Governor of Smolenſko, were now, not without great difficulty, ſent back by the Czar. So the King intended they ſhould command ſome forces that he was to raiſe. Sharp was very apprehenſive of this: But the King was poſitive. A little before this, the Act of fining, that had lain ſo long aſleep that it was thought forgot, was revived. And all who had been fined were required to bring in one moiety of their fines: But the other moiety was forgiven thoſe who took the Declaration renouncing the Covenant. The money was by Act of Parliament to be given among thoſe who had ſerved, and ſuffered for the King; ſo that the King had only the truſt of diſtributing it. There was no more Scotch Councils called at White-hall after Lord Midletoun's fall. But upon particular occaſions the King ordered the Privy Counſellours of that Kingdom, that were about the town, to be brought to him: Before whom he now laid the neceſſity, of raiſing ſome more force for ſecuring the quiet of Scotland: He only aſked their advice, how they ſhould be paid. Sharp very readily ſaid, the money raiſed by the fining was not yet diſpoſed of: So he propoſed the applying it to that uſe. None oppoſed this: So it was reſolved on. And by that means the Cavaliers, who were come up with their pretenſions, were diſappointed of their laſt hopes, of being recompenſed for their ſufferings. The blame of all this was caſt upon Sharp, at which they were out of meaſure enraged, and charged him with it. He denied it boldly. But the King publiſhed it ſo openly, that he durſt not contradict him. Many, to whom he had denied that he knew any thing of the matter, and called that advice a diabolical invention, affirmed it to the King. And the Lord Lauderdale, to compleat his diſgrace with the King, got many of his letters, which he had writ to the Preſbyterians, after the time, in which the King knew that he was negotiating

tiating for Episcopacy, in which he had continued to protest, with what zeal he was soliciting their concerns, not without dreadful imprecations on himself, if he was prevaricating with them, and laid these before the King: So that the King looked on him as one of the worst of men. 1665.

Many of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland were much offended at all these proceedings. They saw the prejudices of the people were increased by them. They hated violent courses, and thought they were contrary to the meek spirit of the gospel, and that they alienated the Nation more from the Church. They set themselves much to read Church-history, and to observe the state of the Primitive Church, and the spirit of those times: And they could not but observe so great a difference between the constitution of the Church under those Bishops and our own, that they seemed to agree in nothing but the name. I happened to be settled near two of the most eminent of them, who were often moved to accept of Bishopricks, but always refused them, both out of a true principle of humility and self-denial, and also because they could not engage in the methods by which things were carried on. One of these, Mr. Nairn, was one of the politest Clergymen I ever knew bred in Scotland. He had formed clear and lively schemes of things, and was the most eloquent of all our preachers. He considered the pastoral function as a dedication of the whole man to God and his service. He read the moral philosophers much; and had wrought himself into their equal temper, as much as could consist with a great deal of fire that was in his own: But he turned it all to melting devotion. He had a true notion of superstition, as a narrowness of soul, and a meanness of thought in religion. He studied to raise all that conversed with him to great notions of God, and to an universal charity. This made him 1666. Some eminent Clergymen in Scotland offended at these proceedings.

pity

1666. pity the Presbyterians, as men of low notions and ill tempers. He had indeed too much heat of imagination, which carried him to be very positive in some things, in which he afterwards changed his mind: And that made him pass for an inconstant man. In a word, he was the brightest man I ever knew among all our Scotch Divines. Another of these was Mr. Charteris, a man of a composed and serene gravity, but without affectation or sourness. He scarce ever spoke in company, but was very open and free in private. He made true judgments of things, and of men; and had a peculiar talent in managing such as he thought deserved his pains. He had little heat, either in body or mind: For as he had a most emaciated body, so he spoke both slow, and in so low a voice that he could not easily be heard. He had great tenderness in his temper; and was a very perfect friend, and a most sublime Christian. He lived in a constant contempt of the world, and a neglect of his person. There was a gravity in his conversation that raised an attention, and begot a composedness, in all about him, without frightening them; for he made religion appear amiable in his whole deportment. He had read all the lives and the epistles of great men very carefully. He had read the fathers much; and gave me this notion of them, that in speculative points, for which writers of Controversy searched into their works, they were but ordinary men: But their excellency lay in that, which was least sought for, their sense of spiritual things, and of the pastoral care. In these he thought their strength lay. And he often lamented, not without some indignation, that, in the disputes about the government of the Church, much pains were taken to seek out all those passages that shewed what their opinions were; but that due care was not taken to set out the notions that they had of the sacred function, of the preparation of mind, and inward vocation, with which

men ought to come to holy orders, or of the ſtrict- 1666.
neſs of life, the deadneſs to the world, the heavenly temper, and the conſtant application to the doing of good, that became them. Of theſe he did not talk like an angry reformer, that ſet up in that ſtrain, becauſe he was neglected or provoked; but like a man full of a deep, but humble ſenſe of them. He was a great enemy to large confeſſions of faith, chiefly when they were impoſed in the lump as teſts: For he was poſitive in very few things. He had gone thro' the chief parts of learning: But was then moſt converſant in hiſtory, as the innocenteſt ſort of ſtudy, that did not fill the mind with ſubtilty, but helped to make a man wiſer and better. Theſe were both ſingle perſons, and men of great ſobriety: And they lived in a conſtant low diet, which they valued more than ſeverer faſting. Yet they both became miſerable by the ſtone. Nairn went to Paris, where he was cut of a great one, of which he recovered, but lived not many years after. Charteris lived to a great age, and died in the end of the year 1700, having in his laſt years ſuffered unſpeakable torment from the ſtone, which the operators would not venture to cut. But all that ſaw what he ſuffered, and how he bore it, acknowledged that in him they ſaw a moſt perfect pattern of patience and ſubmiſſion to the will of God. It was a great happineſs for me, after I had broke into the world by ſuch a ramble as I had made, that I fell into ſuch hands, with whom I entered into a cloſe and particular friendſhip. They both ſet me right, and kept me right; tho' I made at this time a ſalley that may be mentioned, ſince it had ſome relation to publick affairs. I obſerved the deportment of our Biſhops was in all points ſo different, from what became their function, that I had a more than ordinary zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt them, but were very remiſs in

all

1665. all the parts of their function. Some did not live within their dioceſe. And thoſe who did, ſeemed to take no care of them: They ſhewed no zeal againſt vice: The moſt eminently wicked in the County were their particular confidents: They took no pains to keep their Clergy ſtrictly to rules, and to their duty: On the contrary there was a levity and a carnal way of living about them, that very much ſcandalized me. There was indeed one Scougal, Biſhop of Aberdeen, that was a man of rare temper, great piety and prudence: But I thought he was too much under Sharp's conduct, and was at leaſt too eaſy to him.

Some of the grievances of the Clergy laid before the Biſhops.

Upon all this I took a reſolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the ill conduct of our Biſhops. I reſolved, that no other perſon beſides my ſelf ſhould have a ſhare in any trouble it might bring on me: So I communicated it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts of it ſo well digeſted, as it otherwiſe might have been: And I was then but three and twenty. I laid my foundation in the conſtitution of the primitive Church, and ſhewed how they had departed from it, by their neglecting their dioceſe, medling ſo much in ſecular affairs, raiſing their families out of the revenues of the Church, and above all by their violent proſecuting of thoſe who differ'd from them. Of this I writ out ſome copies, and ſigned them, and ſent them to all the Biſhops of my acquaintance. Sharp was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was ſet on to it by ſome of the Lord Lauderdale's friends. I was called before the Biſhops, and treated with great ſeverity. Sharp called it a libel. I ſaid, I had ſet my name to it, ſo it could not be called a libel. He charged me with the preſumption of offering to teach my ſuperiours. I ſaid, ſuch things had been not only done, but juſtified in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on the King's putting them on his Counſels: I ſaid, I found no fault with

with the King for calling them to his counsels. But with them for going out of that which was their proper province, and for giving ill counsel. Then he charged me for reflecting on some severities, which, he said, was a reproaching publick Courts, and a censuring the laws. I said, laws might be made in terrorum, not always fit to be executed: But I only complained of Clergy-mens pressing the rigorous execution of them, and going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke out into a great vehemence; and proposed to the Bishops, that I should be summarily deprived, and excommunicated: But none of them would agree to that. By this management of his the thing grew publick. What I had ventured on was variously censured: But the greater part approved of it. Lord Lauderdale and all his friends were delighted with it; And he gave the King an account of it, who was not ill pleased at it. Great pains was taken to make me ask pardon, but to no purpose: So Sharp let the thing fall. But, that it might appear that I had not done it upon any factious design, I entered into a very close state of retirement; and gave my self wholly to my study, and the duties of my function. 1665. 1666.

Thus I have run over the state of Scotland in the years 1663, 1664, 1665, and till near the end of 1666. I now return to the affairs of England; in which I must write more defectively, being then so far from the scene. In winter 1664, the King declared his resolution of entring into a war with the Dutch. The grounds were so slight, that it was visible there was somewhat more at bottom, than was openly owned. A great comet, which appeared that winter, raised the apprehensions of those, who did not enter into just speculations concerning those matters. The House of Commons was so far from examining nicely into the grounds of the war, that without any difficulty 1664. Affairs in England. The Dutch war.

1665. they gave the King two millions and a half for carrying it on. A great fleet was set out, which the Duke commanded in person; as Opdam had the command of the Dutch fleet. But as soon as the war broke out, a most terrible Plague broke out also in the city of London, that scattered all the inhabitants that were able to remove themselves elsewhere. It broke the trade of the Nation, and swept away about an hundred thousand souls; the greatest havock that any Plague had ever made in England. This did dishearten all people: And, coming in the very time in which so unjust a war was begun, it had a dreadful appearance. All the King's enemies, and the enemies of Monarchy said, here was a manifest character of God's heavy displeasure upon the Nation; as indeed the ill life the King led, and the viciousness of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy prospect. Yet God's ways are not as our ways. What all had seen in the year 1660 ought to have silenced those, who at this time pretended to comment on providence. But there will be always much discourse of things that are very visible, as well as very extraordinary.

The Plague broke out at the same time.

When the two fleets met, it is well known what accidents disordered the Dutch, and what advantage the English had. If that first success had been followed, as was proposed, it might have been fatal to the Dutch, who finding they had suffered so much steered off. The Duke ordered all the sail to be set on to overtake them. There was a Council of war called, to concert the method of action, when they should come up with them. In that Council Pen, who commanded under the Duke, happened to say, that they must prepare for hotter work in the next engagement. He knew well the courage of the Dutch was never so high, as when they were desperate. The Earl of Montague, who was then a voluntier, and one of the Duke's Court, said to me, it was very visible

The victory at Sea not followed.

ſible that made an impreſſion. And all the Duke's domeſticks ſaid, he had got honour enough: Why ſhould he venture a ſecond time? The Dutcheſs had alſo given a ſtrict charge to all the Duke's ſervants, to do all they could to hinder him to engage too far. When matters were ſettled, they went to ſleep: And the Duke ordered a call to be given him, when they ſhould get up to the Dutch fleet. It is not known what paſs'd between the Duke and Brounker, who was of his Bed-chamber, and was then in waiting: But he came to Pen, as from the Duke, and ſaid, the Duke ordered the ſail to be ſlackened. Pen was ſtruck with the order; but did not go to argue the matter with the Duke himſelf, as he ought to have done, but obey'd it. When the Duke had ſlept, he, upon his waking, went out on the quarter-deck, and ſeemed amazed to ſee the ſails ſlackened, and that thereby all hope of overtaking the Dutch was loſt. He queſtioned Pen upon it. Pen put it on Brounker, who ſaid nothing. The Duke denied, he had given any ſuch order. But he neither puniſhed Brounker for carrying it, nor Pen for obeying it. He indeed put Brounker out of his ſervice: And it was ſaid, that he durſt do no more, becauſe he was ſo much in the King's favour, and in the Miſtreſs's. Pen was more in his favour after that, than ever before, which he continued to his ſon after him, tho' a Quaker: And it was thought, that all that favour was to oblige him to keep the ſecret. Lord Montague did believe, that the Duke was ſtruck, ſeeing the Earl of Falmouth, the King's favourite, and two other perſons of quality, killed very near him; and that he had no mind to engage again, and that Pen was privately with him. If Brounker was ſo much in fault, as he ſeemed to be, it was thought, the Duke, in the paſſion that this muſt have raiſed in him, would have proceeded to greater extremities, and not have acted with ſo much phlegm. This proved 1665.

1665. the breaking the designs of the King's whole reign: For the Dutch themselves believed that, if our fleet had followed them with full sail, we must come up with them next tide, and have either sunk or taken their whole fleet. De Wit was struck with this misfortune: And, imputing some part of it to errors in conduct, he resolved to go on board himself, as soon as their fleet was ready to go to sea again.

An account of the affairs in Holland.

Upon this occasion I will say a little of him, and of the affairs of Holland. His father was the deputy of the town of Dort in the States, when the late Prince of Orange was so much offended with their proceedings, in disbanding a great part of their Army: And he was one of those whom he ordered upon that to be carried to the Castle of Loveſtein. Soon after that, his design on Amsterdam miscarrying, he saw a necessity of making up the best he could with the States. But, before he had quite healed that wound, he died of the small-pox. Upon his death all his party fell in disgrace, and the Loveſteiners carried all before them. So De Wit got his son John, then but twenty five years of age, to be made pensioner of Dort. And within a year after, the pensioner of Holland dying, he was made pensioner of Holland. His breeding was to the civil law, which he understood very well. He was a great mathematician: And, as his Elementa Curvarum shew what a man he was that way, so perhaps no man ever applied Algebra to all matters of trade so nicely as he did. He made himself so entirely the master of the state of Holland, that he understood exactly all the concerns of their revenue, and what sums, and in what manner, could be raised upon any emergency of State: For this he had a pocket-book full of tables, and was ever ready to shew how they could be furnished with money. He was a frank, sincere man, without fraud, or any other artifice but silence:

silence: To which he had so accustomed the world, that it was not easy to know, whether he was silent on design, or custom. He had a great clearness of apprehension: And when any thing was proposed to him, how new soever, he heard all patiently, and then asked such questions as occurred to him: And by the time he had done all this, he was as much master of the proposition, as the person was that had made it. He knew nothing of modern history, nor of the state of Courts: And was eminently defective in all points of form. But he laid down this for a maxim, that all Princes and States followed their own interest: So, by observing what their true interests were, he thought, he could without great intelligence calculate what they were about. He did not enough consider how far passions, amours, humours, and opinions wrought on the world; chiefly on Princes. He had the notions of a Common-wealth from the Greeks and Romans. And from them he came to fancy, that an army, commanded by officers of their own country, was both more in their own power, and would serve them with the more zeal, since they themselves had such an interest in the success. And so he was against their hiring foreigners, unless it was to be common soldiers, thereby to save their own people. But he did not enough consider the phlegm and covetousness of his countrymen; of which he felt the ill effects afterwards. This was his greatest error, and it turned fatally upon him. But for the administration of justice at home, and for the management of their trade, and their forces by sea, he was the ablest Minister they ever had. He had an hereditary hatred to the House of Orange. He thought it was impossible to maintain their liberty, if they were still Statholders. Therefore he did all that was possible to put an invincible bar in their way, by the perpetual edict. But at the same time he took great care of preserving the young Prince's for- 1665.

1665. tune; and looked well to his education, and gave him, as the Prince himſelf told me, very juſt notions of every thing relating to their State. For he ſaid, he did not know, but that at ſome time or other, he would be ſet over them: Therefore he intended to render him fit to govern well.

The Town of Amſterdam became at that time very ungovernable. It was thought, that the Weſt-India-Company had been given up chiefly by their means; for it was in value ſo equal to the Eaſt-India Company, that the actions of both were often exchanged for one another. When the Biſhop of Munſter began his pretenſions on the City of Munſter, and on a great part of Weſtphalia, they offered themſelves up to the States, if they would preſerve them. But the Town of Amſterdam would not conſent to it, nor ſubmit to the charge. Yet they never ſeemed to ſet up for a ſuperiority over the reſt, nor to break the credit of the Court at the Hague. Only they were backward in every thing that was propoſed, that encreaſed the charge. And they were become ſo weary of De Wit, that he felt how much the late miſcarriage at ſea had ſhaken his credit; ſince misfortunes are always imputed to the errors of thoſe that govern. So he reſolved to go on board. De Ruyter often ſaid, that he was amazed to ſee, how ſoon he came to a perfect underſtanding of all the ſea affairs. The winds were ſo long backward, that it was not eaſy to get their great ſhips thro' the Zuyder ſea. So he went out in boats himſelf, and plummed it all ſo carefully, that he found many more ways to get out by different winds, than was thought formerly practicable. He got out in time to be maſter of the ſea, before the end of the ſeaſon: And ſo recovered the affront of the former loſſes, by keeping at ſea after the Engliſh fleet was forced to put in. The Earl of Sandwich was ſent to the North with a great part of the fleet, to watch for the Eaſt-India ſhips. But he was thought

thought too remiſs. They got, before he was aware of it, into Berghen in Norway. If he had followed them quick, he would have forced the port, and taken them all. But he obſerved forms, and ſent to the Viceroy of Norway demanding entrance. That was denied him. But, while theſe meſſages went backward and forward, the Dutch had ſo fortifyed the entrance into the port, that, tho' it was attempted with great courage, yet Tiddiman, and thoſe who compoſed that ſquadron, were beat off with great loſs, and forced to let go a very rich fleet: For which Lord Sandwich was much blamed, tho' he was ſent Ambaſſadour into Spain, that his diſgrace might be a little ſoftened by that employment. The Duke's conduct was alſo much blamed: And it was ſaid, he was moſt in fault, but that the Earl of Sandwich was made the ſacrifice. 1665.

Here I will add a particular relation of a tranſaction relating to that affair, taken from the account given of it by Sir Gilbert Talbot, then the King's Envoy at the Court of Denmark, in a MS. that I have in my hands. That King did in June 1665 open himſelf very freely to Talbot, complaining of the States, who, as he ſaid, had drawn the Swediſh war on him, on deſign that he might be forced to depend on them for ſupplies of money and ſhipping, and ſo to get the cuſtoms of Norway and the Sound into their hands for their ſecurity. Talbot upon that told him, that the Dutch Smyrna fleet was now in Berghen, beſides many rich Weſt-India ſhips; and that they ſtaid there in expectation of a double Eaſt-India fleet, and of De Ruyter, who was returning with the ſpoils of the coaſt of Guinea. So he ſaid, the King of Denmark might ſeize thoſe ſhips before the convoy came, which they expected. The King of Denmark ſaid, he had not ſtrength to execute that. Talbot ſaid, the King his maſter would ſend a force to effect it: But it was reaſonable he ſhould

An account of the affairs of Berghen.

1665. have half of the ſpoil. To which the King of Denmark readily agreed, and ordered him to propoſe it to his maſter. So he immediately tranſmitted it to the King, who approved of it, and promiſed to ſend a fleet to put it in execution. The Miniſters of Denmark were appointed to concert the matter with Talbot. But nothing was put in writing; for the King of Denmark was aſhamed to treat of ſuch an affair, otherwiſe than by word of mouth. Before the end of July, news came, that De Ruyter with the Eaſt-India Fleet was on the coaſt of Norway. Soon after he came into Berghen. The riches then in that port were reckoned at many millions.

The Earl of Sandwich was then in thoſe ſeas. So Talbot ſent a veſſel expreſs to him with the news. But that veſſel fell into the hands of the Dutch Fleet, and was ſent to Holland. The King of Denmark writ to the Viceroy of Norway, and to the Governour of Berghen, ordering them to uſe all fair means to keep the Dutch ſtill in their harbour, promiſing to ſend particular inſtructions in a few days to them how to proceed. Talbot ſent letters with theſe, to be delivered ſecretly to the Commanders of the Engliſh frigates, to let them know that they might boldly aſſault the Dutch in port; for the Danes would make no reſiſtance, pretending a fear that the Engliſh might deſtroy their Town: But that an account was to be kept of their prizes, that the King of Denmark might have a juſt half of all: They were not to be ſurprized, if the Danes ſeemed at firſt to talk high: That was to be done for ſhew: But they would grow calmer, when they came to engage. The Earl of Sandwich ſent his Secretary to Talbot, to know the particulars of the agreement with the King of Denmark. But the veſſel that brought him was ordered, upon landing the Secretary, to come back to the fleet. So that it was impoſſible to ſend by that veſſel what was deſired. And no other

other ships could be got to carry back the Secretary. And thus the Earl of Sandwich went to attack the Dutch Fleet without staying for an answer from Talbot, or knowing what orders the Governour of Berghen had yet received: For tho' the orders were sent, yet it was so great a way, ten or twelve days journey, that they could not reach the place, but after the English fleet had made the attack. The Viceroy of Norway, who resided at Christiana, had his orders sooner, and sent out two gallies to communicate the agreement to the Earl of Sandwich; but missed him, for he was then before Berghen. The Governour of Berghen, not having yet the orders that the former express promised him, sent a Gentleman to the English fleet, desiring they would make no attack for two or three days; for by that time he expected his orders. Clifford was sent to the Governour, who insisted that till he had orders he must defend the port, but that he expected them in a very little time. Upon Clifford's going back to the fleet, a Council of war was called, in which the officers, animated with the hope of a rich booty, resolved without farther delay to attack the port, either doubting the sincerity of the Danish Court, or unwilling to give them so large a share of that, on which they reckoned as already their prize. Upon this Tiddiman began the attack, which ended fatally. Divers frigats were disabled, and many officers and seamen were killed. The squadron was thus ruined, and Tiddiman was ready to sink: So he was forced to slip his cables, and retire to the fleet, which lay without the rocks. This action was on the third of August: And on the fourth the Governour received his orders. So he sent for Clifford, and shewed him his orders. But, as the English fleet had by their precipitation forced him to do what he had done, so he could not, upon what had happened the day before, execute those orders, till he sent an account

1661.

of

1665. of what had pafs'd to the Court of Denmark, and had the King's fecond orders upon it. And, if the whole Engliſh fleet would not ſtay in thoſe ſeas ſo long, he deſired they would leave ſix frigats before the harbour; and he would engage, the Dutch ſhould not in the mean while go out to ſea. But the Engliſh were ſullen upon their diſappointment, and ſailed away. The King of Denmark was unſpeakably troubled at the loſs of the greateſt treaſure he was ever like to have in his hands. This was a deſign well laid, that would have been as fatal to the Dutch, as ignominious to the King of Denmark, and was by the impatient ravenouſneſs of the Engliſh loſt, without poſſibility of recovering it. And indeed there was not one good ſtep made after this in the whole progreſs of the war.

The Parliament at Oxford.

England was at this time in a diſmal ſtate. The plague continued for the moſt part of the ſummer in and about London, and began to ſpread over the country. The Earl of Clarendon moved the King to go to Saliſbury. But the Plague broke out there. So the Court went to Oxford, where another ſeſſion of Parliament was held. And tho' the conduct at ſea was ſeverely reflected on, yet all that was neceſſary for carrying on the war another year was given. The Houſe of Commons kept up the ill humour they were in againſt the Non-conformiſts very high. A great many of the Miniſters of London were driven away by the Plague; tho' ſome few ſtaid. Many Churches being ſhut up, when the inhabitants were in a more than ordinary diſpoſition to profit by good ſermons, ſome of the Non-conformiſts upon that went into the empty pulpits, and preached; and, it was given out, with very good ſucceſs: And in many other places they began to preach openly, not without reflecting on the ſins of the Court, and on the ill uſage that they themſelves had met with. This was repreſented very odiouſly at Oxford. So a ſevere

a ſevere bill was brought in, requiring all the ſilenced Miniſters to take an oath, declaring it was not lawful on any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of the Church or State. Such as refuſed this were not to come within five miles of any City, or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had ſerved. This was much oppoſed in both Houſes, but more faintly in the Houſe of Commons. The Earl of Southampton ſpoke vehemently againſt it in the Houſe of Lords. He ſaid, he could take no ſuch oath himſelf: For how firm ſoever he had always been to the Church, yet, as things were managed, he did not know but he himſelf might ſee cauſe to endeavour an alteration. Doctor Earl, Biſhop of Saliſbury, died at that time. But, before his death, he declared himſelf much againſt this Act. He was the man of all the Clergy for whom the King had the greateſt eſteem. He had been his ſubtutor, and had followed him in all his exile with ſo clear a character, that the King could never ſee or hear of any one thing amiſs in him. So he, who had a ſecret pleaſure in finding out any thing that leſſened a man eſteemed eminent for piety, yet had a value for him beyond all the men of his order. Sheldon and Ward were the Biſhops that acted and argued moſt for this Act, which came to be call the Five Mile Act. All that were the ſecret favourers of Popery promoted it: Their conſtant maxim being, to bring all the Sectaries into ſo deſperate a ſtate, that they ſhould be at mercy, and forced to deſire a toleration on ſuch terms, as the King ſhould think fit to grant it on. Clifford began to make a great figure in the Houſe of Commons. He was the ſon of a Clergyman, born to a ſmall fortune: But was a man of great vivacity. He was reconciled to the Church of Rome before the Reſtoration. The 1665.

Lord

1665. Lord Clarendon had many ſpies among the Prieſts: And the news of this was brought him among other things. So, when Clifford began firſt to appear in the Houſe, he got one to recommend him to the Lord Clarendon's favour. The Lord Clarendon looked into the advice that was brought him: And by comparing things together, he perceived that he muſt be that man: And upon that he excuſed himſelf the beſt he could. So Clifford ſtruck in with his enemies; and tied himſelf particularly to Bennet, made Lord, and afterwards Earl of Arlington. While the Act was before the Houſe of Commons, Vaughan, afterwards made Chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas, moved that the word "legally" might be added to the word "commiſſioned by the King:" But Finch, the Attorney General, ſaid, that was needleſs; ſince unleſs the commiſſion was legal it was no commiſſion, and, to make it legal, it muſt be iſſued out for a lawful occaſion, and to perſons capable of it, and muſt paſs in the due form of law. The other inſiſted that the addition would clear all ſcruples, and procure an univerſal compliance. But that cou'd not be obtained; for it was intended to lay difficulties in the way of thoſe, againſt whom the Act was levelled. When the bill came up to the Lords, the Earl of Southampton moved for the ſame addition; but was anſwered by the Earl of Angleſey, upon the ſame grounds on which Finch went. Yet this gave great ſatisfaction to many who heard it, this being the avowed ſenſe of the legiſlators. The whole matter was ſo explained by Bridgman, when Bates, with a great many more, came into the Court of Common-pleas to take the oath. The Act paſs'd: And the Non-conformiſts were put to great ſtraits. They had no mind to take the oath. And they ſcarce knew how to diſpoſe of themſelves according to the terms of the Act. Some moderate men took pains to perſuade them to take the

the oath. It was said by "endeavour" was only meant an unlawful endeavour; and that it was so declared in the debates of both Houses. Some Judges did on the bench expound it in that sense. Yet few of them* took it. Many more refused it, who were put to hard shifts to live, being so far separated from the places from which they drew their chief subsistance. Yet as all this severity in a time of war, and of such a publick calamity, drew very hard censures on the promoters of it, so it raised the compassions of their party so much, that I have been told they were supplied more plentifully at that time than ever. There was better reason, than perhaps those of Oxford knew, to suspect practices against the State. 1665.

The designs of the Common-wealth party.

Algernoon Sidney, and some others of the Common-wealth party, came to De Wit, and press'd him to think of an invasion of England and Scotland, and gave him great assurances of a strong party: And they were bringing many officers to Holland to join in the undertaking. They dealt also with some in Amsterdam, who were particularly sharpned against the King, and were for turning England again into a Common-wealth. The matter was for some time in agitation at the Hague. But De Wit was against it, and got it to be laid aside. He said, their going into such a design would provoke France to turn against them: It might engage them in a long war, the consequences of which could not be foreseen: And, as there was no reason to think, that, while the Parliament was so firm to the King, any discontents could be carried so far as to a general rising, which these men undertook for; so, he said, what would the effect be of turning England into a Common-wealth, if it could possibly be brought about, but the ruin of Holland? Since it would naturally draw many of the Dutch to leave their country, which could not be kept and maintained

* That is, the Non-conformists.

but

1665. but at a vaſt charge, to exchange it for the plenty and ſecurity that England afforded. Therefore all that he would engage in was, to weaken the trade of England, and to deſtroy their fleet; in which he ſucceeded the following year beyond all expectation. The buſy men in Scotland, being encouraged from Rotterdam, went about the country, to try if any men of weight would ſet themſelves at the head of their deſigns for an inſurrection. The Earl of Caſſilis and Lockhart were the two perſons they reſolved to try. But they did it at ſo great a diſtance, that, from the propoſition made to them, there was no danger of miſpriſion of treaſon. Lord Caſſilis had given his word to the King, that he would never engage in any plots: And he had got under the King's hand a promiſe, that he and his family ſhould not be diſturbed, let him ſerve God in what way he pleaſed. So he did not ſuffer them to come ſo far as to make him any propoſitions. Lockhart did the ſame. They ſeeing no other perſon that had credit enough in the country to bring the people about him, gave over all the projects for that year. But, upon the informations that the King had of their caballing at Rotterdam, he raiſed thoſe troops of which mention was formerly made.

The Duke of York's jealouſy.

An accident happened this winter at Oxford, too inconſiderable, and too tender to be mentioned, if it were not that great effects were believed to have followed on it. The Duke had always one private amour after another, in the managing of which, he ſeemed to ſtand more in awe of the Dutcheſs, than, conſidering the inequality of their rank, could have been imagined. Talbot was looked on as the chief manager of thoſe intrigues. The Dutcheſs's deportment was unexceptionable, which made her authority the greater. At Oxford there was then a very graceful young man of quality that belonged to her Court, whoſe ſervices were ſo acceptable, that ſhe was thought

to

to look at him in a particular manner. This was so represented to the Duke, that he, being resolved to emancipate himself into more open practices, took up a jealousy; and put the person out of his Court with so much precipitation, that the thing became very publick by this means. The Dutchess lost the power she had over him so entirely, that no method she could think of was like to recover it, except one. She began to discover what his religion was, tho' he still came not only to Church, but to Sacrament. And upon that she, to regain what she had lost, entered into private discourses with his Priests; but in so secret a manner, that there was not for some years after this the least suspicion given. She began by degrees to slacken in her constant coming to Prayers and to Sacrament, in which she had been before that regular, almost to superstition. She excused that on her ill health: For she fell into an ill habit of body, which some imputed to the effect of some of the Duke's distempers communicated to her. A story was set about, and generally believed, that the Earl of Southesk, that had married a daughter of Duke Hamilton's, suspecting some familiarities between the Duke and his wife, had taken a sure method to procure a disease to himself, which he communicated to his wife, and was by that means set round till it came to the Dutchess, who was so tainted with it that it was the occasion of the death of all her children, except the two daughters, our two Queens; and was believed the cause of an illness under which she languished long, and died so corrupted, that in dressing her body after her death, one of her breasts burst, being a mass of corruption. Lord Southesk was for some years not ill pleased to have this believed. It looked like a peculiar strain of revenge, with which he seemed much delighted. But I know he has to some of his friends denied the whole of the story very solemnly. Another acted a better part.

1665. His amours.

1665. part. He did not like a commerce that he observed between the Duke and his wife. He went and expostulated with him upon it. The Duke fell a commending his wife much. He told him, he came not to seek his wife's character from him: The most effectual way of commending her, was to have nothing to do with her. He added, that if Princes would do those wrongs to subjects, who could not demand such reparations of honour from them, as they could from their equals, it would put them on secreter methods of revenge: For some injuries were such, that men of honour could not bear them. And, upon a new observation he made of the Duke's designs upon his wife, he quitted a very good post, and went with her into the country, where he kept her till she died. Upon the whole matter the Duke was often ill. His children were born with ulcers, or they broke out upon them soon after: And all his sons died young, and unhealthy. This has, as far as any thing presumptive only and not to be brought in the way of proof, prevailed to create a suspicion, that so healthy a child as the pretended Prince of Wales could neither be his, nor be born of any wife, with whom he had lived long. The violent pain that his eldest daughter had in her eyes, and the gout which has early seized our present Queen, are thought the dregs of a tainted original. Willis, the great physician, being called to consult for one of his sons, gave his opinion in those words, Mala Stamina Vitæ; which gave such offence, that he was never called for afterwards.

1666. I know nothing of the counsels of the year 1666, nor whose advices prevailed. It was resolved, that the Duke should not go to sea; but that Monk should command the great fleet of between fifty and sixty ships of the line, and that Prince Rupert should be sent with a squadron of about twenty five ships, to meet the French fleet, and to hinder their

their conjunction with the Dutch: For the French had promised a fleet to join the Dutch, but never sent it. Monk went out so certain of victory, that he seemed only concerned for fear the Dutch should not come out. The Court flattered themselves with the hopes of a very happy year: But it proved a fatal one. The Dutch fleet came out, De Wit and some of the States being on board. They engaged the English fleet for two days, in which they had a manifest superiority. But it cost them dear; for the English fought well. But the Dutch were superiour in number, and were so well furnished with chained shot, (a peculiar contrivance of which De Wit had the honour to be thought the inventer, that the English fleet was quite unrigged.) And they were in no condition to work themselves off. So they must have all been taken, sunk, or burnt, if Prince Rupert, being yet in the channel, and hearing that they were engaged by the continued roaring of guns, had not made all possible haste to get to them. He came in good time. And the Dutch, who had suffered much, seeing so great a force come up, sheered off. He was in no condition to pursue them; but brought off our fleet, which saved us a great loss that seemed otherwise unavoidable. The Court gave out that it was a victory: And publick thanksgivings were ordered, which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had in one respect reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole fleet. A dreadful Fire compleated the miseries of this year: The Plague was so sunk in London, that the inhabitants began to return to it, and brought with them a great deal of manufacture, which was lying on the hands of the clothiers and others, now in the second year of the war, in which trade and all other consumptions were very low. It was reckoned, that a peace must come next winter. The merchants were upon that preparing to go to market as soon as possible.

1666.

The fleet was almost quite lost and happily saved by Prince Rupert.

1666. ble. The ſummer had been the drieſt that was known of ſome years. And London being for the moſt part built of timber filled up with plaiſter, all was extream dry. On the ſecond of September a fire broke out, that raged for three days, as if it had a commiſſion to devour every thing that was in its way. On the fourth day it ſtopt in the midſt of very combuſtible matter.

The fire of London.

I will not enlarge on the extent nor the deſtruction made by the fire: Many books are full of it. That which is ſtill a great ſecret is, whether it was caſual, or raiſed on deſign. The Engliſh fleet had landed on the Vly, an iſland lying near the Texel, and had burnt it: Upon which ſome came to De Wit, and offered a revenge, that, if they were aſſiſted, they would ſet London on fire. He rejected the propoſition: For he ſaid, he would not make the breach wider, nor the quarrel irreconcilable. He ſaid, it was brought him by one of the Labadiſts, as ſent to them by ſome others. He made no farther reflections on the matter till the City was burnt. Then he began to ſuſpect there had been a deſign, and that they had intended to draw him into it, and to lay the odium of it upon the Dutch. But he could hear no news of thoſe who had ſent that propoſition to him. In the April before, ſome Common-wealths-men were found in a plot, and hanged; who at their execution confeſſed, they had been ſpoken to, to aſſiſt in a deſign of burning London on the ſecond of September. This was printed in the gazette of that week, which I my ſelf read. Now the fire breaking out on the ſecond, made all people conclude, that there was a deſign ſome time before on foot for doing it.

It was charged on the Papiſts.

The Papiſts were generally charged with it. One Hubert, a French Papiſt, was ſeized in Eſſex, as he was getting out of the way in great confuſion. He confeſſed, he had begun the fire, and perſiſted in his confeſſion to his death; for he was hanged upon

upon no other evidence but that of his own confeſſion. It is true, he gave ſo broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad. Yet he was blindfolded, and carried to ſeveral places of the City: And then, his eyes being opened, he was aſked, if that was the place: And he being carried to wrong places, after he looked round about for ſome time, he ſaid, that was not the place: But when he was brought to the place where it firſt broke out, he affirmed that was the true place. And Tillotſon told me, that Howell, then the recorder of London, was with him, and had much diſcourſe with him; and that he concluded, it was impoſſible that it could be a melancholy dream: The horrour of the fact, and the terrour of death, and perhaps ſome engagements in confeſſion, might put him in ſuch diſorder, that it was not poſſible to draw a clear account of any thing from him, but of what related to himſelf. Tillotſon, who believed that the City was burnt on deſign, told me a circumſtance, that made the Papiſts employing ſuch a crazed man, in ſuch a ſervice, more credible. Langhorn, the Popiſh counſellor at law, who for many years paſs'd for a Proteſtant, was diſpatching a half-witted man to manage elections in Kent before the Reſtoration. Tillotſon, being preſent, and obſerving what a ſort of man he was, aſked Langhorn, how he could employ him in ſuch ſervices. Langhorn anſwered, it was a maxim with him, in dangerous ſervices to employ none but half-witted men, if they could be but ſecret and obey orders: For if they ſhould change their minds, and turn informers inſtead of agents, it would be eaſy to diſcredit them, and to carry off the weight of any diſcoveries they could make, by ſhewing they were mad-men, and ſo not like to be truſted in critical things. 1666.

The moſt extraordinary paſſage, tho' it is but a preſumption, was told me by Doctor Lloyd and A ſtrong preſumption of it.

1666. the Countess of Clarendon. The latter had a great estate in the new river, that is brought from Ware to London, which is brought together at Islington, where there is a great room full of pipes, that convey it thro' all the streets of London. The constant order of that matter was, to set all the pipes a running on Saturday night, that so the cisterns might be all full by Sunday morning, there being a more than ordinary consumption of water on that day. There was one Grant, a Papist, under whose name Sir William Pettyt published his observations on the bills of mortality: He had some time before applied himself to Lloyd, who had great credit with the Countess of Clarendon; and said, he could raise that estate considerably, if she would make him a trustee for her. His schemes were probable: And he was made one of the board that governed that matter: And by that he had a right to come, as oft as he pleased, to view their works at Islington. He went thither the Saturday before the fire broke out, and called for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then open, and stopt the water, and went away, and carried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none. And some hours were lost in sending to Islington, where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it was long before the water got to London. Grant indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But the officer of the works affirmed, that he had, according to order, set them all a running, and that no person had got the keys from him, besides Grant; who confessed he had carried away the keys, but pretended he did it without design. There were many other stories set about, as that the Papists in several places had asked, if there was no news of the burning of London, and that it was talked of in many

parts

parts beyond ſea, long before the news could get thither from London. In this matter I was much determined by what Sir Thomas Littleton, the father, told me. He was a man of a ſtrong head, and ſound judgment. He had juſt as much knowledge in trade, hiſtory, the diſpoſition of Europe, and the conſtitution of England, as ſerved to feed and direct his own thoughts, and no more. He lived all the ſummer long in London, where I was his next neighbour, and had for ſeven years a conſtant and daily converſation with him. He was Treaſurer of the Navy in conjunction with Oſborn, who was afterwards Lord Treaſurer, who ſupplanted him in that poſt, and got it all into his own hands. He had a very bad opinion of the King; and thought, that he had worſe intentions than his brother, but that he had a more dextrous way of covering and managing them; only his lazineſs made him leſs earneſt in proſecuting them. He had generally the character of the ableſt Parliament man in his time. His chief eſtate lay in the City, not far from the place where the fire broke out, tho' it did not turn that way. He was one of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, that examined all the preſumptions of the City's being burnt on deſign: And he often aſſured me, that there was no clear preſumption made out about it, and that many ſtories, which were publiſhed with good aſſurance, came to nothing upon a ſtrict examination. He was at that time, that the inquiry was made, in employment at Court. So, whether that biaſſed him, or not, I cannot tell. There was ſo great a diverſity of opinions in the matter, that I muſt leave it under the ſame uncertainty in which I found it. If the French and Dutch had been at that time deſigning an impreſſion elſewhere, it might have been more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it was done on deſign to diſtract our affairs. But it fell out at a dead time, when no advantage could be made of it. And it did not 1666.

1666. seem probable, that the Papists had engaged in the design, merely to impoverish and ruin the Nation; for they had nothing ready then to graft, upon the confusion that this put all the people in. Above twelve thousand houses were burnt down, with the greatest part of the furniture and merchandize that was in them. All means used to stop it proved ineffectual; tho' the blowing up of houses was the most effectual of any. But the wind was so high, that fleaks of fire and burning matter were carried in the air cross several streets. So that the fire spread not only in the next neighbourhood, but at a great distance. The King and the Duke were almost all the day long on horseback with the guards, seeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire, or for carrying off persons and goods to the fields all about London. The most astonishing circumstance of that dreadful conflagration was, that, notwithstanding the great destruction that was made, and the great confusion in the streets, I could never hear of any one person that was either burnt, or trodden to death. The King was never observed to be so much struck with any thing in his whole life, as with this. But the citizens were not so well satisfied with the Duke's behaviour. They thought he looked too gay, and too little concerned. A jealousy of his being concerned in it was spread about with great industry, but with very little appearance of truth. Yet it grew to be generally believed, chiefly after he owned he was a Papist.

Disorders in Scotland.

In Scotland the fermentation went very high. Turner was sent again into the West in October this year: And he began to treat the country at the old rate. The people were alarmed, and saw they were to be undone. They met together, and talked with some fiery Ministers. Semple, Maxwell, Welsh, and Guthry were the chief incendiaries. Two Gentlemen that had served in the wars, one

one a Lieutenant Colonel, Wallace, and the other 1666.
that had been a Major, Learmoth, were the beſt
officers they had to rely on. The chief Gentlemen
of thoſe Counties were all clapt up in priſon, as
was formerly told. So that preſerved them:
Otherwiſe they muſt either have engaged with the
people, or have loſt their intereſt among them.
The people were told, that the fire of London had
put things in that confuſion at Court, that any vi-
gorous attempt would diſorder all the King's af-
fairs. If the new levied troops had not ſtood in
their way, they would have been able to have car-
ried all things againſt them: For the two troops
of guards, with the regiment of foot guards, would
not have been able to have kept their ground be-
fore them. The people, as ſome of them told me
afterwards, were made to believe that the whole
Nation was in the ſame diſpoſition. So on the
thirteenth of November they ran together: And
two hundred of them went to Dumfreis, where
Turner then lay with a few ſoldiers about him;
the greateſt part of his men being then out in par-
ties, for the levying of fines. So they ſurpriſed
him before he could get to his arms: Otherwiſe,
he told me, he would have been killed rather than
taken, ſince he expected no mercy from them.
With himſelf they ſeized his papers and inſtruc-
tions, by which it appeared he had been gentler
than his orders were. So they reſolved to keep
him, and exchange him as occaſion ſhould be of-
fered. But they did not tell him what they in-
tended to do with him: So he thought, they were
keeping him, till they might hang him up with
the more ſolemnity. There was a conſiderable
caſh in his hands, partly for the pay of his men,
partly of the fines which he had raiſed in the coun-
try, that was ſeized: But he, to whom they truſt-
ed the keeping of it, ran away with it. They ſpread
a report, which they have ſince printed, and it
paſſed for ſome time current, that this riſing was

1666. the effect of a ſudden heat, that the country was put into, by ſeeing one of their neighbours tied on a horſe hand and foot, and carried away, only becauſe he could not pay a high fine that was ſet upon him; and that upon this provocation the neighbours, who did not know how ſoon ſuch uſage would fall to their own turn, ran together, and reſcued him; and that, fearing ſome ſevere uſage for that, they kept together, and that, others coming into them, they went on, and ſeized Turner. But this was a ſtory made only to beget compaſſion: For, after the inſurrection was quaſh'd, the Privy Council ſent ſome round the country, to examine the violences that had been committed, particularly in the pariſh where it was given out that this was done. I read the report they made to the Council, and all the depoſitions that the people of the country made before them: But this was not mentioned in any one of them.

A rebellion in the Weſt.

The news of this riſing was brought to Edinburgh, fame encreaſing their numbers to ſome thouſands. And this happening to be near Carliſle, the Governour of that place ſent an expreſs to Court, in which the ſtrength of the party was magnified much beyond the truth. The Earl of Rothes was then at Court, who had aſſured the King, that all things were ſo well managed in Scotland, that they were in perfect quiet. There were, he ſaid, ſome ſtubborn Fanaticks ſtill left, that would be ſoon ſubdued: But there was no danger from any thing that they or their party could do. He gave no credit to the expreſs from Carliſle: But, two days after, the news was confirmed by an expreſs from Scotland. Sharp was then at the head of the government: So he managed this little war, and gave all the orders and directions in it. Dalziel was commanded to draw all the forces they had together, which lay then diſperſed in quarters. When that was done, he marched Weſtward. A great many ran to the rebels, who came to be called

called Whiggs. At Lanerick in Cliddiſdale they had a ſolemn faſt day, in which after much praying they renewed the Covenant, and ſet out their manifeſto: In which they denied, that they roſe againſt the King; they complained of the oppreſſion under which they had groaned; they deſired that Epiſcopacy might be put down, and that Preſbytery, and the Covenant, might be ſet up, and their Miniſters reſtored again to them; and then they promiſed, that they would be in all other things the King's moſt obedient ſubjects. The Earl of Argile raiſed fifteen hundred men, and wrote to the Council that he was ready to march upon order. Sharp thought, that if he came into the country, either he or his men would certainly join with the rebels: So he ſent him no order at all. But he was at the charge of keeping his men together to no purpoſe. Sharp was all the while in a dreadful conſternation, and wrote diſmal letters to Court, praying that the forces which lay in the North of England might be ordered down: For, he wrote, they were ſurrounded with the rebels, and did not know what was become of the King's forces. He alſo moved, that the Council would go, and ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle of Edinburgh. But that was oppoſed by the reſt of the board, as an abandoning of the Town, and the betraying an unbecoming fear, which might very much encourage the rebels, and ſuch as intended to go over to them. Orders were given out for raiſing the country: But there was no militia yet formed. In the mean while Dalziel followed the rebels as cloſe as he could. He publiſhed a proclamation of pardon, as he was ordered, to all that ſhould in twenty four hours time return to their houſes, and declared all that continued any longer in arms rebels. He found the country was ſo well affected towards them, that he could get no ſort of intelligence, but what his own parties brought in to him. The Whiggs marched

1666.

1666. marched towards Edinburgh, and came within two miles of the Town. But, finding neither Town nor Country declare for them, and that all the hopes their leaders had given them proved falſe, they loſt heart. From being once above two thouſand they were now come to be not above eight or nine hundred. So they reſolved to return back to the Weſt, where they knew the people were of their ſide; and where they could more eaſily diſperſe themſelves, and get either into England or Ireland. The Miniſters were very buſy in all thoſe Counties, plying people of rank not to forſake their brethren in this extremity. And they had got a company of about three or fourſcore Gentlemen together, who were marching towards them, when they heard of their defeat: And upon that they diſperſed themſelves. The rebels thought to have marched back by the way of Pentland Hill. They were not much concerned for the few horſes they had. And they knew that Dalziel, whoſe horſe was fatigued with a fortnight's conſtant march, could not follow them. And if they had gained but one night more in their march, they had got out of his reach. But on the twenty eighth of November, about an hour before ſun-ſet, he came up to them. They were poſted on the top of a hill: So he engaged with a great diſadvantage. They, finding they could not get off, ſtopt their march. Their Miniſters did all they could by preaching and praying to infuſe courage into them: And they ſung the ſeventy fourth and the ſeventy eighth Pſalms. And ſo they turned on the King's forces. They received the firſt charge that was given by the troop of guards very reſolutely, and put them in diſorder. But that was all the action; for immediately they loſt all order, and ran for their lives. It was now dark: About forty were killed on the ſpot, and a hundred and thirty were taken. The reſt were favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and the wearineſs of

The defeat given the rebels at Pentland Hill.

the King's troops, that were not in caſe to purſue them, and had no great heart to it: For they were a poor harmleſs company of men, become mad by oppreſſion: And they had taken nothing during all the time they had been together, but what had been freely given them by the country people. The rebellion was broken with the loſs of only five on the King's ſide. The General came next day into Edinburgh with his priſoners. 1666.

The two Archbiſhops were now delivered out of all their fears: And the common obſervation, that cruelty and cowardiſe go together, was too viſibly verified on this occaſion. Lord Rothes came down full of rage: And that being inflamed by the two Archbiſhops, he reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the priſoners. Burnet adviſed the hanging of all thoſe who would not renounce the Covenant, and promiſe to conform to the laws for the future: But that was thought too ſevere. Yet he was ſent up to London, to procure of the King an inſtruction, that they ſhould tender the Declaration renouncing the Covenant to all who were thought diſaffected; and proceed againſt thoſe who refuſed that, as againſt ſeditious perſons. The beſt of the Epiſcopal Clergy ſet upon the Biſhops, to lay hold on this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming interceſſors for the priſoners, and for the country, that was like to be quartered on and eat up, for the favour they had expreſſed to them. Many of the Biſhops went into this, and particularly Wiſhart of Edinburgh, tho' a rough man, and ſharpened by ill uſage. Yet upon this occaſion he expreſſed a very Chriſtian temper, ſuch as became one who had felt what the rigours of a priſon had been; for he ſent every day very liberal ſupplies to the priſoners: Which was indeed done by the whole Town, in ſo bountiful a manner, that many of them, who being

Severe proceedings againſt the priſoners.

ſhut

1666. ſhut up had neither air nor exerciſe, were in greater danger by their plenty, than they had been by all their unhappy campaign. But Sharp could not be mollified. On the contrary he encouraged the Miniſters, in the diſaffected Counties, to bring in all the informations they could gather, both againſt the priſoners, and againſt all thoſe who had been among them, that they might be ſought for, and proceeded againſt. Moſt of thoſe got over to Ireland. But the Miniſters in thoſe parts acted ſo ill a part, ſo unbecoming their characters, that the averſion of the country to them was increaſed to all poſſible degrees: They looked on them now as wolves, and not as ſhepherds. It was a moving ſight, to ſee ten of the priſoners hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh: Thirty five more were ſent to their countries, and hanged up before their own doors; their Miniſters all the while uſing them hardly, and declaring them damned for their rebellion. They might all have ſaved their lives, if they would have renounced the Covenant: So they were really a ſort of martyrs for it. They did all at their death give their teſtimony, according to their phraſe, to the Covenant, and to all that had been done purſuant to it: And they expreſſed great joy in their ſufferings. Moſt of them were but mean and inconſiderable men in all reſpects: Yet even theſe were firm and inflexible in their perſuaſions. Many of them eſcaped, notwithſtanding the great ſearch was made for them. Guthry the chief of their preachers was hid in my mother's houſe, who was bred to her brother Wariſton's principles, and could never be moved from them: He died next ſpring. One Maccail, that was only a probationer preacher, and who had been chaplain in Sir James Steward's houſe, had gone from Edinburgh to them. It was believed, he was ſent by the party in town, and that he knew their correſpondents. So he was put to the torture, which in

Scotland

Scotland they call the boots; for they put a pair of iron boots close on the leg, and drive wedges between these and the leg. The common torture was only to drive these in the calf of the leg: But I have been told they were sometimes driven upon the shin bone. He bore the torture with great constancy: And either he could say nothing, or he had the firmness not to discover those who trusted him. Every man of them could have saved his own life, if he would accuse any other: But they were all true to their friends. Maccail, for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture of joy: His last words were, farewel sun, moon and stars, farewel kindred and friends, farewel world and time, farewel weak and frail body, welcome eternity, welcome Angels and Saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the Judge of all; which he spoke with a voice and manner that struck all that heard it. 1666.

His death was the more cried out on, becaufe it came to be known afterwards, that Burnet, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the King, in which he approved of all that they had done; but added, that he thought there was blood enough shed, and therefore he ordered that such of the prisoners, as should promise to obey the laws for the future, should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to the Plantations. Burnet let the execution go on, before he produced his letter, pretending there was no council-day between. But he, who knew the contents of it, ought to have moved the Lord Rothes to call an extraordinary Council to prevent the execution. So that blood was laid on him. He was, contrary to his natural temper, very violent at that time, much inflamed by his family, and by all about him. Thus this rebellion, that might have been so turned in the conclusion of it, that the Clergy might have 1667. The King is more gentle than the Bishops.

1667. gained reputation and honour by a wife and merciful conduct, did now exasperate the country more than ever against the Church. The forces were ordered to lye in the West, where Dalziel acted the Muscovite too grosly. He threatened to spit men, and to roast them: And he killed some in cold blood, or rather in hot blood; for he was then drunk, when he ordered one to be hanged, because he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in search. When he heard of any that did not go to Church, he did not trouble himself to set a fine upon him: But he set as many soldiers upon him, as should eat him up in a night. By this means all people were struck with such a terror, that they came regularly to Church. And the Clergy were so delighted with it, that they used to speak of that time, as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compassion to their people; nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They looked on the soldiery as their patrons: They were ever in their company, complying with them in their excesses: And, if they were not much wronged, they rather led them into them, than check'd them for them. Dalziel himself and his officers were so disgusted with them, that they encreased the complaints, that had now more credit for them, than from those of the country, who were looked on as their enemies. Things of so strange a pitch in vice were told of them, that they seemed scarce credible. The person, whom I believed the best as to all such things, was one Sir John Cunningham, an eminent lawyer, who had an estate in the country, and was the most extraordinary man of his profession in that Kingdom. He was Episcopal beyond most men in Scotland, who for the far greatest part thought, that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they

they fell; whereas he thought Epiſcopacy was of a divine right, ſettled by Chriſt. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon law, and in the philoſophical learning, but was very univerſal in all other learning: He was a great divine, and well read in the Fathers, and in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He was above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a ſweet temper, and indeed one of the pioufeſt men of the Nation. The ſtate of the Church in thoſe parts went to his heart: For it was not eaſy to know, how to keep an even hand between the perverſeneſs of the people on the one ſide, and the vices of the Clergy on the other. They looked on all thoſe that were ſenſible of their miſcarriages, as enemies of the Church. It was after all hard to believe all that was ſet about againſt them. 1667.

A change of counſel and more moderation in the Government.

The King's affairs in England forced him to ſoften his government every where. So at this time the Earls of Tweedale and Kincardin went to Court, and laid before the King the ill ſtate the country was in. Sir Robert Murray talked often with him about it. Lord Lauderdale was more cautious by reaſon of the jealouſy of his being a Preſbyterian. Upon all which the King reſolved to put Scotland into other hands. A Convention of Eſtates had been called the year before, to raiſe money for maintaining the troops. This was a very ancient practice in the Scotiſh conſtitution: A Convention was ſummoned to meet within twenty days: They could only levy money, and petition for the redreſs of grievances; but could make no new laws; and meddle only with that for which they were brought together. In the former Convention Sharp had preſided, being named by the Earl of Rothes as the King's Commiſſioner. In the winter 1666, or rather in the ſpring 1667, there was another Convention called, in which the King by a ſpecial letter appointed Duke Hamilton to preſide. And the

King

1667. King in a letter to Lord Rothes ordered him to write to Sharp to ſtay within his dioceſs, and to come no more to Edinburgh. He upon this was ſtruck with ſo deep a melancholy, that he ſhewed as great an abjectneſs under this ſlight diſgrace, as he had ſhewed inſolence before, when he had more favour. The Convention continued the aſſeſſment for another year at 6000 pounds a month. Sharp, finding he was now under a cloud, ſtudied to make himſelf popular, by looking after the education of the Marquis of Huntley, now the Duke of Gordon. He had an order long before from the King to look to his education, that he might be bred a Proteſtant; for the ſtrength of Popery within that Kingdom lay in his family. But, tho' this was ordered during the Earl of Midletoun's miniſtry, Sharp had not all this while looked after it. The Earl of Rothes's miſtreſs was a Papiſt, and nearly related to the Marquis of Huntly. So Sharp, either to make his court the better, or at the Lord Rothes's deſire, had neglected it theſe four years: But now he called for him. He was then above 15, well hardened in his prejudices by the loſs of ſo much time. What pains was taken on him, I know not. But, after a trial of ſome months, Sharp ſaid, he ſaw he was not to be wrought on, and ſent him back to his mother. So the intereſt that popery had in Scotland, was believed to be chiefly owing to Sharp's compliance with the Earl of Rothes's amours. The neglect of his duty in ſo important a matter was much blamed: But the doing it upon ſuch a motive was reckoned yet more infamous. After the convention was over, Lord Rothes ſent up Drumond to repreſent to the King the ill affections of the weſtern parts. And, to touch the King in a ſenſible point, he ſaid, the Covenant ſtuck ſo deep in their hearts, that no good could be done till that was rooted out. So he propoſed, as an expedient, that the King would give the Council a power, to require all whom they

they ſuſpected to renounce the Covenant, and to proceed againſt ſuch as refuſed it as traitors. Drumond had yet too much of the air of Ruſſia about him, tho' not with Dalziel's fierceneſs: He had a great meaſure of knowledge and learning, and ſome true impreſſions of religion: But he thought, that upon ſuch powers granted, there would be great dealing in bribes and confiſcations. A ſlight accident happened, which raiſed a jeſt that ſpoiled his errand. The King flung the cover of the letter from Scotland into the fire, which was carried up all in a flame, and ſet the chimney on fire: Upon which it was ſaid, that the Scotch letter had fired Whitehall: And it was anſwered, the cover had almoſt ſet Whitehall on fire, but the contents of it would certainly ſet Scotland all in a flame. It was ſaid, that the law for renouncing the Covenant, inferring only a forfeiture of employments, to thoſe who refuſed it, the ſtretching it ſo far as was now propoſed would be liable to great exception. Yet in compliance with a publick meſſage the inſtruction was ſent down as it was deſired: But by a private letter Lord Rothes was ordered to make no uſe of it, except upon a ſpecial command; ſince the King had only given way to what was deſired, to ſtrike a terror into the ill affected. The ſecret of it broke out: So it had no effect, but to make the Lord Rothes and his party more odious. Burnet, upon Sharp's diſgrace, grew to be more conſidered. So he was ſent up with a propoſition of a very extraordinary nature, that the weſtern Counties ſhould be cantoned under a ſpecial government, and peculiar taxes, together with the quartering of ſoldiers upon them. It was ſaid, that thoſe Counties put the nation to the charge of keeping up ſuch a force: And therefore it ſeemed reaſonable that the charge ſhould lye wholly on them. He alſo propoſed, that a ſpecial Council ſhould be appointed to ſit at Glaſgow: And, among other reaſons to 1667.

1667. enforce that motion, he ſaid to the King, and afterwards to Lord Lauderdale, that ſome at the Council board were ill affected to the Church, and favoured her enemies, and that traitors had been pleaded for at that board. Lord Lauderdale writ down preſently to know what ground there was for this; ſince, if it was not true, he had Burnet at mercy for leaſing-making, which was more criminal when the whole Council was concerned in the lie that was made. The only ground for this was, that one of the rebels, excepted in the indemnity that was proclaimed ſome time before, being taken, and, it being evident that his brain was turned, it was debated in Council, whether he ſhould be proceeded againſt, or not: Some argued againſt that, and ſaid, it would be a reproach to the Government to hang a madman. This could in no ſort juſtify ſuch a charge: So Lord Lauderdale reſolved to make uſe of it in due time. The propoſition itſelf was rejected, as that which the King could not do by law. Burnet upon this went to the Lord Clarendon, and laid before him the ſad eſtate of their affairs in Scotland. He ſpoke to the King of it: And he took care to ſet the Engliſh Biſhops on the King, with whom Burnet had more credit, as more entirely theirs, than ever Sharp had. The Earl of Clarendon's credit was then declining: And it was a clear ſign of it, when the King told Lord Lauderdale all that he had ſaid to him on Scotch affairs, which provoked him extreamly. Burnet was ſent down with good words: But the King was reſolved to put the affairs of Scotland under another management. Lord Kincardin came down in April, and told me, that Lord Rothes was to be ſtript of all his places, and to be only Lord Chancellour. The Earl of Tweedale and Sir Robert Murray were to have the ſecret in their hands. He told me, the peace was as good as made: And when that was done, the army would be diſbanded; and things would

would be managed with more temper, both in Church and State. This was then so great a secret, that neither the Lord Rothes, nor the two Archbishops, had the least hint of it. Some time after this Lord Rothes went to the North: Upon which an accident happened that hastened his fall. 1667.

The Scots had during the war set out many privateers; and these had brought in many rich prizes. The Dutch, being provoked with this, sent Van Gheudt with a good fleet into the Frith, to burn the coast, and to recover such ships as were in that part. He came into the Frith on the first of May. If he had at first hung out English colours, and attacked Leith harbour immediately, which was then full of ships, he might have done what mischief he pleased: For all were secure, and were looking for Sir Jeremy Smith with some frigats, for the defence of the coast, since the King had set out no fleet this year. There had been such a dissipation of treasure, that, for all the money that was given, there was not enough left to set out a fleet. But the Court covered this by saying, the peace was as good as concluded at Breda, where the Lord Hollis and Sir William Coventry were treating about it as Plenipotentiaries: And, tho' no cessation was agreed on, yet they reckoned on it as sure. Upon this, a saying of the Earl of Northumberland's was much repeated: When it was said, that the King's mistress was like to ruin the Nation, he said, it was she that saved the Nation. While we had a House of Commons that gave all the money that was asked, it was better to have the money squandred away in luxury and prodigality, than to have it saved for worse purposes. Van Gheudt did nothing in the Frith for some hours: He shot against Bruntisland without doing any mischief. The country people ran down to the coast, and made a great show. But this was only a feint, to divert the King from that which was chiefly intended: For he sailed out,

The Dutch fleet came into the Frith.

1667. and joined de Ruyter: And so the shameful attack was made upon the river of Medway: The chain at the mouth of it, which was then all its security, was broke: And the Dutch fleet sailed up to Chatham: Of which I will say no more in this place, but go on with the affairs of Scotland.

And went to Chatham, and burnt our Fleet.

Lord Rothes's being out of the way when the country was in such danger, was severely aggravated by the Lord Lauderdale, and did bring on the change somewhat the sooner. In June Sir Robert Murray came down with a letter from the King, superseding Lord Rothes's commission, putting the Treasury in commission, and making Lord Rothes Lord Chancellour. He excused himself from being raised to that post all he could; and desired to continue Lord Treasurer: But he struggled in vain, and was forced to submit at last. Now all was turned to a more sober, and more moderate management. Even Sharp grew meek and humble: And said to my self, it was a great happiness to have to deal with sober and serious men; for Lord Rothes and his crew were perpetually drunk. When the peace of Breda was concluded, the King wrote to the Scotch Council, and communicated that to them; and with that signified, that it was his pleasure that the Army should be disbanded. The Earl of Rothes, Burnet, and all the officers opposed this much. The rebellious disposition of the western Counties was much aggravated: It seemed necessary to govern them by a military power. Several expedients were proposed on the other hand. Instead of renouncing the Covenant, in which they pretended there were many points of religion concerned, a bond was proposed for keeping the peace, and against rising in arms. This seemed the better test; since it secured the publick quiet, and the peace of the Country, which was at present the most necessary: The religious part was to be left to time, and good management. So an indemnity

ty of a more comprehenſive nature was proclaimed: And the bond was all the ſecurity that was demanded. Many came into the bond: Tho' there were ſome among them that pretended ſcruples: For, it was ſaid, peace was a word of a large extent: It might be pretended, that obeying all the laws was implied in it. Yet the far greater number ſubmitted to this. Thoſe who were diſturbed with ſcruples were a few melancholy inconſiderable perſons. 1667.

In order to the diſbanding the Army with more ſecurity it was propoſed, that a County militia ſhould be raiſed, and trained for ſecuring the publick peace. The two Archbiſhops did not like this: They ſaid, the Commons, of whom the militia muſt be compoſed, being generally ill affected to the Church, this would be a prejudice rather than a ſecurity. But, to content them, it was concluded, that in Counties that were ill affected there ſhould be no foot raiſed, and only ſome troops of horſe. Burnet complained openly, that he ſaw Epiſcopacy was to be pulled down, and that in ſuch an extremity he could not look on, and be ſilent. He writ upon theſe matters a long and ſorrowful letter to Sheldon: And upon that Sheldon writ a very long one to Sir R. Murray; which I read, and found more temper and moderation in it, than I could have expected from him. Murray had got ſo far into his confidence, and he ſeemed to depend ſo entirely on his ſincerity, that no informations againſt him could work upon Sheldon. Upon Burnet's carrying things ſo high, Sharp was better uſed, and was brought again to the Council board, where he began to talk of moderation: And in the debate concerning the diſbanding the Army, he ſaid, it was better to expoſe the Biſhops to whatſoever might happen, than to have the Kingdom governed for their ſakes by a military power. Yet in private he ſtudied to poſſeſs all people with prejudices againſt

1667. the persons then employed, as the enemies of the Church. At that time Lord Lauderdale got the King to write to the Privy Council, letting them know that he had been informed, traitors had been pleaded for at that board. This was levelled at Burnet. The Council in their answer, as they denied the imputation, so they desired to know, who it was that had so aspersed them. Burnet, when the letter was offered to him to be signed by him, said, he could not say traitors had never been pleaded for at that board, since he himself had once pleaded for one, and put them in mind of the particular case. After this he saw how much he had exposed himself, and grew tamer. The Army was disbanded: So Lord Rothes's authority as General, as well as his commission, was now at an end, after it had lasted three years. The pretence of his commission was the preparing matters for a National Synod: Yet in all that time there was not one step made towards one: For the Bishops seemed concerned only for their authority, and their revenues, and took no care of regulating, either the worship, or the discipline. The Earls of Rothes and Tweedale went to Court. The former tried, what he could do by the Duke of Monmouth's means, who had married his niece: But he was then young, and was engaged in a mad-ramble after pleasure, and minded no business. So Lord Rothes saw the necessity of applying himself to Lord Lauderdale: And he did dissemble his discontent so dextrously, that he seemed well pleased to be freed from the load of business, that lay so heavy upon him. He moved to have his accounts of the Treasury pass'd, to which great exceptions might have been made; and to have an approbation pass'd under the Great Seal of all he had done while he was the King's Commissioner. Lord Tweedale was against both; and moved, that, he should be for some time kept under the lash: He knew, that, how humble so-

ever

ever he was at that time, he would be no sooner secured from being called to an account for what was pass'd, than he would set up a cabal in opposition to every thing; whereas they were sure of his good behaviour, as long as he continued to be so obnoxious. The King loved Lord Rothes: So the Earl of Lauderdale consented to all he asked. But they quickly saw good cause to repent of their forwardness. 1667.

A great change in Lauderdale's temper.

At this time a great change happened in the course of the Earl of Lauderdale's life, which made the latter part of it very different from what the former had been. Mr. Murray of the bedchamber had been page and whipping boy to King Charles I; and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private favours, but in all his counsels. He was well turned for a Court, very insinuating, but very false; and of so revengeful a temper, that rather than any of the counsels given by his enemies should succeed, he would have revealed them, and betrayed both the King and them. It was generally believed, that he had discovered the most important of all his secrets to his enemies. He had one particular quality, that when he was drunk, which was very often, he was upon a most exact reserve, tho' he was pretty open at all other times. He got a warrant to be an Earl, which was signed at New-Castle. Yet he got the King to antedate it, as if it had been signed at Oxford, to get the precedence of some whom he hated: But he did not pass it under the Great Seal during that King's life; but did it after his death, so his warrant, not being pass'd, died with the King. His eldest daughter, to whom his honour, such as it was, descended, married Sir Lionel Tallmash of Suffolk, a man of a noble family. After her father's death, she took the title of Countess of Dysert. She was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and an amazing viva-

1667. city in converſation. She had ſtudied not only divinity and hiſtory, but mathematicks and philoſophy. She was vehement in every thing ſhe ſet about, a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy. She had a reſtleſs ambition, lived at a vaſt expence, and was ravenouſly covetous; and would have ſtuck at nothing by which ſhe might compaſs her ends. She had been early in a correſpondence with Lord Lauderdale, that had given occaſion to cenſure. When he was priſoner after Worceſter fight, ſhe made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that ſhe ſaved it by her intrigues with Cromwell: Which was not a little taken notice of. Cromwell was certainly fond of her, and ſhe took care to entertain him in it; till he, finding what was ſaid upon it, broke it off. Upon the King's Reſtoration, ſhe thought that Lord Lauderdale made not thoſe returns that ſhe expected. They lived for ſome years at a diſtance. But upon her huſband's death ſhe made up all quarrels: So that Lord Lauderdale and ſhe lived ſo much together, that his Lady was offended at it, and went to Paris, where ſhe died about three years after. The Lady Dyſert came to have ſo much power over the Lord Lauderdale, that it leſſened him much in the eſteem of all the world; for he delivered himſelf up to all her humours and paſſions. All applications were made to her: She took upon her to determine every thing: She ſold all places, and was wanting in no methods that could bring her money, which ſhe laviſhed out in a moſt profuſe vanity. As the conceit took her, ſhe made him fall out with all his friends, one after another: With the Earls of Argile, Tweedale, and Kincardin, with Duke Hamilton, the Marquis of Athol, and Sir Robert Murray, who all had their turns in her diſpleaſure, which very quickly drew Lord Lauderdale's after it. If after ſuch names it is not a preſumption to name my ſelf, I had my ſhare likewiſe. From that time,

to

to the end of his days, he became quite another 1667.
ſort of man than he had been, in all the former parts of his life. Sir Robert Murray had been deſigned by her father to be her huſband, and was long her true friend. She knew his integrity was proof againſt all attempts. He had been hitherto the Lord Lauderdale's chief friend, and main ſupport. He had great eſteem paid him, both by the King, and by the whole Court: And he employed it all for the Earl of Lauderdale's ſervice. He uſed great freedom with him at proper times; and was a faithful adviſer, and reprover as far as the other could bear it. Lady Dyſert laid hold on his abſence in Scotland to make a breach between them. She made Lord Lauderdale believe, that Murray aſſumed to himſelf the praiſe of all that was done, and was not ill pleaſed to paſs as his Governour. Lord Lauderdale's pride was ſoon fired with thoſe ill impreſſions.

Scotland was very well governed.

The government of Scotland had now another face. All payments were regularly made: There was an overplus of 10000 l. of the revenue ſaved every year: A magazine of Arms was bought with it: And there were ſeveral projects ſet on foot for the encouragement of trade and manufactures. Lord Tweedale and Sir Robert Murray were ſo entirely united, that, as they never diſagreed, ſo all plied before them. Lord Tweedale was made a Privy Counſellor in England: And, his ſon having married the Earl of Lauderdale's only child, they ſeemed to be inſeparably united. When he came down from London, he brought a letter from the King to the Council, recommending the concerns of the Church to their care: In particular, he charged them to ſuppreſs Conventicles, which began to ſpread generally thro' the weſtern Counties: For upon the diſbanding the Army, the country, being delivered from that terror, did now forſake their Churches, and got their old Miniſters to come among them; and they were not wanting

in

1667. in holding Conventicles from place to place. The King wrote also by him a letter to Sharp with his own pen, in which he assured him of his zeal for the Church, and of his favour to himself. Lord Tweedale hoped this would have gained him to his side: But he was deceived in it. Sharp quickly returned to his former insolence. Upon the Earl of Tweedale's return, there was a great application to publick business: No vice was in reputation: Justice was impartially administred: And a commission was sent to the western Counties to examine into all the complaints of unjust and illegal oppressions by Turner, Dalziel, and others. Turner's warrants had been seized with himself: And, tho' upon the defeat given the Whiggs he was left by them, so that, beyond all men's expectations, he escaped out of their hands, yet he had nothing to justify himself by. The truth is, this enquiry was chiefly levelled at Lord Rothes and Burnet, to cast the odium of the late rebellion on their injustice and ill conduct. And it was intended that Turner should accuse them: But he had no vouchers to shew. These were believed to be withdrawn by an artifice of the Lord Rothes. But, before the matter was quite ended, those in whose hands his papers were left, sent them sealed up to his lodgings. But he was by that time broken: So, since the government had used him hardly, he, who was a man of spirit, would not shew his vouchers, nor expose his friends. So that matter was carried no farther. And the people of the country cried out against those censures. It was said, that when by such violent proceedings men had been inflamed to a rebellion, upon which so much blood was shed, all the reparation given was, that an officer or two were broken; and a great man was taken down a little upon it, without making any publick examples for the deterring others.

Sir

Sir Robert Murray went thro' the weſt of Scotland. When he came back, he told me, the Clergy were ſuch a ſet of men, ſo ignorant, and ſo ſcandalous, that it was not poſſible to ſupport them, unleſs the greateſt part of them could be turned out, and better men found to be put in their places. But it was not eaſy to know how this could be done. Burnet had placed them all: And he thought himſelf in ſome ſort bound to ſupport them. The Clergy were ſo linked together, that none of them could be got to concur in getting proofs of crimes brought againſt their brethren. And the people of the country pretended ſcruples. They ſaid, to accuſe a Miniſter before a Biſhop was an acknowledging his juriſdiction over his Clergy, or, to uſe a hard word much in uſe among them, it was homologating his power. So Murray propoſed, that a Court ſhould be conſtituted by a ſpecial commiſſion from the King, made up of ſome of the Layity as well as the Clergy, to try the truth of theſe ſcandalous reports that went upon the Clergy: And he writ about it to Sheldon, who approved of it. Sharp alſo ſeemed well pleaſed with it, tho' he abhorred it in his heart: For he thought it ſtruck at the root of their authority, and was Eraſtianiſm in the higheſt degree. Burnet ſaid, it was a turning him out of his Biſhoprick, and the declaring him either incapable of judging his Clergy, or unworthy of that truſt. His Clergy cried out upon it; and ſaid, it was a delivering them up to the rage of their enemies, who hated them only for the ſake of their functions, and for their obedience to the laws; and that, if irregular methods were taken to encourage them, they would get any thing, true or falſe, to be ſworn againſt them. The difficulties that aroſe upon this put a ſtop to it. And the Earl of Lauderdale's averſion to Sir Robert Murray began a disjointing of all the counſels of Scotland. Lord Tweedale had the chief confidence: And next him Lord Kincardin

1667.

Great complaints made of the Clergy.

1667. Kincardin was moſt truſted. The Preſbyterians, ſeeing a ſoftening in the execution of the law, and obſerving that the Archbiſhops were jealous of Lord Tweedale, fancied he was theirs in his heart. Upon that they grew very inſolent. The Clergy was in many places ill uſed by them. They deſpaired of any farther protection from the Government. They ſaw deſigns were forming to turn them all out: And, hearing that they might be better provided in Ireland, they were in many places bought out, and prevailed on to deſert their cures. The people of the country hoped, that, upon their leaving them, they might have their old Miniſters again; and upon that were willing enough to enter into thoſe bargains with them: And ſo in a very little time there were many vacancies made all over thoſe Counties. The Lord Tweedale took great pains to engage Leightoun into the ſame counſels with him. He had magnified him highly to the King, as much the greateſt man of the Scotch Clergy. And the Lord Tweedale's chief aim, with relation to Church matters, was to ſet him at the head of them: For he often ſaid to me, that more than two parts in three of the whole buſineſs of the government related to the Church. So he ſtudied to bring in a ſet of Epiſcopal men of another ſtamp, and to ſet Leightoun at their head. He ſtudied to draw in Mr. Charteris. But he had ſuch ſad thoughts of mankind, and ſuch humble ones of himſelf, that he thought little good could be done, and that as to that little he was not a proper inſtrument. Leightoun was prevailed on to go to London, where, as he told me, he had two audiences of the King. He laid before him the madneſs of the former adminiſtration of Church affairs, and the neceſſity of turning to more moderate counſels: In particular, he propoſed a comprehenſion of the Preſbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by ſuch abatements as might preſerve the

the whole for the future, by granting ſomewhat for the preſent. But he entered into no expedients: Only he ſtudied to fix the King in the deſign that the courſe of his affairs led him to, tho' contrary to his own inclinations, both in England and Scotland. In order to the opening this I muſt change the ſcene. 1667.

The Dutch war had turned ſo fatally on the King, that it made it neceſſary for him to try how to recover the affections and eſteem of his people. He found a ſlackening the execution of the law went a great way, in the city of London, and with the trading part of the Nation. The Houſe of Commons continued ſtill in their fierceneſs, and averſion to all moderate propoſitions: But in the intervals of Parliament the execution was ſoftened. The Earl of Clarendon found his credit was declining, that all the ſecrets of State were truſted to Bennet, and that he had no other ſhare in them than his poſt required. The Lady Caſtlemain ſet her ſelf moſt violently againſt him. And the Duke of Buckingham, as often as he was admitted to any familiarities with the King, ſtudied with all his wit and humour to make Lord Clarendon and all his counſels appear ridiculous. Lively jeſts were at all times apt to take with the King. The Earl of Clarendon fell under two other misfortunes before the war broke out. The King had granted him a large piece of ground near St. James's to build a houſe on: He intended a good ordinary houſe: But, not underſtanding thoſe matters himſelf, he put the managing of that into the hands of others; who run him into a vaſt charge, of about 50000 l. three times as much as he had deſigned to lay out upon it. During the war, and in the plague year, he had about three hundred men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when ſo many men were kept at work, and ſo much money, as was duly paid, circulated about. But it had a contrary effect.

Affairs in England.

Clarendon's diſgrace.

It

1667. It raiſed a great outcry againſt him. Some called it Dunkirk houſe, intimating that it was built by his ſhare of the price of Dunkirk. Others called it Holland houſe, becauſe he was believed to be no friend to the war: So it was given out, that he had the money from the Dutch. It was viſible, that in a time of publick calamity he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the war there was ſome deſigns on foot for the repairing of St. Paul's: And many ſtones were brought thither. That project was laid aſide during the war. He upon that bought the ſtones, and made uſe of them in building his own houſe. This, how ſlight ſoever it may ſeem to be, yet had a great effect by the management of his enemies.

Southampton's death.

Another misfortune was, that he loſt his chief friend, to whom he truſted moſt, and who was his greateſt ſupport, the Earl of Southampton. The pain of the ſtone grew upon him to ſuch a degree, that he had reſolved to be cut: But a woman came to him, who pretended ſhe had an infallible ſecret of diſſolving the ſtone, and brought ſuch vouchers to him, that he put himſelf into her hands. The medicine had a great operation, tho' it ended fatally: For he paſſed great quantities of gravel, that looked like the coats of a ſtone ſliced off. This encouraged him to go on, till his pains encreaſed ſo, that no man was ever ſeen to die in ſuch torments; which made him oft tremble all over, ſo that the bed ſhook with it: Yet he bore it with an aſtoniſhing patience. He not only kept himſelf from ſaying any indecent thing, but endured all that miſery with the firmneſs of a great man, and the ſubmiſſion of a good chriſtian. The cauſe of all appeared when he was opened after his death: For the medicine had ſtripp'd the ſtone of its outward ſlimy coats, which made it lay ſoft and eaſy upon the muſcles of the bladder; whereas when theſe were diſſolved, the inner and harder

parts

parts of the ſtone, that were all ragged by the diſſolution that was begun, lay upon the neck of the bladder, which raiſed thoſe violent pains of which he died. The Court was now delivered of a great man, whom they did not much love, and who they knew did not love them. The Treaſury was put in commiſſion: And the Earl of Clarendon had no intereſt there. He ſaw the war, tho' managed by other counſels, yet was like to end in his ruin: For all errors were caſt on him. The buſineſs of Chatham was a terrible blow: And tho' the loſs was great, the infamy was greater. The Parliament had given above five millions towards the war: But, thro' the luxury and waſte of the Court, this money was ſo ſquandred away, that the King could neither ſet out a fleet, nor defend his coaſts. Upon the news of the Dutch fleet's being in the river, the King did not ride down himſelf, nor appear at the head of his people, who were then in ſuch imminent danger. He only ſent the Duke of Albemarle down, and was intending to retire to Windſor. But that looked ſo like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to ſtay. And it was given out, that he was very chearful that night at ſupper with his Miſtreſſes, which drew many libels upon him, that were writ with as much wit as malice, and brought him under a general contempt. He was compared to Nero, who ſung while Rome was burning. A day or two after that he rode thro' London, accompanied with the moſt popular men of his Court, and aſſured the citizens he would live and die with his people, upon which there were ſome acclamations: But the matter went heavily. The City was yet in aſhes: And the jealouſy of burning it on deſign had got ſo among them, that the King himſelf was not free from ſuſpicion. If the Dutch had purſued their advantage in the firſt conſternation, they might have done more miſchief, and have come a great way up the Thames, and burnt 1667.

1667. many merchant ships: But they thought they had done enough, and so they sailed away. The Court was at a stand what to do: For the French had assured them the treaty was as good as finished. Whether the French set this on, as that which would both weaken the fleet of England, and alienate the King so entirely from the Dutch that he would be easily engaged into new alliances to revenge this affront, as many believed, I cannot pretend to determine.

The Earl of Essex was at this time in Paris, on his way home from the waters of Bourbon: And he told me, the Queen-mother of England sent for him, as being one of her son's Privy Council; and told him, the Irish had sent over some to the Court of France, desiring money and arms with some officers, and undertook to put that island into the hands of the French. He told me, he found the Queen was in her inclinations and advices true to her son's interest: But he was amazed to see, that a woman, who in a drawing-room was the liveliest woman of the age, and had a vivacity of imagination that surprized all who came near her, yet after all her practice in affairs had so little either of judgment or conduct: And he did not wonder at the miscarriage of the late King's counsels, since she had such a share in them. But the French had then greater things in view. The King of Spain was dead. And now after the French had managed the war so, that they had been at no part of the expence of it, nor brought a ship to the assistance of the Dutch in any engagement, and that both England and Holland had made a great loss both in ships and treasure; they resolved to manage the peace so, as to oblige the King by giving him a peace, when he was in no condition to carry on a war. I enter not into our negotiation with the Bishop of Munster, nor his treacherous departing from his engagements, since I know nothing of that matter, but what is in print.

The Irish sought the protection of France.

As

As soon as the peace was made, the King saw with what disadvantage he was like to meet his Parliament. So he thought, the disgracing a publick Minister, who by his being long in so high a post had drawn upon himself much envy, and many enemies, would cover himself and the rest of his Court. Other things concurred to set this forward. The King was grown very weary of the Queen: And it was believed, he had a great mind to be rid of her. The load of that marriage was cast on the Lord Clarendon, as made on design to raise his own grandchildren. Many members of the House of Commons, such as Clifford, Osborn, Ker, Littletoun, and Seimour, were brought to the King; who all assured him, that upon his Restoration they intended both to have raised his authority, and to have encreased his revenue; but that the Earl of Clarendon had discouraged it, and that all his creatures had possessed the House with such jealousies of the King, that they thought it was not fit to trust him too much, nor too far. This made a deep impression on the King, who was weary of Lord Clarendon's imposing way, and had a mind to be freed from the authority, to which he had been so long accustomed, that it was not easy to keep him within bounds. 1667.

The Duke of Richmond's marriage.

Yet the King was so afraid to engage himself too deep in his own affairs, that it was a doubt whether he would dismiss him or not, if a concern of one of his amours had not sharpened his resentment; so that what other considerations could not do, was brought about by an ill grounded jealousy. Mistress Steward had gained so much on the King, and yet had kept her ground with so much firmness, that the King seemed to design if possible to legitimate his addresses to her, when he saw no hope of succeeding any other way. The Duke of Richmond, being a widower, courted her. The King seemed to give way to it; and pretended to take such care of her, that he would have good settlements made

1667. for her. He hoped by that means to have broke the matter decently; for he knew the Duke of Richmond's affairs were in diſorder. So the King ordered Lord Clarendon to examine the eſtate he pretended to ſettle. But he was told, whether true or falſe I cannot tell, that Lord Clarendon told her, that the Duke of Richmond's affairs, it was true, were not very clear; but that a family ſo near related to the King could never be left in diſtreſs, and that ſuch a match would not come in her way every day; ſo ſhe had beſt conſider well, before ſhe rejected it. This was carried to the King, as a deſign he had that the Crown might deſcend to his own grandchildren; and that he was afraid, leſt ſtrange methods ſhould be taken to get rid of the Queen, and to make way for her. When the King ſaw that ſhe had a mind to marry the Duke of Richmond, he offered to make her a Dutcheſs, and to ſettle an eſtate on her. Upon this ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſaw ſhe muſt either marry him, or ſuffer much in the opinion of the world. And ſhe was prevailed on by the Duke of Richmond, who was paſſionately in love with her, to go privately from Whitehall, and marry him without giving the King notice. The Earl of Clarendon's ſon, the Lord Cornbury, was going to her lodgings, upon ſome aſſignation that ſhe had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door coming out full of fury. And he, ſuſpecting that Lord Cornbury was in the deſign, ſpoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, and for ſome time would not hear Lord Cornbury ſpeak in his own defence. In the afternoon he heard him with more temper, as he himſelf told me. Yet this made ſo deep an impreſſion, that he reſolved to take the ſeals from his father. The King ſaid to the Lord Lauderdale, that he had talked of the matter with Sheldon; and that he convinced him, that it was neceſſary to remove Lord Clarendon from his poſt. And, as ſoon as it was done, the King ſent for Sheldon,

Sheldon, and told him what he had done. But he answered nothing. When the King insisted to oblige him to declare himself, he said, "Sir, I wish you "would put away this woman that you keep." The King upon that replied sharply, why had he never talked to him of that sooner, but took this occasion now to speak of it. Lauderdale told me, he had all this from the King: And that the King and Sheldon had gone into such expostulations upon it, that from that day forward Sheldon could never recover the King's confidence. 1667.

Bridgman made Lord Keeper.

The seals were given to Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, then in great esteem, which he did not maintain long after his advancement. His study and practice lay so intirely in the Common law, that he never seemed to apprehend what equity was: Nor had he a head made for business, or for such a Court. He was a man of great integrity, and had very serious impressions of religion on his mind. He had been always on the side of the Church: Yet he had great tenderness for the Non-conformists: And, the Bishops having all declared for Lord Clarendon, except one or two, he and the new scene of the Ministry were inclined to favour them. The Duke of Buckingham, who had been in high disgrace before Lord Clarendon's fall, came upon that into high favour, and set up for a patron of liberty of conscience, and of all the sects. The See of Chester happened to fall vacant soon after: And Doctor Wilkin was by his means promoted to that See. It was no small prejudice to him, that he was recommended by so bad a man. Wilkins had a courage in him that could stand against a current, and against all the reproaches with which ill-natured Clergymen studied to load him. He said, he was called for by the King, without any motion of his own, to a publick station, in which he would endeavour to do all the good he could, without considering the ill effects that it might have on himself.

1667. ſelf. The King had ſuch a command of himſelf, that when his intereſt led him to ſerve any end, or to court any ſort of men, he did it ſo dextrouſly, and with ſuch an air of ſincerity, that till men were well practiſed in him, he was apt to impoſe on them. He ſeemed now to go into moderation and comprehenſion with ſo much heartineſs, that both Bridgman and Wilkins believed he was in earneſt in it: Tho' there was nothing that the Popiſh counſels were more fixed in, than to oppoſe all motions of that kind. But the King ſaw, it was neceſſary to recover the affections of his people. And, ſince the Church of England was now gone off from him, upon Lord Clarendon's diſgrace, he reſolved to ſhew ſome favour to the ſects, both to ſoften them, and to force the others to come back to their dependence upon him.

The French King's pretenſions to Flanders.

He began alſo to expreſs his concerns in the affairs of Europe: And he brought about the peace between Spain and Portugal. The French King pretended, that by the law of Brabant his Queen, as the heir of the late King of Spain's firſt marriage, tho' a daughter, was to be preferred to the young King of Spain, the heir of the ſecond venter, without any regard to the renunciation of any ſucceſſion to his Queen, ſtipulated by the peace of the Pyrenees; and was upon that pretenſion like to overrun the Netherlands. Temple was ſent over to enter into an alliance with the Dutch, by which ſome parts of Flanders were yielded up to France, but a barrier was preſerved for the ſecurity of Holland. Into this the King of Sweden, then a child, was engaged: So it was called the Triple Alliance. I will ſay no more of that ſince ſo particular an account is given of it by him, who could do it beſt, Temple himſelf. It was certainly the maſterpiece of King Charles's life: And, if he had ſtuck to it, it would have been both the ſtrength and the glory of his reign. This diſpoſed his people to forgive all that was paſs'd, and to renew their confidence in him,

which

which was much ſhaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war. 1667.

The Parliament were upon their firſt opening ſet on to deſtroy Lord Clarendon. Some of his friends went to him a few days before the Parliament met; and told him, many were at work to find out matter of accuſation againſt him. He beſt knew, what could be brought againſt him with any truth; for falſehood was infinite, and could not be gueſſed at. They deſired, he would truſt ſome of them with what might break out, ſince probably nothing could lye concealed againſt ſo ſtrict a ſearch. And the method in which his friends muſt manage for him, if there was any mixture or allay in him, was to be very different from that they could uſe, if he was ſure that nothing could be brought out againſt him. The Lord Burlington and Biſhop Morley both told me, they talked to this purpoſe to him. Lord Clarendon upon that told them, that, if either in matters of juſtice, or in any negotiations abroad, he had ever received a farthing, he gave them leave to diſown all friendſhip to him. The French King hearing he had ſent for all the books of the Louvre impreſſion, had ſent theſe to him, which he took, as thinking it a trifle, as indeed it was: And this was the only preſent he ever had from any foreign prince: He had never taken any thing by virtue of his office, but that which his predeceſſors had claimed as a right. But now a hue and cry was ſent out againſt him: And all perſons, who had heard him ſay any thing that could bear an ill conſtruction, were examined. Some thought, they had matters of great weight againſt him: And, when they were told theſe would not amount to high treaſon, they deſired to know what would amount to it. Clarendon's integrity.

When twenty three articles were brought into the Houſe againſt him, the next day he deſired his ſecond ſon, the now Earl of Rocheſter, to acquaint the Houſe, that he, hearing what articles were brought againſt him, did in order to the diſpatch He was impeached in the Houſe of Commons.

1667. of the buſineſs, deſire that thoſe, who knew beſt what their evidence was, would ſingle out any one of the articles, that they thought could be beſt proved; and, if they could prove that, he would ſubmit to the cenſure due upon them all. But thoſe, who had the ſecret of this in their hands, and knew they could make nothing of it, reſolved to put the matter upon a preliminary, in which they hoped to find cauſe to hang up the whole affair, and fix upon the Lords the denial of juſtice. So, according to ſome few and late precedents, they ſent up a general impeachment to the Lords bar of high treaſon, without any ſpecial matter; and demanded, that upon that he might be committed to priſon. They had reaſon to believe the Lords would not grant this: And therefore they reſolved to inſiſt on it; and reckoned, that, when ſo much money was to be given, the King would prevail with the Lords. Upon this occaſion it appeared, that the private animoſities of a Court could carry them to eſtabliſh the moſt deſtructive precedent, that could have been thought on. For if this had paſs'd, then every Miniſter upon a general impeachment was to be ruined, tho' no ſpecial matter was laid againſt him. Yet the King himſelf preſſed this vehemently. It was ſaid, the very ſuſpicions of a Houſe of Commons, eſpecially ſuch a one as this was, was enough to blaſt a man, and to have him ſecured: For there was reaſon to think, that every perſon ſo charged would run away, if at liberty. Lord Clarendon's enemies had now gone far: They thought, they were not ſafe till his head was off: And they apprehended, that, if he were once in priſon, it would be eaſy either to find, or at leaſt to bring witneſſes againſt him. This matter is all in print: So I will go no farther in the particulars. The Duke was at this time taken with the ſmall-pox: So he was out of the whole debate. The Peers thought, that a general accuſation was only a clamour, and that their dignities ſignified little, if a clamour was enough

enough to send them to prison. All the Earl of Clarendon's friends pressed the King much on his behalf, that he might be suffered to go off gently, and without censure, since he had served both his father and himself so long, so faithfully, and with such success. But the King was now so sharpened against him, that, tho' he named no particulars, he expressed a violent and irreconcilable aversion to him; which did the King much hurt, in the opinion of all that were not engaged in the party. The affair of the King's marriage was the most talked of, as that which indeed was the only thing, that could in any sort justify such a severity. Lord Clarendon did protest, as some that had it from himself told me, that he had no other hand in that matter, than as a Counsellor: And in that he appealed to the King himself. After many debates, and conferences, and protestations, in which the whole Court went in visibly to that, which was plainly destructive both to the King and to the Ministry, the majority of the House stood firm, and adhered to their first resolution against commitment. The Commons were upon that like to carry the matter far against the Peers, as denying justice. The King seeing this spoke to the Duke, to persuade Lord Clarendon to go beyond sea, as the only expedient that was left, to make up the breach between the two Houses: And he let fall some words of kindness, in case he should comply with this. The Earl of Clarendon was all obedience and submission; and was charmed with those tender words, that the King had said of him. So, partly to serve the King, and save himself and his family, but chiefly that he might not be the occasion of any difference between the King and the Duke, who had heartily espoused his interest, he went privately beyond sea; and writ a letter from Calais to the House of Lords, protesting his innocence in all the points objected to him, and that he had not gone out of the Kingdom for fear, or out of any consciousness of guilt, but

1667.

The King desired he would go beyond sea.

1667. only that he might not be the unhappy occaſion of any difference between the two Houſes, or of obſtructing publick buſineſs. This put an end to the diſpute. But his enemies called it a confeſſion of guilt, and a flying from juſtice: Such colours will people give to the moſt innocent actions.

He was baniſhed by Act of Parliament.

A Bill was brought in, baniſhing him the King's dominions under pain of treaſon if he ſhould return: And it was made treaſon to correſpond with him, without leave from the King. This Act did not paſs without much oppoſition. It was ſaid, there was a known courſe of law when any man fled from juſtice: And it ſeemed againſt the common courſe of juſtice, to make all correſponding with him treaſon, when he himſelf was not attainted of treaſon; Nor could it be juſt to baniſh him, unleſs a day were given him to come in: And then, if he did not come in, he might incur the puniſhment upon contempt. The Duke, whom the King had employed, to prevail with him to withdraw himſelf, thought he was bound in honour to preſs the matter home on the King; which he did ſo warmly, that for ſome time a coldneſs between them was very viſible. The part the King had acted in this matter came to be known; and was much cenſured, as there was juſt cauſe for it. The vehemence that he ſhewed in this whole matter was imputed by many to very different cauſes. Thoſe who knew him beſt, but eſteemed him leaſt, ſaid to me on this occaſion, that all the indignation, that appeared in him on this head, was founded on no reaſon at all; but was an effect of that eaſineſs, or rather lazineſs of nature, that made him comply with every perſon that had the greateſt credit with him. The Miſtreſs, and the whole Bedchamber, were perpetually railing at him. This by a ſort of infection poſſeſſed the King, who, without giving himſelf the trouble of much thinking, did commonly go into any thing that was at the preſent time the eaſieſt, without conſidering

what

what might at any other time follow on it. Thus the Lord Clarendon fell under the common fate of great Miniſters; whoſe employment expoſes them to envy, and draws upon them the indignation of all, who are diſappointed in their pretenſions. Their friends do generally ſhew, that they are only the friends of their fortunes: And upon the change of favour they not only forſake them in their extremity, but, that they may ſecure to themſelves the protection of a new favourite, they will labour to redeem all that is paſs'd, by turning as violently againſt them, as they formerly fawned abjectly upon them: And Princes are ſo little ſenſible of merit or great ſervices, that they ſacrifice their beſt ſervants, not only when their affairs ſeem to require it, but to gratify the humour of a miſtreſs, or the paſſion of a riſing favourite. 1667.

The character of his two ſons.

I will end this relation of Lord Clarendon's fall with an account of his two ſons. The eldeſt, now the Earl of Clarendon, is a man naturally ſincere: He is a friendly and good natured man. He keeps an exact journal of all that paſſes, and is punctual to tediouſneſs in all that he relates. He was very early engaged in great ſecrets: For his father, apprehending of what fatal conſequence it would have been to the King's affairs, if his correſpondence had been diſcovered by unfaithful Secretaries, engaged him when very young to write all his letters to England in cypher, ſo that he was generally half the day writing in cypher, or decyphering, and was ſo diſcreet, as well as faithful, that nothing was ever diſcovered by him. He continued to be ſtill the perſon whom his father truſted moſt: And was the moſt beloved of all the family; for he was humble and obliging, tho' ſometimes peeviſh. His judgment was not to be much depended on; for he was much carried away by vulgar prejudices, and falſe notions. He was much in the Queen's favour, and was her Chamberlain long. His father's being ſo violently proſecuted on the account of her marriage, made

1667. made that ſhe thought herſelf bound to protect him in a particular manner. He was ſo provoked at the ill uſage his father met with, that he ſtruck in violently with the party that oppoſed the Court: And the King ſpoke always of him with great ſharpneſs, and much ſcorn. His brother, now Earl of Rocheſter, is a man of far greater parts. He has a very good pen, but ſpeaks not gracefully. He was thought the ſmootheſt man in the Court: And during all the diſpute concerning his father, he made his Court ſo dextrouſly, that no reſentments ever appeared on that head. When he came into buſineſs, and roſe to high poſts, he grew violent: But was thought an incorrupt man. He has high notions of Government, and thinks it muſt be maintained with great ſeverity. He delivers up his own notions to his party, that he may lead them. He paſſes for a ſincere man, and ſeems to have too much heat to be falſe. Morley was long Dean of the Chapel: But he ſtuck ſo to the Lord Clarendon, that he was ſent into his dioceſe: And Crofts Biſhop of Hereford was made Dean in his room. Crofts was a warm devout man, but of no diſcretion in his conduct: So he loſt ground quickly. He uſed much freedom with the King; but it was in the wrong place, not in private, but in the pulpit.

The King was much offended with the Biſhops.

The King was highly offended at the behaviour of moſt of the Biſhops: And he took occaſion to vent it at the Council-board. Upon the complaints that were made of ſome diſorders, and of ſome Conventicles, he ſaid, the Clergy were chiefly to blame for theſe diſorders; for if they had lived well, and had gone about their pariſhes, and taken pains to convince the Non-conformiſts, the Nation might have been by that time well ſettled. But they thought of nothing, but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table. This I read in a letter that Sir Robert Murray writ down to Scotland: And it

agrees

agrees with a converſation, that the King was pleaſed to have with my ſelf once, when I was alone with him in his cloſet. While we were talking of the ill ſtate the Church was in, I was ſtruck to hear a Prince of his courſe of life ſo much diſguſted at the ambition, covetouſneſs, and the ſcandals of the Clergy. He ſaid, if the Clergy had done their part, it had been an eaſy thing to run down the Non-conformiſts: But he added, they will do nothing, and will have me do every thing: And moſt of them do worſe than if they did nothing. He told me, he had a Chaplain, that was a very honeſt man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in Suffolk, that was full of that ſort of people: He had gone about among them from houſe to houſe; tho' he could not imagine what he could ſay to them; for he ſaid he was a very ſilly Fellow: But that, he believed, his nonſenſe ſuited their nonſenſe, for he had brought them all to Church: And, in reward of his diligence, he had given him a Biſhoprick in Ireland. 1667.

Bridgman and Wilkins ſet on foot a treaty, for a comprehenſion of ſuch of the Diſſenters as could be brought into the communion of the Church, and a toleration of the reſt. Hale, then Chief Juſtice, concurred with them in the deſign. Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, and Burton joined alſo in it. Bates, Manton, and Baxter were called for on the ſide of the Preſbyterians. And a project was prepared, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe things that the King had promiſed by his declaration in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was propoſed, that thoſe who had Preſbyterian ordination ſhould be received to ſerve in the Church by an impoſition of hands, accompanied with words which imported, that the perſon ſo ordained was received to ſerve as a Miniſter in the Church of England. This treaty became a common ſubject of diſcourſe. All Lord Clarendon's friends cried out, that the Church 1668. A treaty for a comprehenſion of the Preſbyterians.

1668. Church was undermined and betrayed: It was ſaid, the cauſe of the Church was given up, if we yielded any of thoſe points, about which there had been ſo much diſputing: If the Sectaries were humble and modeſt, and would tell what would ſatisfy them, there might be ſome colour for granting ſome conceſſions: But it was unworthy of the Church to go and court, or treat with enemies; when there was no reaſon to think, that after we had departed from our grounds, which was to confeſs we had been in the wrong, that we ſhould gain much by it, unleſs it was to bring ſcorn and contempt on our ſelves. On the other hand it was ſaid, the Non-conformiſts could not legally meet together, to offer any ſchemes in the name of their party: It was well enough known, what they had always excepted to, and what would probably bring over moſt of the Preſbyterians: Such a yielding in ſome leſſer matters would be no reproach, but an honour to the Church; that, how much ſoever ſhe might be ſuperiour, both in point of argument and of power, ſhe would yet of her own accord, and for peace ſake, yield a great deal in matters indifferent: The Apoſtles complying with many of the obſervances of the Jews, and the offers that the Church of Africk made to the Donatiſts, were much inſiſted on: The fears of Popery, and the progreſs that Atheiſm was making, did alarm good and wiſe men: And they thought, every thing that could be done without ſin, ought to be done towards the healing our diviſions. Many books were upon that account writ, to expoſe the Preſbyterians, as men of falſe notions in religion, which led to Antinomianiſm, and which would ſoon carry them into a diſſolution of morals, under a pretence of being juſtifyed by faith only, without works. The three volumes of the Friendly Debate, tho' writ by a very good man, and with a good intent, had an ill effect in ſharpening peoples ſpirits too much againſt them. But the moſt virulent of all that writ againſt the

sects was Parker, afterwards made Bishop of Oxford by King James; who was full of satyrical vivacity, and was considerably learned; but was a man of no judgment, and of as little virtue, and as to religion rather impious. After he had for some years entertained the Nation with several virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age, who writ in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that, from the King down to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure. That not only humbled Parker, but the whole party: For the author of the Rehearsal Transprosed had all the men of wit (or, as the French phrase it, all the Laughers) on his side. But what advantages soever the men of comprehension might have in any other respect, the majority of the House of Commons was so possessed against them, that when it was known in a succeeding session, that a bill was ready to be offered to the House for that end, a very extraordinary vote pass'd, that no bill to that purpose should be received. 1668.

The City of London rebuilt.

An Act pass'd in this session for rebuilding the City of London, which gave Lord Chief Justice Hale a great reputation: For it was drawn with so true a judgment, and so great foresight, that the whole City was raised out of its ashes, without any suits of law; which, if that bill had not prevented them, would have brought a second charge on the City, not much less than the fire it self had been. And upon that, to the amazement of all Europe, London was in four years time rebuilt, with so much beauty and magnificence, that we who saw it in both states, before and after the fire, cannot reflect on it without wondring where the wealth could be found, to bear so vast a loss as was made by the fire, and so prodigious an expence as was laid out in the rebuilding it. This did demonstrate, that the intrinsick wealth of the Nation was very high, when it could answer such a dead charge.

I return

1668. I return to the intrigues of the Court. Lord Clarendon's enemies thought they were not safe, as long as the Duke had so much credit with the King, and the Dutchess had so much power over him: So they fell on propositions of a strange nature to ruin them. The Duke of Buckingham pressed the King to own a marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother: And he undertook to get witnesses to attest it. The Duke of York told me, in general, that there was much talk about it: But he did not descend to particulars. The Earl of Carlisle offered to begin the matter in the House of Lords. The King would not consent to this: Yet he put it by in such a manner, as made them all conclude, he wished it might be done, but did not know how to bring it about. These discourses were all carried to the Duke of Monmouth, and got fatally into his head. When the Duke talked of this matter to me in the year seventy three, I asked him, if he thought that the King had still the same inclinations? He said he believed not: He thought, the Duke of Monmouth had not spirit enough to think of it: And he commended the Dutchess of Monmouth so highly as to say to me, that the hopes of a Crown could not work on her to do an unjust thing. I thought he gave that matter too much countenance, by calling the Duke of Monmouth nephew: But he said, it pleased the King. When the party saw they could make nothing of the business of the Duke of Monmouth, they tried next by what methods they could get rid of the Queen; that so the King might marry another wife: For the King had children by so many different creatures, that they hoped for issue, if he had a wife capable of any. Some thought, the Queen and he were not legally married: But the avowing a marriage, and the living many years in that state, did certainly supply any defect in point of form. Others pretended, she was barren from a natural cause, and that seemed equivalent to impo-

Designs for putting away the Queen.

tence in men. But the King often said, he was sure she had once miscarried. This, tho' not overthrown by such an evidence, could never be proved; unless the having no children was to be concluded a barrenness: And the dissolving a marriage on such an account could neither be justifyed in law nor conscience. Other stories were given out of the Queen's person, which were false: For I saw in a letter under the King's own hand, that the marriage was consummated. Others talked of polygamy: And officious persons were ready to thrust themselves into any thing, that could contribute to their advancement. Lord Lauderdale and Sir Robert Murray asked my opinion of these things. I said, I knew speculative people could say a great deal, in the way of argument for polygamy, and divorce: Yet these things were so decried, that they were rejected by all Christian societies: So that all such propositions would throw us into great convulsions; and entail war upon us, if any issue came from a marriage so grounded. 1668.

A divorce enacted for adultery.

An accident happened at that time, that made the discoursing of those matters the common subject of conversation. The Lord Roos, afterwards Earl of Rutland, brought proofs of adultery against his wife; and obtained a sentence of divorce in the Spiritual Court: Which amounting only to a separation from bed and board, he moved for a bill dissolving the bond, and enabling him to marry another wife. The Duke and all his party apprehended the consequences of a Parliamentary divorce: So they opposed this with great heat: And almost all the Bishops were of that side: Only Cosins and Wilkins, the Bishops of Durham and Chester, were for it. And the King was as earnest in the setting it on, as the Duke was in opposing it. The zeal which the two brothers expressed on that occasion made all people conclude, that they had a particular concern in the matter. The bill pass'd: And upon that precedent some moved the King, that he would

1668. would order a bill to be brought in to divorce him from the Queen. This went so far, that a day was agreed on for making the motion in the House of Commons, as Mr. May of the privy purse told me; (who had the greatest and longest share in the King's secret confidence of any man in that time; for it was never broke off, tho' often shaken, he being in his notions against every thing that the King was for, both France, Popery, and arbitrary government; but a particular sympathy of temper, and his serving the King in his vices, created a confidence much envied, and often attempted to be broke, but never with any success beyond a short coldness:) But he added, when he told me of this design, that three days before the motion was to be made, the King called for him, and told him, that matter must be let alone, for it would not do. This disturbed him much; for he had engaged himself far in laying the thing, and in managing those who were to undertake the debate.

A great dissolution of morals in Court.

At this time the Court fell into much extravagance in masquerading, both King and Queen, and all the Court, went about masked, and came into houses unknown, and danced there with a great deal of wild frolick. In all this people were so disguised, that without being in the secret none could distinguish them. They were carried about in hackney chairs. Once the Queen's chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her: So she was alone, and was much disturbed, and came to Whitehall in a hackney coach: Some say it was in a cart. The Duke of Buckingham proposed to the King, that he would give him leave to steal her away, and send her to a plantation, where she should be well and carefully looked to, but never heard of any more: So it should be given out, that she had deserted: And upon that it would fall in with some principles to carry an act for a divorce, grounded upon the pretence of a wilful desertion. Sir Robert Murray told me, that the King himself rejected this

this with horror. He ſaid, it was a wicked thing to make a poor lady miſerable, only becauſe ſhe was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. The hints of this broke out: For the Duke of Buckingham could conceal nothing. And upon that the Earl of Mancheſter, then Lord Chamberlain, told the Queen, it was neither decent, nor ſafe for her to go about in ſuch a manner as ſhe had done of late: So ſhe gave it over. But at laſt all theſe ſchemes ſettled in a propoſition, into which the King went; which was to deal with the Queen's confeſſor, that he might perſuade her to leave the world, and to turn religious: Upon which the Parliament would have been eaſily prevailed on to paſs a divorce. This came to be known: But what ſteps were made in it were never known. It was believed, that upon this the Dutcheſs of York ſent an expreſs to Rome with the notice of her converſion; and that orders were ſent from Rome to all about the Queen to perſuade her againſt ſuch a propoſition, if any ſhould ſuggeſt it to her. She herſelf had no mind to be a Nun: And the Dutcheſs was afraid of ſeeing another Queen: And the Miſtreſs created at that time Dutcheſs of Cleveland, knew that ſhe muſt be the firſt ſacrifice to a beloved Queen: And ſhe reconciled herſelf upon this to the Dutcheſs of York. The Duke of Buckingham upon that broke with her, and ſtudied to take the King from her by new amours: And becauſe he thought a gaity of humour would take much with the King, he engaged him to entertain two players one after another, Davies and Gwyn. The firſt did not keep her hold long: But Gwyn, the indiſcreeteſt and wildeſt creature that ever was in a Court, continued to the end of the King's life in great favour, and was maintained at a vaſt expence. The Duke of Buckingham told me, that when ſhe was firſt brought to the King, ſhe aſked only five hundred pounds a year; And the King refuſed it. But when he told me this, 1668.

1668. about four years after, he said, she had got of the King above sixty thousand pounds. She acted all persons in so lively a manner, and was such a constant diversion to the King, that even a new mistress could not drive her away. But after all he never treated her with the decencies of a mistress. The King had another mistress, that was managed by Lord Shaftsbury, who was the daughter of a Clergyman, Roberts; in whom her first education had so deep a root, that, tho' she fell into many scandalous disorders, with very dismal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion was so deep laid in her, that, tho' it did not restrain her, yet it kept alive in her such a constant horror at sin, that she was never easy in an ill course, and died with a great sense of her former ill life. I was often with her the last three months of her life. The Dutchess of Cleveland, finding that she had lost the King, abandoned herself to great disorders: One of which, by the artifice of the Duke of Buckingham, was discovered by the King in person, the party concerned leaping out of the window. She also spoke of the King to all people in such a manner, as brought him under much contempt. But he seemed insensible: And tho' libels of all sorts had then a very free course, yet he was never disturbed at it.

Many libels writ by the best wits of that time.

The three most eminent wits of that time, on whom all the lively libels were fastened, were the Earls of Dorset, and Rochester, and Sir Charles Sidley. Lord Dorset was a generous good natured man. He was so oppressed with phlegm, that till he was a little heated with wine he scarce ever spoke: But he was upon that exaltation a very lively man. Never was so much ill nature in a pen as in his, joined with so much good nature as was in himself, even to excess; for he was against all punishing, even of malefactors. He was bountiful, even to run himself into difficulties: And charitable to a fault; for he commonly gave all he had about him, when he met an object that moved him. But he was so

so lazy, that, tho' the King seemed to court him to be a favourite, he would not give himself the trouble that belonged to that post. He hated the Court, and despised the King, when he saw he was neither generous, nor tender hearted. Wilmot Earl of Rochester, was naturally modest, till the Court corrupted him. His wit had in it a peculiar brightness, to which none could ever arrive. He gave himself up to all sorts of extravagance, and to the wildest frolicks that a wanton wit could devise. He would have gone about the streets as a beggar, and made love as a porter. He set up a stage as an Italian mountebank. He was for some years always drunk, and was ever doing some mischief. The King loved his company for the diversion it afforded, better than his person: And there was no love lost between them. He took his revenges in many libels. He found out a footman that knew all the Court, and he furnished him with a red coat and a musket as a centinel, and kept him all the winter long every night, at the doors of such ladies, as he believed might be in intrigues. In the Court a centinel is little minded, and is believed to be posted by a captain of the Guards to hinder a combat: So this man saw who walked about, and visited at forbidden hours. By this means Lord Rochester made many discoveries. And when he was well furnished with materials, he used to retire into the country for a month or two to write libels: Once being drunk he intended to give the King a libel that he had writ on some ladies: But by a mistake he gave him one written on himself. He fell into an ill habit of body: And in several fits of sickness he had deep remorses; for he was guilty both of much impiety, and of great immoralities. But as he recovered he threw these off, and turned again to his former ill courses. In the last year of his life I was much with him, and have writ a book of what pass'd between him and me. I do verily believe, he was then so entirely changed, that, if he 1668.

1668. had recovered, he would have made good all his resolutions. Sidley had a more ſudden and copious wit, which furniſhed a perpetual run of diſcourſe: But he was not ſo correct as Lord Dorſet, nor ſo ſparkling as Lord Rocheſter. The Duke of Buckingham loved to have theſe much about him: And he gave himſelf up to a monſtrous courſe of ſtudied immoralities of the worſt kinds: He was ſo full of mercury, that he could not fix long in any friendſhip, or to any deſign. Bennet, now made Lord Arlington, and he fell out: Bennet was all cunning and artifice, and ſo could not hold long with him, who was ſo open that he diſcloſed every thing. Lord Arlington was engaged in a great intimacy with Clifford, Littletoun, and Duncomb. I have already given ſome account of the two firſt. Duncomb was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raiſe enemies againſt himſelf: He was an able Parliament man: But could not go into all the deſigns of the Court; for he had a ſenſe of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country. The Duke of Buckingham's chief friends were the Earls of Shaftſbury and Lauderdale, but above all Sir Thomas Oſborn, raiſed afterwards to be Lord Treaſurer and Earl of Danby, and ſince made Duke of Leeds by the late King.

Sir William Coventry's character.

The King took Sir William Coventry from the Duke, and put him in the Treaſury. He was in a fair way to be the chief Miniſter, and deſerved it more than all the reſt did. But he was too honeſt to engage in the deſigns, into which the Court was reſolved to go, as ſoon as it had recovered a little reputation; which was ſunk very low by the ill management of the Dutch war, and the ſquandring away of the money given for it. He was a man of the fineſt and the beſt temper that belonged to the Court. The Duke of Buckingham and he fell out, I know not for what reaſon: And a challenge paſs'd between them, upon which Coventry was forbid the Court. And he upon that ſeemed to retire very willingly:

willingly: And he was become a very religious man when I knew him. He was offered after that the beſt poſts in the Court, oftner than once: But he would never engage again. He ſaw what was at bottom, and was reſolved not to go through with it; and ſo continued to his death in a retired courſe of life. 1668.

The Duke of Ormond continued ſtill in the Government of Ireland, tho' ſeveral intereſts joined together againſt him. The Earls of Orrery and Ranelagh on the one hand, and Talbot on the other. Lord Orrery loved to appear in buſineſs; but dealt ſo much under hand, that he had not much credit with any ſide. Lord Ranelagh was a young man of great parts, and as great vices: He had a pleaſantneſs in his converſation that took much with the King, and had a great dexterity in buſineſs. Many complaints were ſecretly brought againſt the Duke of Ormond. The King loved him: And he accommodated himſelf much to the King's humour. Yet the King was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to put an end to his government of Ireland, and to put Lord Roberts, afterwards made Earl of Radnor, in his place; who was a moroſe man, believed to be ſeverely juſt, and as wiſe as a cynical humour could allow him to be. The manner of removing the Duke of Ormond will give a particular character of the King's temper. He ſent Lord Arlington to him for his commiſſion. The Duke of Ormond ſaid, he had received it from the King's own hands, and he would go and deliver it to him. When he carried it to the King, the King denied he had ſent him any ſuch meſſage. Two days after that Lord Arlington was ſent again with the ſame meſſage: And he had the ſame anſwer: And the King diſowned it again to the Duke. So the King declared in the Privy Council the change of the Government of Ireland, and made Roberts Lord Lieutenant. And it flew abroad as a piece of news. The Duke of Ormond hearing that, came to the

The Government of Ireland changed.

1668. King in great warmth, to expoſtulate upon it. But the King denied the whole thing, and ſent him away: But he ſent for Fitzpatrick, who had married his ſiſter, and who told me the whole ſtory, and ſent him to the Duke of Ormond, to tell him, the King had denied the matter, tho' it was true, for he obſerved he was in ſuch a heat, that he was afraid he might have ſaid indecent things: And he was reſolved not to fall out with him: For, tho' his affairs made it neceſſary to change the Government of Ireland, yet he would ſtill be kind to him, and continue him Lord Steward. Lord Radnor did not continue long in Ireland: He was cynical in his whole adminiſtration, and uneaſy to the King in every thing: And in one of his peeviſh humours he writ to the King, that he had but one thing to aſk of him, which if it might be granted, he would never aſk another, and that was to be diſcharged of his employment. The Lord Berkley ſucceeded him, who was brother to the Lord Fitzharding, and from ſmall beginnings had riſen up to the greateſt poſt a ſubject was capable of. In the war he was Governour of Exeter for the King, and one of his Generals. He was named by him Governour to the Duke of York. He was now made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and afterwards ſent Ambaſſadour to France, and Plenipotentiary to Nimeguen. He was a man in whom it appeared with how little true judgment Courts diſtribute favours and honours. He had a poſitive way of undertaking and determining in every thing, but was a very weak man, and not incorrupt.

The Committee of Brookhouſe.

The Court delivered itſelf up to vice. And the Houſe of Commons loſt all reſpect in the Nation; for they gave ſtill all the money that was aſked. Yet thoſe who oppoſed the Court carried one great point, that a Committee ſhould be named to examine the accounts of the money that was given during the Dutch war. It was carried, that they ſhould be all men out of the Houſe. Lord Brereton

reton was the chief of them, and had the chair. 1668.
He was a philoſophical man, and was all his life long in ſearch of the philoſophers ſtone, by which he neglected his own affairs; but was a man of great integrity, and was not to be gained by the flatteries, hopes, or threatnings of the Court. Sir William Turner was another of the Committee, who had been Lord Mayor of London the former year, under whoſe wiſe and juſt adminiſtration the rebuilding of the City advanced ſo faſt, that he would have been choſen Lord Mayor for the enſuing year, if he had not declined it. Pierpoint was likewiſe of this Committee: So was Sir James Langham, a very weak man, famed only for his readineſs of ſpeaking florid Latin, which he had attained to a degree beyond any man of the age; but his ſtyle was too poetical, and full of Epithets and Figures.

Halifax's character.

I name Sir George Saville laſt, becauſe he deſerves a more copious character. He roſe afterwards to be Viſcount, Earl, and Marquis of Halifax. He was a man of a great and ready wit; full of life, and very pleaſant; much turned to ſatyr. He let his wit run much on matters of religion: So that he paſſed for a bold and determined Atheiſt; tho' he often proteſted to me, he was not one; and ſaid, he believed there was not one in the world: He confeſſed, he could not ſwallow down every thing that divines impoſed on the world: He was a Chriſtian in ſubmiſſion: He believed as much as he could, and he hoped that God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not diſgeſt iron, as an oſtrich did, nor take into his belief things that muſt burſt him: If he had any ſcruples, they were not ſought far, nor cheriſhed by him; for he never read an atheiſtical book. In a fit of ſickneſs, I knew him very much touched with a ſenſe of religion. I was then often with him. He ſeemed full of good purpoſes: But they went off with his ſickneſs. He was always talking of morality and friendſhip. He

1668. was punctual in all payments, and just in all his private dealings. But, with relation to the publick, he went backwards and forwards, and changed sides so often, that in conclusion no side trusted him. He seemed full of Common-wealth notions: Yet he went into the worst part of King Charles's reign. The liveliness of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A severe jest was preferred by him to all arguments whatsoever. And he was endless in consultations: For when after much discourse a point was settled, if he could find a new jest, to make even that which was suggested by himself seem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would study to raise the credit of his wit, tho' it made others call his judgment in question. When he talked to me as a philosopher of his contempt of the world, I asked him, what he meant by getting so many new titles, which I call'd the hanging himself about with bells and tinsel. He had no other excuse for it, but this, that, since the world were such fools as to value those matters, a man must be a fool for company: He considered them but as rattles: Yet rattles please children: So these might be of use to his family. His heart was much set on raising his family. But, tho' he made a vast estate for them, he buried two of his sons himself, and almost all his grandchildren. The son that survived was an honest man, but far inferior to him. I do not remember who besides these were of that Committee, which because it sate in Brook-house, was called by the name of that house.

1669. The Court was much troubled to see an enquiry of this kind set on foot. It was said, the King was basely treated, when all his expence was to be looked into. On the other hand it was answered, that the Parliament did not look into his revenue, but only to the distribution of that treasure that was trusted to him for carrying on the war. I was told, that, after all the most shameful items that could be

Many Parliament men gained by the Court.

be put into an account, there was none offered for about 800000l. But I was not then in England: So I was very imperfectly informed as to this matter. The chief men that promoted this were taken off, (as the word then was for corrupting members,) in which the Court made so great a progress, that it was thought the King could never have been prevailed on, to part with a Parliament so much practised on, and where every man's price was known; for as a man rose in his credit in the House, he raised his price, and expected to be treated accordingly. In all this enquiry the carelessness and luxury of the Court came to be so muc[illegible]xposed, that the King's spirit was much sharpened upon it. All the flatterers about him magnified foreign governments, where the Princes were absolute, that in France more particularly. Many to please him said, it was a very easy thing to shake off the restraints of law, if the King would but set about it. The Crown of Denmark was elective, and subject to a Senate, and yet was in one day, without any visible force, changed to be both hereditary and absolute, no rebellion nor convulsion of state following on it. The King loved the project in general; but would not give himself the trouble of laying or managing it. And therefore, till his affairs were made easier, and the project grew clearer, he resolved to keep all things close within himself; and went on in the common maxim, to balance party against party, and by doing popular things to get money of his Parliament, under the pretence of supporting the Triple Alliance. So money-bills passed easily in the House of Commons: Which by a strange reverse came to be opposed in the House of Lords; who began to complain, that the money-bills came up so thick, that it was said, there was no end of their giving. End signifying purpose, as well as a measure, this pass'd as a severe jest at that time. Sir John Coventry made a gross reflection on the King's amours. He was one of those who

1669.

1669. who ſtruggled much againſt the giving money. The common method is: After thoſe who oppoſe ſuch bills fail in the main vote, the next thing they endeavour is, to lay the money on funds that will be unacceptable, and will prove deficient. So theſe men propoſed the laying a tax on the Play-houſes, which in ſo diſſolute a time were become neſts of proſtitution. And the ſtage was defiled beyond all example, Dryden, the great maſter of Dramatick Poeſy, being a monſter of immodeſty, and of impurity of all ſorts*. This was oppoſed by the Court: It was ſaid, the Players were the King's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Coventry aſked, whether did the King's pleaſure lie among the men, or the women that acted? This was carried with great indignation to the Court. It was ſaid, this was the firſt time that the King was perſonally reflected on: If it was paſſed over, more of the ſame kind would follow; and it would grow a faſhion to talk ſo: It was therefore fit to take ſuch ſevere notice of this, that no body ſhould dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of York told me, he ſaid all he could to the King to divert him from the reſolution he took; which was to ſend ſome of the Guards, and watch in the ſtreets where Sir John lodged, and leave a mark upon him. Sands and Obrian, and ſome others, went thither: And as Coventry was going home, they drew about him. He ſtood up to the wall, and ſnatched the flambeau out of his ſervant's hands: And with that in one hand, and his ſword in the other, he defended himſelf ſo well, that he got more credit by it, than by all the actions of his life. He wounded ſome of them; but was ſoon diſarmed: And then they cut his noſe to the bone, to teach him to remember what reſpect he owed to the King: And ſo they left

Coventry's noſe was cut.

* This muſt be underſtood of his performances for the Stage, for as to his perſonal character, there was nothing remarkably vicious in it, but his plays are ſome of them, the fulleſt of obſcenity of any now extant.

him,

him, and went back to the Duke of Monmouth's, where Obrian's arm was dreſſed. That matter was executed by orders from the Duke of Monmouth: For which he was ſeverely cenſured, becauſe he lived then in profeſſions of friendſhip with Coventry; ſo that his ſubjection to the King was not thought an excuſe, for directing ſo vile an attempt on his friend, without ſending him ſecret notice of what was deſigned. Coventry had his noſe ſo well ſewed up, that the ſcar was ſcarce to be diſcerned. This put the Houſe of Commons in a furious uproar. They paſſed a bill of baniſhment againſt the actors of it; and put a clauſe in it, that it ſhould not be in the King's power to pardon them. This gave great advantages to all thoſe that oppoſed the Court: And was often remembred, and much improved, by all the angry men of this time. The names of the Court and Country party, which till now had ſeemed to be forgotten, were again revived. 1669.

A new proſecution of Conventicles.

When the City was pretty well rebuilt, they began to take care of the Churches, which had lain in aſhes ſome years. And in that time Conventicles abounded, in all the parts of the City. It was thought hard to hinder men from worſhipping God any way as they could, when there were no Churches, nor Miniſters to look after them. But they began to raiſe Churches of boards, till the publick allowance ſhould be raiſed towards the building the Churches. Theſe they called Tabernacles: And they fitted them up with pews and galleries as Churches. So now an Act was propoſed, reviving the former Act againſt Conventicles, with ſome new clauſes in it. One was very extraordinary, that if any doubt ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of any part of this Act, it was to be determined in the ſenſe that was the moſt contrary to Conventicles, it being the intention of the Houſe to repreſs them in the moſt effectual manner poſſible. The other was, the laying a heavy fine on ſuch Juſtices of the Peace, as ſhould not execute the law, when informations were

1669. were brought them. Upon this many, who would not be the inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities, left the bench, and would ſit there no longer. This Act was executed in the City very ſeverely in Starling's Mayoralty; and put things in ſuch diſorder, that many of the trading men of the City began to talk of removing with their ſtocks over to Holland. But the King ordered a ſtop to be put to farther ſeverities. Many of the ſects either diſcontinued their meetings, or held them very ſecretly with ſmall numbers, and not in hours of publick worſhip. Yet informers were encouraged, and were every where at work. The behaviour of the Quakers was more particular, and had ſomething in it that looked bold. They met at the ſame place, and at the ſame hour as before. And when they were ſeized, none of them would go out of the way: They went all together to priſon: They ſtaid there till they were diſmiſs'd; for they would not petition to be ſet at liberty, nor would they pay their fines ſet on them, nor ſo much as the jayl fees, calling theſe the wages of unrighteouſneſs. And as ſoon as they were let out, they went to their meeting houſes again: And, when they found theſe were ſhut up by order, they held their meetings in the ſtreets, before the doors of thoſe houſes. They ſaid, they would not diſown, or be aſhamed of their meeting together to worſhip God: But in imitation of Daniel they would do it the more publickly, becauſe they were forbidden the doing it. Some called this obſtinacy, while others called it firmneſs. But by it they carried their point: For the Government grew weary of dealing with ſo much perverſeneſs, and ſo began to let them alone.

The King went commonly to the Houſe of Lords.

The King had by this time got all the money that he expected from the Houſe of Commons, and that after great practice on both Lords and Commons. Many bones of contention were thrown in, to create differences between the two Houſes, to try if by both Houſes inſiſting on them the money bills might

might fall. But, to prevent all trouble from the Lords, the King was adviſed to go, and be preſent at all their debates. Lord Lauderdale valued himſelf to me on this advice, which he ſaid he gave. At firſt the King ſat decently on the throne, tho' even that was a great reſtraint on the freedom of debate; which had ſome effect for a while: Tho' afterwards many of the Lords ſeemed to ſpeak with the more boldneſs, becauſe, they ſaid, one heard it to whom they had no other acceſs but in that place; and they took the more liberty, becauſe what they had ſaid could not be reported wrong. The King, who was often weary of time, and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the Houſe, as a pleaſant diverſion. So he went conſtantly. And he quickly left the throne, and ſtood by the fire; which drew a croud about him, that broke all the decency of that Houſe: For before that time every Lord ſat regularly in his place: But the King's coming broke the order of their ſitting as became Senators. The King's going thither had a much worſe effect: For he became a common ſolicitor, not only in publick affairs, but even in private matters of juſtice. He would in a very little time have gone round the Houſe, and ſpoke to every man that he thought worth ſpeaking to. And he was apt to do that upon the ſolicitation of any of the Ladies in favour, or of any that had credit with them. He knew well on whom he could prevail: So being once in a matter of juſtice deſired to ſpeak to the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord Hollis, he ſaid, they were ſtiff and ſullen men: But when he was next deſired to ſolicit two others, he undertook to do it; and ſaid, they are men of no conſcience, ſo I will take the government of their conſcience into my own hands. Yet when any of the Lords told him plainly, that they could not vote as he deſired, he ſeemed to take it well from them. When the Act againſt Conventicles was debated in that Houſe, Wilkins argued long againſt it. 1669.

1669. it. The King was much for having it pass, not that he intended to execute it, but he was glad to have that body of men at mercy, and to force them to concur in the design for a general toleration. He spoke to Wilkins not to oppose it. He answered, he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy: Therefore, both as he was an English man, and a Bishop, he was bound to oppose it. The King then desired him not to come to the House while it depended. He said, by the law and constitution of England, and by his Majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote: And he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter, and to act pursuant to it. So he went on: And the King was not offended with his freedom. But tho' he bore with such a frank refusing to comply with his desire, yet if any had made him such general answers, as led him to believe they intended to be compliant, and had not in all things done as he expected, he called that a juggling with him; and he was apt to speak hardly of them on that account. No sooner was the King at ease, and had his fleet put in good case, and his stores and magazines well furnished, than he immediately fell to negotiating with France, both to ruin Holland, and to subvert the government of England. The Brook-house business, as well as the burning his fleet, stuck as deep as any thing could do in his heart. He resolved to revenge the one, and to free himself from the apprehensions of the others returning upon him: Tho' the House of Commons were so far practised on, that the report of Brook-house was let fall; and that matter was no more insisted on. Yet he abhorred the precedent, and the discoveries that had been made upon it.

The Prince of Orange came to the King.

The Prince of Orange came over to him in the winter 1669. He was then in the twentieth year of his age: So he came over, both to see how the King intended to pay the great debt that he owed

owed him, which had been contracted by his father on his account, and likewiſe to try what offices the King would do in order to his advancement to the Stadtholderſhip. The King treated him civilly. He aſſured him him he would pay the debt: But did not lay down any method of doing it: So theſe were only good words. He tryed the Prince, as the Prince himſelf told me, in point of religion: He ſpoke of all the Proteſtants as a factious body, broken among themſelves, ever ſince they had broken off from the main body; and wiſhed, that he would take more pains, and look into theſe things better, and not be led by his Dutch blockheads. The Prince told all this to Zuyleſteyn his natural uncle. They were both amazed at it; and wondered, how the King could truſt ſo great a ſecret, as his being a Papiſt, to ſo young a perſon. The Prince told me, that he never ſpoke of this to any other perſon, till after his death: But he carried it always in his own mind, and could not hinder himſelf from judging of all the King's intentions after that, from the diſcovery he had then made of his own ſentiments. Nor did he, upon his not complying with that propoſition, expect any real aſſiſtance of the King, but general interceſſions, which ſignifyed nothing: And that was all he obtained. 1669.

The affairs of Scotland.

So far have I carried on the thread of the affairs of England, down from the peace of Breda to the year 1670, in which the negotiation with the Court of France was ſet on foot. I am not ſure, that every thing is told in juſt order; becauſe I was all the while very much retired from the world and from company. But I am confident, I have given a true repreſentation of things; ſince I had moſt of theſe matters from perſons who knew them well, and who were not like to deceive me. But now I return to my own country, where the ſame ſpirit appeared in the adminiſtration.

The

1669. The King was now upon measures of moderation and comprehension: So these were also pursued in Scotland. Leightoun was the only person among the Bishops who declared for these methods: And he made no step without talking it over to me. A great many Churches were already vacant. The people fell off entirely from all the Episcopal Clergy in the western Counties: And a set of hot, fiery, young teachers went about among them, inflaming them more and more: So it was necessary to find a remedy for this. Leightoun proposed, that a treaty should be set on foot in order to the accommodating our differences, and for changing the laws that had carried the Episcopal authority much higher, than any of the Bishops themselves put in practice. He saw both Church and State were rent: Religion was like to be lost: Popery, or rather barbarity, was like to come in upon us: And therefore he proposed such a scheme, as he thought might have taken with the sobereſt men of Presbyterian principles; reckoning that, if the schism could be once healed, and order be once restored, it might be easy to bring things into such management, that the concessions then to be offered should do no great hurt in present, and should die with that generation. He observed the extraordinary concessions made by the African Church to the Donatists, who were every whit as wild and extravagant as our people were: Therefore he went indeed very far in the extenuating the Episcopal authority: But he thought, it would be easy afterwards, to recover what seemed necessary to be yielded at present.

A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in Scotland.

He proposed, that the Church should be governed by the Bishops and their Clergy, mixing together in the Church Judicatories; in which the Bishop should act only as a president, and be determined by the majority of his Presbyters, both in matters of jurisdiction and ordination: And that the Presbyterians should be allowed, when they sat down first in these Judicatories,

to declare, that their ſitting under a Biſhop was ſubmitted to by them only for peace ſake, with a reſervation of their opinion with relation to any ſuch preſidency: And that no negative vote ſhould be claimed by the biſhop: That biſhops ſhould go to the churches, in which ſuch as were to be ordained were to ſerve, and hear and diſcuſs any exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the concurrence of the Preſbytery: That ſuch as were to be ordained ſhould have leave to declare their opinion, if they thought the Biſhop was only the head of the Preſbyters. And he alſo propoſed, that there ſhould be provincial Synods, to ſit in courſe every third year, or oftener, if the King ſhould ſummon them, in which complaints of the biſhops ſhould be received, and they ſhould be cenſured accordingly. The laws that ſettled Epiſcopacy, and the authority of a National Synod, were to be altered according to this ſcheme. To juſtify, or rather to excuſe theſe conceſſions, which left little more than the name of a biſhop, he ſaid, as for their proteſtation, it would be little minded, and ſoon forgotten: The world would ſee the union that would be again ſettled among us, and the proteſtation would lie dead in the books, and die with thoſe that made it: As for the negative vote, Biſhops generally managed matters ſo, that they had no occaſion for it; but, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, it might be lodged in the King's name with ſome ſecular perſon, who ſhould interpoſe as often as the Biſhop ſaw it was expedient to uſe it: And if the preſent race could be but laid in their graves in peace, all thoſe heats would abate, if not quite fall off. He alſo thought, it was a much decenter thing for Biſhops to go upon the place where the miniſter was to ſerve, and to ordain after ſolemn faſting and prayer, than to huddle it up at their Cathedrals, with no ſolemnity, and ſcarce with common decency. It ſeemed alſo reaſonable, that biſhops ſhould be liable to cenſure, as well as other people: And that in a fixed court, which was to conſiſt of Biſhops,

1669.

1669. and Deans, and two chosen from every presbytery. The liberty offered to such as were to be ordained, to declare their opinion, was the hardest part of the whole. It looked like the perpetuating a factious and irregular humour. But few would make use of it. All the Churches in the gift of the King, or of the Bishops, would go to men of other principles. But though some things of an ill digestion were at such a time admitted, yet, if by these means the schism could be once healed, and the Nation again settled in a peaceable state, the advantage of that would balance all that was lost by those abatements, that were to be made in the Episcopal authority; which had been raised too high, and to correct that, was now to be let fall too low, if it were not for the good that was to be hoped for from this Accommodation: for this came to be the word as Comprehension was in England. He proposed farther, that a treaty might be set on foot, for bringing the presbyterians to accept of these concessions. The Earl of Kincardin was against all treating with them: they were a trifling sort of disputatious people: they would fall into much wrangling, and would subdivide among themselves: and the young and ignorant men among them, that were accustomed to popular declamations, would say, here was a bargain made to sell Christ's kingdom, and his prerogative. He therefore proposed, that since we knew both their principles and their tempers, we ought to carry the concessions as far as it was either reasonable or expedient, and pass these into laws: and then they would submit to a settlement, that was made and that could not be helped, more easily than give a consent before hand, to any thing that seemed to entrench on that, which they called the liberty of the Church. Leightoun did fully agree with him in this. But Lord Lauderdale would never consent to that. He said, a law that did so entirely change the constitution of the Church, when it came to be passed and printed, would be construed in England as a pulling down of Episcopacy;

Epiſcopacy; unleſs he could have this to ſay in excuſe for it, that the Preſbyterians were willing to come under that model. So he ſaid, ſince the load of what was to be done in Scotland would fall heavieſt on him, he would not expoſe himſelf ſo much, as the paſſing any ſuch act muſt certainly do, till he knew what effects would follow on it. So we were forced now to try how to deal with them in a treaty. 1669.

I was ſent to propoſe this ſcheme to Hutchinſon, who was eſteemed the learnedeſt man among them. But I was only to try him, and to talk of it as a notion of my own. He had married my couſin german; and I had been long acquainted with him. He looked on it as a project that would never take effect: ſo he would not give his opinion about it. He ſaid, when theſe conceſſions were paſſed into laws, he would know what he ſhould think of them: but he was one of many, ſo he avoided to declare himſelf. The next thing under conſideration was, how to diſpoſe of the many vacancies, and how to put a ſtop to Conventicles. Leightoun propoſed, that they ſhould be kept ſtill vacant, while the treaty was on foot; and that the Preſbyterians ſhould ſee how much the government was in earneſt, in the deſign of bringing them to ſerve in the Church, when ſo many places were kept open for them.

The Earl of Tweedale thought the treaty would run into a great length, and to many niceties, and would perhaps come to nothing in concluſion. So he propoſed the granting ſome of the outed miniſters leave, to go and ſerve in thoſe pariſhes by an act of the king's indulgence, from whence it came to be called the Indulgence. Leightoun was againſt this. He thought, nothing would bring on the Preſbyterians to a treaty, ſo much as the hopes of being again ſuffered to return to their benefices: whereas, if they were once admitted to them, they would reckon they had gained their point, and would grow more backward. I was deſired to go into the weſtern parts, and to give a true account of matters, as I found

An indulgence propoſed.

1669. them there. So I went, as in a visit to the Duke of Hamilton; whose Dutchess was a woman of great piety, and great parts. She had much credit among them; for she passed for a zealous Presbyterian, tho', she protested to me she never entered into the points of controversy, and had no settled opinion about forms of Government; only she thought their Ministers were good men, who kept the country in great quiet and order: they were, she said, blameless in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labours. The people were all in a phrenzy, and were in no disposition to any treaty. The furiousest men among them were busy in Conventicles, inflaming them against all agreements: so she thought, that, if the more moderate Presbyterians were put in vacant Churches, the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers, that were then most in vogue: this would likewise create a confidence in them: for they were now so possessed with prejudices, as to believe that all that was proposed, was only an artifice to make them fall out among themselves, and deceive them at last. This seemed reasonable: and she got many of the more moderate of them to come to me: and they all talked in the same strain.

An attempt to murder Sharp.

A strange accident happened to Sharp in July, 1668, as he was going into his coach in full daylight, the Bishop of Orkney being with him. A man came up to the coach, and discharged a pistol at him with a brace of bullets in it, as the Bishop of Orkney was going up into the coach. He intended to shoot through his cloak at Sharp, as he was mounting up: but the bullet stuck in the Bishop of Orkney's arm, and shattered it so, that, though he lived some years after that, they were forced to open it every year for an exfoliation. Sharp was so universally hated, that, though this was done in full daylight, and on the high street, yet no body offered to seize the assassin. So he walked off, and went home, and shifted himself of an odd wig, which he was not

not accuſtomed to wear, and came out, and walked on the ſtreets immediately. But Sharp had viewed him ſo narrowly, that he diſcovered him afterwards, as ſhall be mentioned in its proper place. I lived then much out of the world: yet I thought it decent to go and congratulate him on this occaſion. He was much touched with it, and put on a ſhew of devotion upon it. He ſaid with a very ſerious look, My times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life. This was the ſingle expreſſion favouring of piety, that ever fell from him, in all the converſation that paſſed between him and me. Proclamations were iſſued out with great rewards for diſcovering the actor: but nothing followed on them. On this occaſion it was thought proper, that he ſhould be called to Court, and have ſome marks of the King's favour put on him. He promiſed to make many good motions: and he talked for a while like a changed man: and went out of his way, as he was going to Court, to viſit me at my parſonage houſe, and ſeemed reſolved to turn to other methods. The King, as he had a particular talent that way, when he had a mind to it, treated him with ſpecial characters of favour and reſpect. But he made no propoſition to the King: only in general terms he approved of the methods of gentleneſs and moderation then in vogue. 1669.

When he came back to Scotland, he moved in Council that an indulgence might be granted to ſome of the Publick Reſolutioners, with ſome rules and reſtraints; ſuch as, that they ſhould not ſpeak, or preach againſt Epiſcopacy, and that they ſhould not admit to either of the Sacraments any of the neighbouring pariſhes, without a deſire from their own Miniſters; and that they ſhould engage themſelves to obſerve theſe rules. He knew that his propoſition, for all the ſhew of moderation that was in it, could have no effect, for the Reſolutioners and the Proteſtors had laid down their old diſputes, and were reſolved to come under no diſcrimination on that account; Sharp propoſed the indulging ſome miniſters that did not conform,

1669. count; nor would they engage to observe any limitations that should be laid on them. They said, the Government might lay restraints on them, and punish them, if they broke through them, and they would obey them, or not, at their peril. But they laid down this for a maxim: that they had received a complete ministry from Christ, and that the judicatories of the Church had only power to govern them in the exercise of their function. If the King should lay any limitations on them, they might obey these, as prudence should direct: but they would not bind themselves up by any engagement of their own. Burnet, and his Clergy (for the diocese of Glasgow is above the fourth part of all Scotland) came to Edinburgh full of high complaints, that the Churches were universally forsaken, and that Conventicles abounded in every corner of the country. A proclamation was upon that issued out, in imitation of the English Act, setting a fine of 50*l.* upon every landlord, on whose grounds any Conventicle was held, which he might recover, as he could, of those who were at any such Conventicle. This was plainly against law; for the Council had no power by their authority to set arbitrary fines. It was pretended on the other hand, that the Act of Parliament that had restored Episcopacy had a clause in it, recommending the execution of that Act to the Privy Council, by all the best ways they could think of. But the lawyers of the Council board said, that in matters of property their power was certainly tied up to the direction of the law: and the clause mentioned related only to particular methods, but could not be construed so far, as this proclamation carried the matter. The proclamation went out, but was never executed. It was sent up to London, and had a shew of zeal; and so was made use of by the Earl of Lauderdale to bear down the clamour, that was raised against him and his party in Scotland, as if they designed to pull down Episcopacy. The model of the county militia was now executed: and

above

above two thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand foot were armed and trained, and caſt into independent regiments and troops, who were all to be under ſuch orders as the Council iſſued out. All this was againſt law: for the King had only a power upon an extraordinary occaſion to raiſe, and march ſuch a body of men, as he ſhould ſummon together; and that at his own charge; but the converting this into a ſtanding militia, which carried with it a ſtanding charge, was thought a great ſtretch of prerogative. Yet it was reſolved on; though great exceptions were made to it by the lawyers, chiefly by Sir John Niſbit, the King's advocate, a man of great learning, both in law and in many other things, chiefly in the Greek learning: he was a perſon of great integrity, and always ſtood firm to the law. The true ſecret of this deſign was, that Lord Lauderdale was now preſſing to get into the management of the affairs of England. And he ſaw what the court was aiming at. And he had a mind to make himſelf conſiderable by this, that he had in his hand a great army, with a magazine of arms, and a ſtock of money laid up in Scotland, for any accident that might happen. So all his creatures, and Lady Dyſert more than all the reſt, had this up in all companies, that none before him ever dreamt how to make Scotland conſiderable to the King: but now it began to make a great figure. An Army, a Magazine, and a Treaſure, were words of a high ſound; chiefly now that the Houſe of Commons was like to grow ſo intractable, that the Duke of Buckingham deſpaired of being able to manage them. He moved the diſſolving the Parliament, and calling a new one: and thought the Nation would chuſe men leſs zealous for the church; for theſe were all againſt him. But the King would not venture on it. He knew the Houſe of Commons was either firm to him by their own principles, or by his management they could be made ſo: and therefore he would not run the riſk of any new election. He had the Diſſenters much in his power, by 1669.

1669. the ſevere laws under which they lay at his mercy: but he did not know what influence they might have in elections, and in a new Parliament: theſe he knew were in their hearts enemies to prerogative; which he believed they would ſhew, as ſoon as they got themſelves to be delivered from the laws, that then put them in the King's power.

Propoſitions for the union of the two kingdoms.

Lord Tweedale was then at London: and he ſet on foot a propoſition, that came to nothing, but made ſo much noiſe, and was of ſuch importance, that it deſerves to be enlarged on. It was for the union of both Kingdoms. The King liked it; becauſe he reckoned, that, at leaſt for his time, he ſhould be ſure of all the members that ſhould be ſent up from Scotland. The Duke of Buckingham went in eaſily to a new thing: and Lord Keeper Bridgman was much for it. The Lord Lauderdale preſſed it vehemently: it made it neceſſary to hold a Parliament in Scotland, where he intended to be the King's Commiſſioner. The Earl of Tweedale was for it on other accounts, both to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the militia, and to get ſome alterations made in the laws that related to the Church: and he really drove at the union, as a thing which he thought might be brought about. Scotland, he ſaid, was even then under great uneaſineſs, though the King knew the ſtate of that Kingdom: but when another King ſhould reign that knew not Joſeph (ſo he expreſſed it) the Nation would be delivered up to favourites, and be devoured by them: rich provinces, like thoſe that belonged to Spain, could hold out long under oppreſſion; but a poor country would be ſoon diſpeopled, if much oppreſſed: and if a King of deep deſigns againſt publick liberty ſhould careſs the Scots, he might eaſily engage them; ſince a poor country may be ſuppoſed willing to change their ſeats, and to break in on a richer one: there was indeed no fear of that at preſent; for the dotage of the Nation on Preſbytery, and the firmneſs with which the Government ſupported Epiſcopacy, ſet them ſo far from

one

one another, that no engagement of that ſort could be attempted: but if a King ſhould take a dextrous method for putting that out of the way, he might carry Scotland to any deſign he thought fit to engage in. Lord Tweedale blamed Sir Francis Bacon much for laying it down as a maxim, that Scotland was to be reckoned as the third part of the iſland, and to be treated accordingly: whereas he aſſured me, Scotland for numbers of people was not above a tenth part, and for wealth not above a fortieth part of the iſland. 1669.

The diſcourſe of the union was kept up, till it was reſolved to ſummon a new Parliament in Scotland. Then Lord Lauderdale made the King reflect on the old ſchemes he had laid before him at the Reſtoration: and he undertook to manage the Parliament ſo, as to make it anſwer that end more effectually, than any before him had ever done. This was reſolved on in the ſummer 1669. I being then at Hamilton, and having got the beſt information of the ſtate of the country that I could, wrote a long account of all I had heard to the Lord Tweedale, and concluded it with an advice to put ſome of the more moderate of the Preſbyterians into the vacant Churches. Sir Robert Murray told me, the letter was ſo well liked, that it was read to the King. Such a letter would have ſignified nothing, if Lord Tweedale had not been fixed in the ſame notion. He had now a plauſible thing to ſupport it. So my principles, and zeal for the Church, and I know not what beſides were raiſed, to make my advice ſignify ſomewhat. And it was ſaid, I was the man that went moſt entirely into Leightoun's maxims. So this indiſcreet letter of mine, ſent without communicating it to Leightoun, gave the deciding ſtroke. And, as may be eaſily believed, it drew much hatred on me from all that either knew it, or did ſuſpect it.

The King wrote a letter to the Privy Council, ordering them to indulge ſuch of the Preſbyterians as were peaceable and loyal, ſo far as to ſuffer them to

The King gave orders for the Indulgence.

1669. to ſerve in vacant Churches, though they did not ſubmit to the preſent eſtabliſhment: and he required them to ſet them ſuch rules, as might preſerve order and peace, and to look well to the execution of them: and as for ſuch as could not be provided in Churches at that time, he ordered a penſion of 20*l.* ſterling a year to be paid every one of them, as long as they lived orderly. Nothing followed on the ſecond article of this letter: the Preſbyterians looked on this, as the King's hire to be ſilent, and not to do their duty: and none of them would accept of it. But, as to the firſt part of the letter, on the firſt Council day after it was read, twelve of the Miniſters were indulged: they had pariſhes aſſigned them: and about thirty more were afterwards indulged in the ſame manner: and then a ſtop was put to it for ſome time. With the warrants that they had for their Churches, there was a paper of rules likewiſe put in their hands. Hutcheſon in all their names made a ſpeech to the Council: he began with decent expreſſions of thanks to the King, and their Lordſhips: he ſaid, they ſhould at all times give ſuch obedience to laws and orders, as could ſtand with a good conſcience. And ſo they were diſmiſſed. As for thoſe of them, that were allowed to go to the Churches where they had ſerved before, no difficulty could be made: but thoſe of them, that were named to other Churches would not enter on the ſerving them, till the Church ſeſſions and the inhabitants of the pariſh met, and made choice of them for their paſtors, and gave them a call (as they worded it) to ſerve among them. But upon this, ſcruples aroſe among ſome, who ſaid the people's choice ought to be free; whereas now they were limited to the perſon named by the Council, which looked like an election upon a Conge d'elire, with a letter naming the perſon, with which they had often diverted themſelves. But ſcruples are mighty things, when they concur with inclination or intereſt: and when they are not ſupported by theſe, men learn

learn distinctions to get free from them. So it hap- 1669.
pened in this case: for tho' some few were startled at
these things, yet they lay in no man's way; for every man went, and was possessed of the Church marked out for him. And at first the people of the country ran to them with a sort of transport of joy. Yet this was soon cooled. It was hoped, that they would have begun their ministry, with a publick testimony against all that had been done in opposition, to what they were accustomed to call the work of God. But they were silent at that time, and preached only the doctrines of Christianity. This disgusted all those who loved to hear their Ministers preach to the times, as they called it. The stop put to the Indulgence made many conclude, that those, who had obtained the favour, had entered into some secret engagements. So they came to call them the King's Curates, as they had called the Clergy in derision the Bishop's Curates. Their caution brought them under a worse character of *dumb dogs*, that could not bark. Those, who by their fierce behaviour had shut themselves out from a share in the Indulgence, began to call this Erastianism, and the Civil Magistrates assuming the power of sacred matters. They said, this was visibly an artifice to lay things asleep with the present generation; and was one of the depths of Satan, to give a present quiet, in order to the certain destruction of Presbytery. And it was also said, that there was a visible departing of the divine assistance from those preachers: they preached no more with the power and authority that had accompanied them at Conventicles. So many began to fall off from them, and to go again to Conventicles. Many of the preachers confessed to me, that they found an ignorance and a deadness among those, who had been the hotest upon their meetings, beyond what could have been imagined. They that could have argued about the intrinsick power of the Church, and Episcopacy, and Presbytery, upon which all their sermons had chiefly run for several years, knew very little of the essentials

1669. essentials of religion. But the indulged preachers, instead of setting themselves, with the zeal and courage that became them, against the follies of the people, of which they confessed to myself they were very sensible, took a different method; and studied by mean compliances to gain upon their affections, and to take them out of the hands of some fiery men, that were going up and down among them. The tempers of some brought them under this servile popularity, into which others went out of a desire to live easy.

This complained of as against law.

The Indulgence was settled in a hurry. But when it came to be descanted on, it appeared to be plainly against law: for by the Act restoring Episcopacy none were capable of benefices, but such as should own the authority of Bishops, and be instituted by them. So now the Episcopal party, that were wont to put all authority in the King, as long as he was for them, began to talk of law. They said, the King's power was bounded by the law; and that these proceedings were the trampling of law under foot. For all parties, as they need the shelter of law, or the stretches of the prerogative, are apt by turns to magnify the one, or the other. Burnet and his Clergy were out of measure enraged at the indulgence. They were not only abandoned, but ill used by the people, who were beginning to threaten, or to buy them out of their Churches, that they also might have the benefit of the Indulgence. The Synod of the Clergy was held at Glasgow in October: and they moved that an address might be drawn up, representing to the King the miseries they were under, occasioned by the Indulgence: they complained of it as illegal, and as like to be fatal to the Church. This was, according to the words in some of their acts of Parliament, a misrepresenting the King's proceedings, in order to the alienating the hearts of his subjects from him; which was made capital, as may appear by the account given in the former book of the proceedings against the Lord Balmerinoch.

Balmerinoch. He that drew this addreſs was one Roſs, afterwards Archbiſhop, firſt of Glaſgow, and then of St. Andrews; who was an ignorant man, and violent out of meaſure. So it was drawn full of acrimony. Yet they reſolved to keep it ſecret, till advice ſhould be taken upon it; and accordingly to preſent it to the Privy Council, or not. A copy of this was procured by indirect methods: and it was ſent up to Court, after the Earl of Lauderdale was come off, and was in his way to hold a Parliament in Scotland. Lord Lauderdale had left all his concerns at Court with Sir Robert Murray: for, though, at his miſtreſs's inſtigation, he had uſed him very unworthily, yet he had ſo great an opinion of his virtue and candor, that he left all his affairs to his care. As ſoon as the King ſaw the Clergy's addreſs, he ſaid, it was a new weſtern remonſtrance: and he ordered, that Burnet ſhould not be ſuffered to come to the Parliament, and that he ſhould be proceeded againſt, as far as the law could carry the matter. It was not eaſy to ſtretch this ſo far, as to make it criminal. But Burnet being obnoxious on other accounts, they intended to frighten him to ſubmit, and to reſign his Biſhoprick. 1669.

A Parliament in Scotland.

The Parliament was opened in November. Lord Lauderdale's ſpeech ran upon two heads. The one was, the recommending to their care the preſervation of the Church, as eſtabliſhed by law: upon which he took occaſion to expreſs great zeal for Epiſcopacy. The other head related to the union of both Kingdoms. All that was done relating to that was, that an Act paſſed for a treaty about it: and in the following ſummer, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion, Commiſſioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progreſs: and the thing fell ſo ſoon, that it was very viſible it was never intended in good earneſt.

The ſupremacy carried very high.

The two firſt Acts that paſſed in Parliament were of more importance, and had a deeper deſign. The firſt explained, and aſſerted the King's Supremacy; but

1669. but carried it in such general words, that it might have been stretched to every thing. It was declared, that the settling all things relating to the external government of the Church was a right of the Crown: and that all things relating to Ecclesiastical meetings, matters and persons, were to be ordered according to such directions as the King should send to his Privy Council: and that these should be published by them, and should have the force of laws. Lord Lauderdale very probably knew the secret of the Duke's religion, and had got into his favour. So it was very likely, that he intended to establish himself in it, by putting the Church of Scotland wholly in his power. But that was yet a secret to us all in Scotland. The method he took to get it passed was this: he told all those who loved Presbytery, or that did not much favour the Bishops, that it was necessary to keep them under, by making them depend absolutely on the King: this was indeed a transferring the whole legislature, as to the matters of the Church, from the Parliament, and vesting it singly in the King: yet, he told them, if this were done, as the circumstances might happen to be favourable, the King might be prevailed on, if a dash of a pen would do it, to change all on the sudden: whereas that could never be hoped for, if it could not be brought about, but by the pomp and ceremony of a Parliament. He made the nobility see, they needed fear no more the insolence of Bishops, if they were at mercy, as this would make them. Sharp did not like it, but durst not oppose it. He made a long dark speech, copied out of Doctor Taylor, distinguishing between the Civil and Ecclesiastical authority; and then voted for it: so did all the Bishops that were present: some absented themselves. Leightoun was against any such act, and got some words to be altered in it. He thought, it might be stretched to ill ends: and so he was very averse to it. Yet he gave his vote for it, not having sufficiently considered the extent of the words,

and

and the conſequences that might follow on ſuch an Act; for which he was very ſorry, as long as he lived. But at that time there was no apprehenſions in Scotland of the danger of Popery. Many of the beſt of the Epiſcopal clergy, Nairn, and Charteris in particular, were highly offended at the Act. They thought it plainly made the King our Pope. The Preſbyterians ſaid, it put him in Chriſt's ſtead. They ſaid, the King had already too much power in the matters of the Church: and nothing ruined the Clergy more, than their being brought into ſervile compliances, and a baſe dependance upon Courts. I had no ſhare in the counſels about this Act. I only thought it was deſigned by Lord Tweedale to juſtify the Indulgence, which he proteſted to me was his chief end in it. And no body could ever tell me how the word "Eccleſiaſtical matters" was put in the act. Leightoun thought, he was ſure it was put in after the draught and form of the Act was agreed on. It was generally charged on Lord Lauderdale. And when the Duke's religion came to be known, then all people ſaw, how much the legal ſettlement of our religion was put in his power by this means. Yet the preamble of the act being only concerning the external government of the church, it was thought, that the words "Eccleſiaſtical matters" were to be confined to the ſenſe that was limited by the preamble. 1669.

The next Act that paſſed was concerning the Militia: all that had been done in raiſing it was approved: and it was enacted, that it ſhould ſtill be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the King's dominions, for any cauſe in which his Majeſty's authority, power, or greatneſs ſhould be concerned; and that the orders ſhould be tranſmitted to them from the Council board, without any mention of orders from the King. Upon this great reflections were made. Some ſaid, that by this the army was taken out of the King's power and command, and put under the power of the Council: ſo that if the greater part of the Council ſhould again rebel, as An Act for the County Militia.

1669. they did in the year 1638, the Army was, by the words of this Act, bound to follow their orders. But when jealouſies broke out in England, of the ill deſigns that lay hid under this matter, it was thought that the intent of this clauſe was, that, if the King ſhould call in the Scotch Army, it ſhould not be neceſſary that he himſelf ſhould ſend any orders for it; but that, upon a ſecret intimation, the Council might do it without order, and then, if the deſign ſhould miſcarry, it ſhould not lie on the King, but only on the Council, whom in that caſe the King might diſown; and ſo none about him ſhould be blameable for it. The Earl of Lauderdale valued himſelf upon theſe Acts, as if he had conquered kingdoms by them. He wrote a letter to the King upon it, in which he ſaid, all Scotland was now in his power: The Church of Scotland was now more ſubject to him than the Church of England was: This Militia was now an Army ready upon call: And that every man in Scotland was ready to march, whenſoever he ſhould order it, with ſeveral very ill inſinuations in it. But a dangerous thing it is to write letters to Princes: This letter fell into Duke Hamilton's hands ſome years after; and I had it in my hands for ſome days. It was intended to found an impeachment on it. But this happened at a time when the buſineſs of the excluſion of the Duke from the ſucceſſion of the Crown was ſo hotly purſued, that this, which, at another time, would have made great noiſe, was not ſo much conſidered as the importance of it might ſeem to deſerve. The way how it came into ſuch hands was this: The King, after he had read the letter, gave it to Sir Robert Murray; and when he died it was found among his papers. He had been much truſted in the King's laboratory, and had ſeveral of his chymical proceſſes in his hands. So the King, after his death, did order one to look over all his papers, for chymical matters; but all the papers of State were let alone. So this, with many other papers, fell into the hands of his executors. And

thus this letter came into Duke Hamilton's hands; who would have made use of it, if greater matters had not been then in agitation. This is not the single instance, that I have known, of papers of great consequence falling into the hands of the executors of great Ministers, that might have been turned to very bad uses, if they had fallen into ill hands. It seems of great concern, that when a Minister, or an Ambassadour dies, or is recalled, or is disgraced, all papers relating to the secrets of his employment should be of right in the power of the Government. But I, of all men, should complain the least of this, since, by this remissness, many papers of a high nature have fallen in my way. 1669.

By the Act of Supremacy the King was now master, and could turn out Bishops at pleasure. This had its first effect on Burnet; who was offered a pension, if he would submit and resign, and was threatened to be treated more severely, if he stood out. He complied, and retired to a private state of life, and bore his disgrace better than he had done his honours. He lived four years in the shade, and was generally much pitied: He was of himself good natured and sincere; but was much in the power of others: He meddled too much in that which did not belong to him, and he did not understand; for he was not cut out for a court, or for the ministry: And he was too remiss in that which was properly his business, and which he understood to a good degree; for he took no manner of care of the spiritual part of his function. Burnet turned out, and Leighton made Archbishop of Glasgow.

At this time the University of Glasgow, to whom the choice of the Professor of divinity does belong, chose me, though unknown to them all, to be Professor there. There was no sort of artifice or management to bring this about: It came of themselves: And they did it without any recommendation of any person whatsoever. So I was advised by all my friends to change my post, and go thither. This engaged me both into much study, and in a great deal of business. The Clergy came all to me, thinking I The state I found things in at Glasgow.

1669. had some credit with those that governed, and laid their grievances and complaints before me. They were very ill used, and were so entirely forsaken by their people, that in most places they shut up their Churches: They were also threatened and affronted on all occasions. On the other hand, the Gentlemen of the country came much to me, and told me such strange things of the vices of some, the follies of others, and the indiscretions of them all, that though it was not reasonable to believe all that they said, yet it was impossible not to believe a great deal of it. And so I soon saw, what a hard province I was like to have of it. Accounts of the state of those parts were expected from me, and were like to be believed. And it was not easy to know, what ought to be believed, nor how matters were to be represented: For I found calumny was so equally practised on both sides, that I came to mistrust every thing that I heard. One thing was visible, that Conventicles abounded, and strange doctrine was vented in them. The King's Supremacy was now the chief subject of declamation: It was said, Bishops were indeed enemies to the liberties of the Church, but the King's little finger would be heavier than their loins had been. After I had been for some months among them, and had heard so much, that I believed very little, I wrote to Lord Tweedale, that disorders did certainly increase; but, as for any particulars, I did not know what to believe, much less could I suggest what remedies seemed proper: I therefore proposed, that a Committee of Council might be sent round the country to examine matters, and to give such orders as were at present necessary for the publick quiet; and that they might prepare a report against the next session of parliament, that then proper remedies might be found out.

A Committee of Council sent round the West.

Duke Hamilton, Lord Kincardin, Primrose, and Drumond, were sent to these parts. They met first at Hamilton, next at Glasgow: Then they went to other parts; and came back, and ended their circuit

at Glaſgow. They puniſhed ſome diſorders, and threatened both the indulged Miniſters, and the countries, with greater ſeverities, if they ſhould ſtill grow more and more inſolent upon the favour that had been ſhewed them. I was blamed by the Preſbyterians for all they did, and by the Epiſcopal party for all they did not; ſince theſe thought they did too little, as the others thought they did too much. They conſulted much with me; and ſuffered me to intercede ſo effectually for thoſe whom they had put in priſon, that they were all ſet at liberty. The Epiſcopal party thought I intended to make myſelf popular at their coſt: So they began that ſtrain of fury and calumny, that has purſued me ever ſince from that ſort of people, as a ſecret enemy to their intereſt, and an underminer of it. But I was and ſtill am, an enemy to all force and violence in matters of conſcience: And there is no principle that is more hated by bad ill natured Clergymen, than that. 1669.

The Earls of Lauderdale and Tweedale preſſed Leightoun much to accept of the See of Glaſgow. He declined it with ſo much averſion, that we were all uneaſy at it. Nothing moved him to hearken to it, but the hopes of bringing about the accommodation that was propoſed; in which he had all aſſiſtance promiſed him from the Government. The King ordered him to be ſent for to Court. He ſent for me on his way; where he ſtopt a day, to know from me what proſpect there was of doing any good. I could not much encourage him; yet I gave him all the hopes that I could raiſe myſelf to: And I was then inclined to think, that the accommodation was not impracticable. Upon his coming to London, he found Lord Lauderdale's temper was much inflamed: He was become fierce and intractable: But Lord Tweedale made every thing as eaſy to him as was poſſible. They had turned out an Archbiſhop; ſo it concerned them to put an eminent man in his room, who ſhould order matters with ſuch moderation, that the Govern-

1669. ment should not be under perpetual disturbance, by reason of complaints from those parts.

1670. But now the Court was entering into new designs, into which Lord Lauderdale was thrusting himself, with an obsequious or rather an officious zeal. I will dwell no longer at present on that, than just to name the Dutchess of Orleans's coming to Dover, of which a more particular account shall be given, after that I have laid together all that relates to Scotland in the year 1670, and the whole business of the Accommodation. Leightoun proposed to the King his scheme of the Accommodation, and the great advantages that his Majesty's affairs would have, if that country could be brought into temper. The King was at this time gone off from the design of a comprehension in England. Toleration was now thought the best way. Yet the Earl of Lauderdale possessed him with the necessity of doing somewhat to soften the Scots, in order to the great design he was then engaging in. Upon that the King, who seldom gave himself the trouble to think twice of any one thing, gave way to it. Leightoun's paper was, in some places, corrected by Sir Robert Murray; and was turned into instructions, by which Lord Lauderdale was authorised to pass the concessions, that were to be offered, into laws. This he would never own to me, though Leightoun shewed me the copy of them. But it appeared probable, by his conduct afterwards, that he had secret directions to spoil the matter, and that he intended to deceive us all. Lord Tweedale was more to be depended on. But he began to lose ground with Lady Dysert: And so his interest did not continue strong enough to carry on such a matter.

Instructions for an accommodation.

Leightoun undertook the administration of the See of Glasgow: And it was a year after this, before he was prevailed on to be translated thither. He came, upon this, to Glasgow, and held a Synod of his Clergy; in which nothing was to be heard, but complaints of desertion and ill usage from them all.

Leightoun,

Leightoun, in a ſermon that he preached to them, and in ſeveral diſcourſes, both in publick and private, exhorted them to look up more to God, to conſider themſelves as the miniſters of the Croſs of Chriſt, to bear the contempt and ill uſage they met with, as a Croſs laid on them, for the exerciſe of their faith and patience, to lay aſide all the appetites of revenge, to humble themſelves before God, to have many days for ſecret faſting and prayers, and to meet often together, that they might quicken and aſſiſt one another in thoſe holy exerciſes; and then they might expect bleſſings from Heaven upon their labours. This was a new ſtrain to the Clergy. They had nothing to ſay againſt it: But it was a comfortleſs doctrine to them; and they had not been accuſtomed to it. No ſpeedy ways were propoſed for forcing the people to come to Church, nor for ſending ſoldiers among them, or raiſing the fines to which they were liable. So they went home, as little edified with their new Biſhop, as he was with them. When this was over, he went round ſome parts of the country, to the moſt eminent of the indulged Miniſters, and carried me with him. His buſineſs was, to perſuade them to hearken to propoſitions of peace. He told them, ſome of them would be quickly ſent for to Edinburgh, where terms would be offered them in order to the making up our differences: All was ſincerely meant: They would meet with no artifices nor hardſhips: And if they received thoſe offers heartily, they would be turned into laws: And all the vacancies then in the Church would be filled by their brethren. They received this with ſo much indifference, or rather neglect, that it would have cooled any zeal, that was leſs warm, and leſs active, than that good man's was. They were ſcarce civil; and did not ſo much as thank him for his tenderneſs and care: The more artful among them, ſuch as Hutcheſon, ſaid, it was a thing of general concern, and they were but ſingle men. Others were more metaphyſical, and entertained us with ſome poor arguings and diſtinctions.

1670. Leightoun's advices to his Clergy.

1670. ſtinctions. Leightoun began to loſe heart. Yet he reſolved to ſet the negotiation on foot, and carry it as far as he could.

A conference between Leightoun and ſome Preſbyterians.

When Lord Lauderdale came down to hold a ſeſſion of parliament, letters were writ to ſix of the preſbyterian preachers, ordering them to come to town. There was a long conference between Leightoun and them, before the Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Tweedale, and Kincardin. Sharp would not be preſent at it: But he ordered Paterſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to hear all, and to bring him an account of what paſſed. Leightoun laid before them the miſchief of our diviſions, and of the ſchiſm that they had occaſioned: Many ſouls were loſt, and many more were in danger by theſe means: So that every one ought to do all he could to heal this wide breach, that had already let in ſo many evils among us, which were like to make way to many more: For his own part, he was perſuaded, that Epiſcopacy, as an order diſtinct from Preſbyters, had continued in the Church ever ſince the days of the Apoſtles; that the world had every where received the Chriſtian religion from Biſhops, and that a parity among Clergymen was never thought of in the Church before the middle of the laſt century, and was then ſet up rather by accident, than on deſign: Yet, how much ſoever he was perſuaded of this, ſince they were of another mind, he was now to offer a temper to them, by which both ſides might ſtill preſerve their opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the ends of the Goſpel and their Miniſtry: They had Moderators amongſt them, which was no divine inſtitution, but only a matter of order: The King therefore might name theſe; and the making them conſtant, could be no ſuch encroachment on their function, as that the peace of the Church muſt be broke on ſuch an account: Nor could they ſay, that the bleſſing of the men named to this function, by an impoſition of hands, did degrade them from their former office, to ſay no more of it: So they were ſtill at leaſt Miniſters: It is true,

others

others thought, they had a new and ſpecial authority, more than a bare preſidency: That did not concern them, who were not required to concur with them in any thing, but in ſubmitting to this preſidency: And, as to that, they ſhould be allowed to declare their own opinion againſt it, in as full, and as publick a manner as they pleaſed: He laid it to their conſciences, to conſider of the whole matter, as in the preſence of God, without any regard to party or popularity. He ſpoke, in all, near half an hour, with a gravity and force, that made a very great impreſſion on thoſe who heard it. Hutcheſon anſwered, and ſaid, their opinion for a parity among the Clergy was well known: The preſidency now ſpoke of, had made way to a lordly dominion in the Church: And therefore how inconſiderable ſoever the thing might ſeem to be, yet the effects of it both had been, and would be very conſiderable: He therefore deſired, ſome time might be given them to conſider well, of the propoſitions now made, and to conſult with their brethren about them: And, ſince this might ſeem an aſſembling together againſt law, he deſired they might have the King's Commiſſioners leave for it. This was immediately granted. We had a ſecond conference, in which matters were more fully opened, and preſſed home, on the grounds formerly mentioned. Lord Lauderdale made us all dine together, and came to us after dinner: But could ſcarce reſtrain himſelf from flying out; for their behaviour ſeemed both rude and crafty. But Leighton had prepared him for it, and preſſed him not to give them a handle to excuſe their flying off, by any roughneſs in his deportment towards them. The propoſitions offered them were now generally known. Sharp cried out, that Epiſcopacy was to be undermined, ſince the negative vote was to be let go. The inferiour Clergy thought, that if it took effect, and the Preſbyterians were to be generally brought into Churches, they would be neglected, and that their people would forſake them. So they hated the whole thing. The bigotted Preſbyterians thought it was a

1670.

1670. ſnare, and the doing that, which had a fair appearance at preſent, and was meant only to lay that generation in their graves in peace; by which means Epiſcopacy, that was then ſhaking over all the Nation, would come to have another root, and grow again out of that. But the far greater part of the Nation approved of this deſign: And they reckoned, either we ſhould gain our point, and then all would be at quiet, or if ſuch offers were rejected by the Preſbyterians, it would diſcover their temper, and alienate all indifferent men from them; and the Nation would be convinced, how unreaſonable and ſtubborn they were, and how unworthy they were of any farther favour. All that was done in this ſeſſion of Parliament was, the raiſing a tax, and the naming Commiſſioners for the union with England; beſides two ſevere Acts paſſed againſt Conventicles.

New ſeveritis againſt Conventicles.

There had been a great one held in Fife, near Dunfermlin, where none had ever been held before. Some Gentlemen of eſtates were among them: And the novelty of the thing drew a great croud together; for intimation had been given of it ſome days before. Many of theſe came in their ordinary arms. That gave a handle to call them the rendezvous of rebellion. Some of them were taken, and brought to Edinburgh, and preſſed to name as many as they knew of their fellow Conventiclers: But they refuſed to do it. This was ſent up to Court, and repreſented as the fore-runner of rebellion: Upon which Lord Lauderdale, hearing what uſe his enemies made of it, was tranſported almoſt to fits of rage. Severe Acts paſſed upon it, by which their fines were raiſed higher, and they were made liable to arbitrary ſeverities. The Earl of Lauderdale, with his own hand, put in a word in the Act, that covered the Papiſts, the fines being laid on ſuch of the reformed religion as went not to Church. He pretended by this to merit with the Popiſh party, the Duke in particular; whoſe religion was yet a ſecret to us in Scotland, tho' it was none at Court. He ſaid to myſelf, he had put in theſe words on deſign to let the party know, they were to be worſe

The reformed religion.

uſed

used than the Papists themselves. All Field Conventicles were declared treasonable: And in the preacher they were made capital. The Landlords, on whose grounds they were held, were to be severely fined: And all who were at them were to be punished arbitrarily, if they did not discover all that were present, whom they knew. House Conventicles, crouded without the doors, or at the windows, were to be reckoned and punished as Field Conventicles. Sir Robert Murray told me, that the King was not well pleased with this Act, as being exravagantly severe; chiefly in that of the preachers being to be punished by death. He said, bloody laws did no good; and that he would never have passed it, if he had known it beforehand. The half of the parliament abhorred this Act: Yet so abject were they in their submissions to Lord Lauderdale, that the young Earl of Cassilis was the single person that voted in the negative. This passed in Parliament so suddenly, that Leightoun knew nothing of it, till it was too late. He expostulated with Lord Tweedale severely about it: He said, the whole complexion of it was so contrary to the common rules of humanity, not to say Christianity, that he was ashamed to mix in counsels with those, who could frame and pass such Acts: And he thought it somewhat strange, that neither he, nor I, had been advised with in it. The Earl of Tweedale said, the late Field Conventicle being a new thing, it had forced them to severities, that at another time could not be well excused: And he assured us, there was no design to put it in execution. 1670.

Leightoun sent to the western Counties six Episcopal Divines, all, except myself, brought from other parts: Nairn and Charteris were two of them: The three others, Aird, Cook, and Paterson, were the best we could persuade, to go round the country to preach in vacant Churches, and to argue upon the grounds of the accommodation with such as should come to them. The Episcopal Clergy, who were yet in the country, could not argue much for any thing; and would not at all argue in favour of a proposition

that

1670. that they hated. The people of the country came generally to hear us, though not in great crouds. We were indeed amazed to ſee a poor commonalty, ſo capable of arguing upon points of government, and on the bounds to be ſet to the power of Princes, in matters of religion: Upon all theſe topicks they had texts of ſcripture at hand; and were ready with their anſwers, to any thing that was ſaid to them. This meaſure of knowledge was ſpread even among the meaneſt of them, their cottagers, and their ſervants. They were indeed vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themſelves, and were full of a moſt entangled ſcrupuloſity; ſo that they found or made difficulties in every thing that could be laid before them. We ſtaid about three months in the country; and in that time there was a ſtand in the frequency of Conventicles: But, as ſoon as we were gone, a ſet of thoſe hot preachers went round all the places in which we had been, to defeat all the good we could hope to do. They told them, the Devil was never ſo formidable as when he was transformed into an Angel of light.

The Preſbyterians reſolved to reject the offers made them.

The outed Miniſters had many meetings in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. They found themſelves under great difficulties. The people had got it among them, that all that was now driven at, was only to extinguiſh Preſbytery, by ſome ſeeming conceſſions with the preſent generation; and that if the Miniſters went into it, they gave up their cauſe, that ſo they themſelves might be provided for during their lives, and die at more eaſe. So they, who were ſtrangely ſubdued by their deſire of popularity, reſolved to reject the propoſitions, though they could not well tell on what grounds they ſhould juſtify it. A report was alſo ſpread among them, which they believed, and had its full effect upon them: It was ſaid, that the King was alienated from the Church of England, and weary of ſupporting Epiſcopacy in Scotland; and ſo was reſolved not to clog his Government any longer with it; and that the conceſſions now made, did not ariſe from any tenderneſs we had for them,

but

but from an artifice to preſerve Epiſcopacy: So they were made believe, that their agreeing to them was really a ſtrengthening of that Government, which was otherwiſe ready to fall with its own weight. And becauſe a paſſage of Scripture, according to its general ſound, was apt to work much on them, that of "touch not, taſte not, handle not," was often repeated among them. It was generally agreed on to reject the offers made them. The next debate among them was, about the reaſons they were to give for rejecting them; or whether they would comply with another propoſition, which Leightoun had made them, that, if they did not like the propoſitions he had made, they would ſee, if they could be more happy than he was, and offer at other propoſitions. In their meetings they named two to maintain the debate, pro and con. They diſputed about the proteſtation that they were allowed to make: And "Proteſtatio contraria facto" was a maxim that was in great vogue among them. They argued upon the obligation by the Covenant to maintain their Church, as then eſtabliſhed, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government: And ſo every thing that was contrary to that, was repreſented as a breach of their covenant: And none durſt object to that. But that they might make a propoſition, which they were ſure would not be hearkened to, they propoſed, that among the conceſſions to be inſiſted on, one might be, a liberty to ordain without the Biſhops. When we heard what their reaſonings were, papers were writ, and ſent among them, in anſwer to them. But it is a vain thing to argue, when a reſolution is taken up, not founded on argument; and arguments are only ſought for, to juſtify that which is already reſolved on. We preſſed them with this, that, notwithſtanding their Covenant, they themſelves had afterwards made many alterations, much more important than this of ſubmitting to a conſtant Moderator, named by the King. Cromwell took from them the power of meeting in General Aſſemblies; 1670.

yet

1670. yet they went on, doing the other duties of their function, though this, which they eſteemed the greateſt of all their rights, was denied them. When an order came out to ſequeſter the half of the benefices, of ſuch as ſhould ſtill pray for the King, they upon that ſubmitted, though before they had aſſerted it as a duty, to which they were bound by their Covenant: They had diſcontinued their miniſtry, in obedience to laws and proclamations now for nine years: And thoſe, who had accepted the Indulgence, had come in by the King's authority, and had only a parochial government, but did not meet in Preſbyteries: From all which we inferred, that when they had a mind to lay down any thing that they thought a duty, or to ſubmit to any thing that they thought an invaſion of their rights, they could find a diſtinction for it: And it was not eaſy to ſhew, why they were not as compliant in this particular. But all was loſt labour: Hot men among them were poſitive; and all of them were full of contention.

Dutcheſs Hamilton ſent for ſome of them, Hutcheſon in particular. She ſaid, ſhe did not pretend to underſtand nice diſtinctions, and the terms of diſpute: Here was plain ſenſe: The country might be again at quiet, and the reſt of thoſe that were outed, admitted to Churches, on terms that ſeemed to all reaſonable men very eaſy: Their rejecting this would give a very ill character of them, and would have very bad effects, of which they might ſee cauſe to repent, when it would be too late. She told me, all that ſhe could draw from him, that ſhe underſtood, was, that he ſaw the generality of their party was reſolved againſt all treaties, or any agreement; and that if a ſmall number ſhould break off from them, it would not heal the old breaches, but would create new ones. In concluſion, nothing was like to follow on this whole negotiation: We, who were engaged in it, had loſt all our own ſide by offering at it; and the Preſbyterians would not make one ſtep towards us.

Leightoun

Leightoun desired another meeting with them at Pasley, to which he carried me and one or two more. They were about thirty. We had two long conferences with them. Leightoun laid out before them the obligations that lay on them to seek for peace at all times, but more especially when we already saw the dismal effects of our contentions: There could be no agreement unless on both sides there was a disposition to make some abatements, and some steps towards one another: It appeared, that we were willing to make even unreasonable ones on our side: And would they abate nothing in theirs? Was their opinion so mathematically certain, that they could not dispense with any part of it, for the peace of the Church, and for the saving of souls? Many poor things were said on their side, which would have made a less mild man, than he was, lose all patience. But he bore with all: And urged this question on them, Would they have held communion with the Church of God, at the time of the council of Nice, or not? If they should say, not, he would be less desirous of entering into communion with them; since he must say of the Church at that time, "let my soul "be with theirs:" if they said, they would; then he was sure, they would not reject the offers now made them, which brought Episcopacy much lower than it was at that time. One of the most learned among them had prepared a speech full of quotations, to prove the difference between the primitive Episcopacy and ours at present. I was then full of those matters: So I answered all his speech, and every one of his quotations, and turned the whole upon him, with advantages that were too evident to be so much as denied by their own party: and, it seemed, the person himself thought so; for he did not offer at one word of reply. In conclusion, the Presbyterians desired, that the propositions might be given them in writing: For hitherto all had passed only verbally; and words, they said, might be misunderstood, misrepeated, and denied. Leightoun had no mind to do it:

1670.

Some conferences upon that subject.

1670. it: Yet, since it was plausible, to say they had nothing but words to shew to their brethren, he wrote them down, and gave me the original, which I still have in my hands; but suffered them to take as many copies of it as they pleased. At parting he desired them to come to a final resolution, as soon as they could; for he believed, they would be called for by the next January to give their answers. And by the end of that month they were ordered to come to Edinburgh. I went thither at the same time upon Leightoun's desire.

At last they refused to accept of the concessions.

We met at the Earl of Rothes's house, where all this treaty came to a short conclusion. Hutcheson in all their names said, they had considered the propositions made to them, but were not satisfied in their consciences to accept of them. Leightoun desired to know upon what grounds they stood out. Hutcheson said, it was not safe to argue against law. Leightoun said, that since the Government had set on a treaty with them in order to the altering the laws, they were certainly left to a full freedom of arguing against them: These offers were no laws: So the arguing about them could not be called an arguing against law: He offered them a publick conference upon them, in the hearing of all that had a mind to be rightly informed: He said, the people were drawn into those matters so far, as to make a schism upon them: He thought, it was therefore very reasonable, that they should likewise hear the grounds examined, upon which both sides went. Hutcheson refused this: He said, he was but one man; and that what he said was in the name of his brethren, who had given him no farther authority. Leightoun then asked, if they had nothing on their side to propose towards the healing of our breaches. Hutcheson answered, their principles were well enough known, but he had nothing to propose. Upon this Leightoun, in a long discourse, told what was the design he had been driving at in all this negotiation: It was to procure peace, and to promote religion:

religion: He had offered several things, which he was persuaded were great diminutions of the just rights of Episcopacy: Yet since all Church-power was for edification, and not for destruction, he had thought, that in our present circumstances it might have conduced, as much to the interest of religion, that Episcopacy should divest itself of a great part of the authority that belonged to it, as the Bishop's using it in former ages had been an advantage to religion: His offers did not flow from any mistrust of the cause: he was persuaded, Episcopacy was handed down through all the ages of the Church from the Apostles days: Perhaps he had wronged the order by the concessions he had made: Yet he was confident God would forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuse it: Now they thought fit to reject these concessions, without either offering any reason for doing it, or any expedient on their side: Therefore the continuance of our divisions must lie at their door, both before God and man: If ill effects followed upon this, he was free of all blame, and had done his part. Thus was this treaty broke off, to the amazement of all sober and dispassionate people, and to the great joy of Sharp, and the rest of the bishops; who now for a while seemed even pleased with us, because we had all along asserted Episcopacy, and had pleaded for it in a high and positive strain. 1670.

I hope this will be thought an useful part of the history of that time: None knew the steps made in it better than myself. The fierce Episcopal men will see, how much they were to blame for accusing that Apostolical man Leightoun, as they did, on this occasion; as if he had designed in this whole matter to betray his own order, and to set up Presbytery. The Presbyterians may also see, how much their behaviour disgusted all wise, moderate and good men, when they rejected propositions, that came so home even to the maxims they had set up, that nothing but the fear of offending, that is of losing the credit they had with their party, could be so much as pretended

Censures passed upon this whole matter.

1670. tended for their refuſing to agree to them. Our part in the whole negociation was ſincere and open. We were actuated by no other principle, and had no other deſign, but to allay a violent agitation of men's ſpirits, that was throwing us into great diſtractions; and to heal a breach, that was like to let in an inundation of miſeries upon us, as has appeared but too evidently ever ſince. The high party, keeping ſtill their old biaſs to perſecution, and recovering afterwards their credit with the Government, carried violent proceedings ſo far, that, after they had thrown the Nation into great convulſions, they drew upon themſelves ſuch a degree of fury from enraged multitudes, whom they had oppreſſed long and heavily, that, in concluſion, the Epiſcopal order was put down, as ſhall be told in its proper place. The roughneſs of our own ſide, and the perverſeneſs of the Preſbyterians, did ſo much alienate me from both, that I reſolved to withdraw myſelf from any farther meddling, and to give myſelf wholly to ſtudy. I was then, and for three years after that, offered to be made a Biſhop: But I refuſed it. I ſaw the counſels were altering above: So I reſolved to look on, and ſee whither things would turn.

1671. My acquaintance at Hamilton, and the favour and friendſhip I met with from both the Duke and Dutcheſs, made me offer my ſervice to them, in order to the ſearch of many papers, that were very carefully preſerved by them: for the Dutcheſs's uncle had charged her to keep them with the ſame care, as ſhe kept the writings of her eſtate; ſince in theſe a full juſtification of her father's publick actings, and of his own, would be found, when ſhe ſhould put them in the hands of one, that could ſet them in order, and in a due light. She put them all in my hands, which I acknowledge was a very great truſt: And I made no ill uſe of it. I found there materials for a very large hiſtory. I writ it with great ſincerity; and concealed

The Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton was writ by me at that time.

concealed none of their errors. I did indeed conceal 1671.
several things that related to the King: I left out some passages that were in his letters; in some of which was too much weakness, and in others too much craft and anger. I got through that work in a few months. When the Earl of Lauderdale heard that I had finished it, he desired me to come up to him; for he was sure, he could both rectify many things, and enlarge on a great many more. His true design was, to engage me to put in a great deal, relating to himself in that work. I found another degree of kindness and confidence from him upon my coming up, than ever before. I had nothing to ask for myself, but to be excused from the offer of two Bishopricks. But whatsoever I asked for any other person was granted: And I was considered as his favourite. He trusted me with all secrets, and seemed to have no reserves with me. He indeed pressed me to give up with Sir Robert Murray: And I saw, that upon my doing that, I should have as much credit with him as I could desire. Sir Robert himself apprehended this would be put to me; and pressed me to comply with him in it. But I hated servitude, as much as I loved him: so I refused it flatly. I told Lord Lauderdale, that Sir Robert had been as a second father, or governour to me, and therefore I could not break friendship with him. But I promised to speak to him of nothing that he trusted to me. And this was all that ever he could bring me to, though he put it often to me. I was treated by him with an entire confidence. Applications were made to me; and every thing that I proposed was done. I laid before him the ill state the affairs of Scotland were falling into, by his throwing off so many of his friends. Duke Hamilton and he had been for some years in ill terms. I laid down a method for bringing them to a better understanding. I got kind letters to pass on both sides, and put their reconciliation in so fair a way, that upon my return to Scotland it was for

1671. that time fully made up. I had authority from him to try, how both the Earls of Argile, and Tweedale, might return to their old friendſhip with him. The Earl of Argile was ready to do every thing. But the Earl of Athol had propoſed a match between his ſon and Lady Dyſert's daughter, and he had an hereditary hatred to the Lord Argile and his family: ſo that could not be eaſily brought about. Lord Tweedale was reſolved to withdraw from buſineſs. The Earl of Lauderdale had for many years treated his brother the Lord Halton, with as much contempt as he deſerved; for he was both weak and violent, inſolent and corrupt. He had promiſed to ſettle his eſtate on his daughter, when the Lord Tweedale's ſon married her. But his brother offered now every thing that Lady Dyſert deſired, provided ſhe would get his brother to ſettle his eſtate on him. So Lord Halton was now taken into affairs; and had ſo much credit with his brother, that all the dependance was upon him. And thus the breach between the Earls of Lauderdale and Tweedale was irreconcileable; though I did all I could to make it up.

A farther Indulgence propoſed.

As to Church affairs, Lord Lauderdale aſked my opinion concerning them. I gave it frankly to this purpoſe: There were many vacancies in the diſaffected Counties, to which no conformable men of any worth could be prevailed on to go: So I propoſed, that the Indulgence ſhould be extended to them all; and that the Miniſters ſhould be put into thoſe pariſhes by couples, and have the benefice divided between them; and, in the Churches, where the Indulgence had already taken place, that a ſecond Miniſter ſhould be added, and have the half of the benefice: By this means I reckoned, that all the outed Miniſters would be again employed, and kept from going round the uninfected parts of the Kingdom: I alſo propoſed that they ſhould be confined to their pariſhes, not to ſtir out of them without leave from the Biſhop of the dioceſe, or a Privy Counſellour;

lour; and that, upon transgressing the rules that should be sent them, a proportion of their benefice should be forfeited, and applied to some pious use. Lord Lauderdale heard me to an end: And then, without arguing one word upon any one branch of this scheme, he desired me to put it in writing; which I did. And the next year, when he came down again to Scotland, he made one write out my paper, and turned it into the style of instructions. So easily did he let himself be governed by those whom he trusted, even in matters of great consequence. Four Bishops happened to die that year, of which Edinburgh was one. I was desired to make my own choice: But I refused them all. Yet I obtained a letter to be writ, by the King's order, to Lord Rothes, that he should call the two Archbishops, and four of the Officers of State, and send up their opinion to the King of the persons fit to be promoted: and a private letter was writ to the Lords, to join with Leightoun in recommending the persons that he should name. Leightoun was uneasy, when he found that Charteris, and Nairn, as well as myself, could not be prevailed on to accept Bishopricks. They had an ill opinion of the Court, and could not be brought to leave their retirement. Leightoun was troubled at this. He said, if his friends left the whole load on him, he must leave all to providence. Yet he named the best men he could think on. And, that Sharp might not have too publick an affront put on him, Leightoun agreed to one of his nomination. But now I go to open a scene of another nature. 1671.

Foreign affairs.

The Court was now going into other measures. The Parliament had given the King all the money he had asked for repairing his fleet, and for supplying his stores and magazines. Additional revenues were also given for some years. But at their last sitting, in the beginning of the year 1670, it appeared that the House of Commons were out of countenance for having given so much money, and

An alliance with France set on foot.

1671. seemed resolved to give no more. All was obtained under the pretence of maintaining the Triple Alliance. When the Court saw how little reason they had to expect farther supplies, the Duke of Buckingham told the King, that now the time was come, in which he might both revenge the attempt on Chatham, and shake off the uneasy restraint of a House of Commons. And he got leave from the King to send over Sir Ellis Leightoun to the Court of France, to offer the project of a new alliance and a new war. Sir Ellis told me this himself: And was proud to think, that he was the first man employed in those black and fatal designs. But, in the first proposition made by us, the subduing of England, and the toleration of popery, here was offered, as that with which the design must be begun. France, seeing England so inclined, resolved to push the matter farther.

The Dutchess of Orleans come to Dover.

The King's sister, the Dutchess of Orleans, was thought the wittiest woman in France. The King of France had made love to her, with which she was highly incensed, when she saw it was only a pretence, to cover his addresses to Madamoiselle la Valiere, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards declared openly to be his Mistress: Yet she had reconciled herself to the King; and was now so entirely trusted by him, that he ordered her to propose an interview with her brother at Dover. The King went thither, and was so much charmed with his sister, that every thing she proposed, and every favour she asked, was granted. The King could deny her nothing. She proposed an alliance, in order to the conquest of Holland. The King had a mind to have begun at home. But she diverted him from that. It could not be foreseen, what difficulties the King might meet with upon the first opening the design: As it would alarm all his people, so it would send a great deal of wealth, and trade, and perhaps much people over to Holland: and by such an accession they would grow

stronger,

ſtronger, as he would grow weaker. So ſhe propoſed, that they ſhould begin with Holland, and attack it vigorouſly, both by ſea and land: And upon their ſucceſs in that, all the reſt would be an eaſy work. This account of that negotiation was printed twelve years after, at Paris, by one Abbot Primi. I had that part of the book in my hands, in which this was contained. Lord Preſton was then the King's Envoy at Paris: So he, knowing how great a prejudice the publiſhing this would be to his maſter's affairs, complained of it. The book was upon that ſuppreſſed; and the writer was put in the Baſtille. But he had drawn it out of the papers of Mr. Le Tellier's office: So there is little reaſon to doubt of the truth of the thing. Madame, as this book ſays, prevailed to have her ſcheme ſettled, and ſo went back to France. The journey proved fatal to her: for the Duke of Orleans had heard ſuch things of her behaviour, that it was ſaid he ordered a great doſe of ſublimate to be given her, in a glaſs of ſuccory-water, of which ſhe died a few hours after, in great torments: And when ſhe was opened, her ſtomach was all ulcerated. 1671. Soon after poiſoned.

Since I mention her death, I will ſet down one ſtory of her, that was told me by a perſon of diſtinction, who had it from ſome who were well informed of the matter. The King of France had courted Madame Soiſſons, and made a ſhew of courting Madame. But his affections fixing on Madamoiſelle La Valiere, ſhe whom he had forſaken, as well as ſhe whom he had deceived, reſolved to be revenged: And they entered into a friendſhip in order to that. They had each of them a Gallant: Madame had the Count De Guiche, and the other had the Marquis Des Vardes, then in great favour with the King, and a very graceful perſon. When the treaty of the King of France's marriage was ſet on foot, there was an opinion generally received, that the Infanta of Spain was Some of her intrigues.

1671. a woman of great genius, and would have a considerable ſtroke in all affairs. So, many young men of quality ſet themſelves to learn the Spaniſh language, to give them the more credit with the young queen. All that fell to the ground, when it appeared how weak a woman ſhe was. Theſe two were of that number. Count De Guiche watched an occaſion, when a letter from the King of Spain was given to his daughter by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, and ſhe tore the envelope, and let it fall. He gathered up all the parcels of it, together with the ſeal. From theſe they learned to imitate the King of Spain's writing. And they ſent to Holland to get a ſeal engraven from the impreſſion of the wax. When all was prepared, a letter was writ, as in the name of the King of Spain, reproaching his daughter for her tameneſs in ſuffering ſuch an affront, as the King put on her by his amours, with reflexions full both of contempt and anger againſt the King. There was one Spaniſh Lady left about the Queen: So they forged another letter, as from the Spaniſh Ambaſſador to her, with that to the Queen incloſed in it, deſiring her to deliver it ſecretly into the Queen's own hand. And they made a livery, ſuch as the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's pages wore: And a boy was ſent in it with the letter. The Lady ſuſpected no forgery; but fancied, the letter might be about ſome matter of State. She thought it ſafeſt to carry it to the King, who reading it ordered an enquiry to be made about it. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſaw he was abuſed in it. The King ſpoke to the Marquis Des Vardes, not ſuſpecting that he was in it, and charged him to ſearch after the author of this abuſe, that was intended to be put on him. The two ladies now rejoiced, that the looking after the diſcovery was put in the hands of a man, ſo much concerned in it. He amuſed the King with the enquiries that he was making, tho' he was ever in a wrong ſcent. But in all this time

Some of the intrigues.

Madame

Madame was so pleased with his conduct. that she came to like his person; and had so little command of herself, that she told Madame Soissons, she was her rival. The other readily complied with her. And, by an odd piece of extravagance, he was sent for: And Madam Soissons told him, since he was in Madame's favour, she released him from all obligations, and delivered him over to her. The Marquis Des Vardes thought, this was only an artifice of gallantry, to try how faithful he was to his amours: So he declared himself incapable of changing, in terms full of respect for Madame, and of passion for the other. This raised in Madame so deep a resentment, that she resolved to sacrifice Des Vardes, but to save the Count De Guiche. So she gave him notice, that the King had discovered the whole intrigue; and charged him to hasten out of France. And, as soon as she believed that he was in Flanders, she told all to the King of France. Upon which Des Vardes was not only disgraced, but kept long a prisoner in Aigues Mortes. And afterwards he was suffered to come to Montpelier. And it was almost twenty years after, before he was suffered to come to Court. I was at Court when he came first to it. He was much broke in his health, but was become a philosopher, and was in great reputation among all Des Cartes's followers. Madame had an intrigue with another person, whom I knew well, the Count of Treville. When she was in her agony, she said, "adieu Treville." He was so struck with this accident, that it had a good effect on him; for he went and lived many years among the Fathers of the Oratory, and became both a very learned, and devout man. He came afterwards out into the world. I saw him often. He was a man of a very sweet temper, only a little too formal for a French man. But he was very sincere. He was a Janseniſt. He hated the Jesuits. And had a very mean opinion of the King, which appeared in all the instances, in which it was safe for him to shew it. 1671.

1671. Upon Madame's death, as the Marshal Bellefonds came from France with the complement to the Court of England, so the Duke of Buckingham was sent thither on pretence to return the complement, but really to finish the treaty. The King of France used him in so particular a manner, knowing his vanity, and caressed him to such a degree, that he went without reserve into the interests of France. Yet he protested to me, that he never consented to the French fleet's coming into our seas and harbours. He said, he was offered 40,000 *l.* if he could persuade the King to yield to it: and he appealed to the Earl of Dorset for this, who was in the secret. He therefore concluded, since, after all the uneasiness shewed at first, the King had yielded to it, that Lord Arlington had the money. Lord Shaftesbury laid the blame of this chiefly on the duke of Buckingham: for he told me, that he himself had writ a peremptory instruction to him from the King, to give up all treaty, if the French did insist on the sending a fleet to our assistance. And therefore he blamed him, as having yielded it up, since he ought to have broke off all farther treaty, upon their insisting on this. But the Duke of York told me, there was no money given to corrupt the King's ministers; that the King and he had long insisted on having all their supplies from France in money, without a fleet; and that the French shewed them it was not possible for them to find out funds for so great an expence, unless we took a squadron of their ships; since they could not both maintain their own fleet, and furnish us with money that would be necessary, if we took not their squadron. It was agreed, that the King should have 350,000 *l.* a year during the war, together with a fleet from France. England was to attack the Dutch by sea, while the King of France should invade them by land with a mighty army. It was not doubted, but that the States would find it impossible to resist so great a force,

The treaty with France negociated.

a force, and would therefore submit to the two Kings: So the diviſion they agreed on was, that England ſhould have Zealand, and that the King of France ſhould have all the reſt, except Holland, which was to be given to the Prince of Orange, if he would come into the alliance: And it ſhould be ſtill a trading country, but without any capital ſhips. Lord Lauderdale ſaid upon that occaſion to me, that whatſoever they intended to do, they were reſolved to do it effectually all at once: But he would not go into farther particulars. That the year 1672 might be fatal to other Common-wealths, as well as to the States, the Duke of Savoy was encouraged to make a conqueſt of Genoa; though he afterwards failed in the attempt, and the King of Denmark was invited into the alliance, with the offer of the town of Hamburgh, on which he had long ſet his heart. The Duke of Richmond was ſent to give a luſtre to that negociation, which was chiefly managed by Mr. Henſhaw; who told me, that we offered that King ſome ſhips to aſſiſt him in ſeizing that rich town. But he was then in thoſe engagements with the States of Holland, that even this offer did not prevail on him. 1671.

Lockart was at this time brought to court by Lord Lauderdale, hoping that he would continue in an entire dependance on him, and be his creature. He was under ſo great a jealouſy from the Government for his former actings, that he was too eaſy to enter into any employment, that might bring him into favour, not ſo much out of any ambition to riſe, as from a deſire to be ſafe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the Court: for when a foreign Miniſter aſked the King's leave to treat with him in his maſter's name, the King conſented; but with this ſevere reflexion, that he believed he would be true to any body but himſelf. He was ſent to the Courts of Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if Lockhart ſent to France.

that

1671. that could not be done, at leaſt to ſecure them from all apprehenſions. But in this he had no ſucceſs. And indeed when he ſaw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneaſy: For, tho' the blackeſt part of the ſecret was not truſted to him, as appeared to me by his inſtructions, which I read after his death; yet he ſaw whither things were going. And that affected him ſo deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languiſhing he ſoon fell under, which ended in his death two years after.

Pretended reaſons for the Dutch war.

The war being thus reſolved on, ſome pretences were in the next place to be ſought out to excuſe it: For, though the King of France went more roundly to work, and publiſhed that he was ſo ill ſatisfied with the conduct of the States, that it did not conſiſt with his glory to bear it any longer, yet we thought it decent for us to name ſome particulars. It was ſaid, we had ſome pretenſions on Surinam, not yet completely ſatisfied; and that the States harboured traitors, that fled from juſtice, and lived in Holland: ſome medals were complained of, that ſeemed diſhonourable to the King; as alſo ſome pictures: And, though theſe were not made by publick order, yet a great noiſe was raiſed about them. But an accident happened, that the Court laid great hold of. The Dutch fleet lay off the coaſt of England the former year: And one of the King's Yachts ſailed by, and expected they ſhould ſtrike ſail. They ſaid, they never refuſed it to any man of war: But they thought that honour did not belong to ſuch an inconſiderable veſſel. I was then at Court: and I ſaw joy in the looks of thoſe that were in the ſecret. Selden had in his Mare Clauſum raiſed this matter ſo high, that he made it one of the chief rights and honours of the Crown of England, as the acknowledgement of the King's empire in the four ſeas. The Dutch offered all ſatisfaction for the future in this matter: But they would not

ſend

send their Admiral over as a criminal. While France was treating with England, they continued to amuse the Dutch: And they possessed De Groot, then the Dutch Ambassador at Paris, or they corrupted him into a belief that they had no design on them, and the Dutch were too secure, and depended too much on his advertisements. Yet the States entered into a negociation, both with Spain and the Emperor, and with the King of Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and the Duke of Lunenburgh. The King of Sweden was yet under age: And the Ministry there desired a neutrality. France and England sent two Ambassadors to them, both men of great probity, Pomponne and Coventry, who were both recalled at the same time to be Secretaries of State. Coventry was a man of wit and heat, of spirit and candour. He never gave bad advices: But when the King followed the ill advices that others gave, he thought himself bound to excuse, if not to justify them. For this the Duke of York commended him much to me. He said, in that he was a pattern to all good subjects, since he defended all the King's counsels in publick, even when he had blamed them most in private, with the King himself. 1671.

Our Court having resolved on a war, did now look out for money to carry it on. The King had been running into a great debt ever since his Restoration. One branch of it was for the pay of that fleet that brought him over. The main of it had been contracted during the former Dutch war. The King, in order to the keeping his credit, had dealt with some Bankers, and had assigned over the revenue to them. They drove a great trade, and had made great advantage by it. The King paid them at the rate of 8 per cent: And they paid those who put money in their hands only 6 per cent: And had great credit; for payments were made 1672. The shutting up of the Exchequer.

1672. made very punctually. The King had in ſome proclamations given his faith, that he would continue to make good all his aſſignments, till the whole debt ſhould be paid, which was now growing up to almoſt a million and a half. So one of the ways propoſed for ſupplying the King with money was, that he ſhould ſtop theſe payments for a year, it being thought certain, that by the end of the year the King would be out of all his neceſſities, by the hopes they had of ſucceſs in the war. The Earl of Shafteſbury was the chief man in this advice. He excuſed it to me, telling me what advantage the Bankers had made, and how juſt it was for the King to bring them to an account, for their uſury and extortions: And added, that he never meant the ſtop ſhould run beyond the year. He certainly knew of it before hand; and took all his own money out of the Bankers hands, and warned ſome of his friends to do the like. Lord Lauderdale did about this time marry Lady Dyſert, upon his own Lady's death: And ſhe writ me a long account of the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, as both juſt and neceſſary. The Bankers were broke; and great multitudes, who had truſted their money in their hands, were ruined by this diſhonourable and perfidious action. But this gave the King only his own revenue again. So other ways were to be found for an increaſe of treaſure.

The attempt on the Dutch Smyrna fleet.

By the peace of Breda it was provided, that, in order to the ſecurity of trade, no merchant's ſhips ſhould be for the future fallen on, till ſix months after a declaration of war. The Dutch had a rich fleet coming from Smyrna, and other parts of the Mediterranean, under the convoy of a few men of war. Our Court had advice of this. And Holmes was ordered to lye in wait for them, and to take them near the Iſle of Wight with eight men of war. As he was

ſailing

sailing thither he met Spragge, who was returning from the Straits with a squadron of our ships; and told him, that he had sailed along with the Dutch most of the way, and that they would pass within a day or two. Holmes thought, he was much too strong for them; so did not acquaint Spragge with his design: For, if he had stopped him to assist in the execution, probably the whole fleet had been taken, which was reckoned worth a million and a half. When they came up, Holmes fell upon them: But their convoy did their part so well, that not only the whole fleet sailed away, while they kept him in play, but they themselves got off at last favoured by a mist: And there were only a few ships taken, of so small a value, that they were not worth the powder that was spent in the action. This was a breach of faith, such as even Mahometans and Pyrates would have been ashamed of. The unsuccessfulness of it made it appear as ridiculous as it was base. Holmes was pressed to put it on the Dutch refusing to strike sail. Yet that was so false, and there were so many witnesses to it, that he had not the impudence to affirm it. 1672.

A Declaration for Toleration.

To crown all, a Declaration was ordered to be set out, suspending the execution of all penal laws, both against Papists and Nonconformists. Papists were no more to be prosecuted for their way of worship in their own houses, and the Nonconformists were allowed to have open Meeting Houses; for which they were to take out licences, and none were to disturb those who should meet for worship, by virtue of those licences. Lord Keeper Bridgman had lost all credit at Court: So they were seeking an occasion to be rid of him, who had indeed lost all the reputation he had formerly acquired, by his being advanced to a post of which he was not capable. He refused to put the seal to the Declaration, as judging it contrary to law. So he was dismissed, and the Earl of Shaftsbury

1672. Shaftſbury was made Lord Chancellour. Lord Clifford was made Lord Treaſurer: Lord Arlington and Lord Lauderdale had both of them the Garter: And as Arlington was made an Earl, Lauderdale was made a Duke: And this Junto, together with the Duke of Buckingham, being called the Cabal, it was obſerved, that Cabal proved a technical word, every letter in it being the firſt letter of thoſe five, Clifford, Aſhly, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. They had, all of them, great preſents from France, beſides what was openly given them: For the French Ambaſſador gave them all a picture of the King of France, ſet in diamonds, to the value of 3000 l. Thus was the Nation, and our religion, as well as the King's faith and honour, ſet to ſale, and ſold. Lord Shaftſbury reſolved to recommend himſelf to the confidence of the Court by a new ſtrain, never before thought of. He ſaid, the writs for chooſing the members of the Houſe of Commons might be iſſued out in the intervals of a ſeſſion: and the elections made upon them were to be returned into Chancery, and ſettled there. So the writs were iſſued out, but whether any elections were made upon them, and returned, I cannot tell. I know, the Houſe of Commons intended to have impreached him, for this among other things; but he had the foreſight and ſkill to prevent it. When the Declaration for Toleration was publiſhed, great endeavours were uſed by the Court, to perſuade the Nonconformiſts to make addreſſes and compliments upon it. But few were ſo blind as not to ſee what was aimed at by it.

The Preſbyterians gave the King Thanks for the Toleration.

The Duke was now known to be a Papiſt; and the Dutcheſs was much ſuſpected: Yet the Preſbyterians came in a body; and Dr. Manton, in their name, thanked the King for it, which offended many of their beſt friends. There was alſo an order, to pay a yearly penſion of fifty pounds to moſt of them, and of an hundred pounds a year to the chief of the party.

party. Baxter ſent back his penſion, and would not touch it; but moſt of them took it. All this I ſay upon Dr. Stillingfleet's word, who aſſured me, he knew the truth of it: And in particular, he told me, that Pool, who wrote the Synopſis of the criticks, confeſſed to him, that he had had fifty pounds for two years. Thus the Court hired them to be ſilent; and the greateſt part of them were ſo, and very compliant. But now the pulpits were full of a new ſtrain. Popery was every where preached againſt, and the authority of the laws was much magnified. The Biſhops, the Biſhop of London in particular, charged the Clergy to preach againſt Popery, and to inform the people of the controverſy, between us and the Church of Rome. This alarmed the Court, as well as the City, and the whole Nation. Clifford began to ſhew the heat of his temper; and ſeemed a ſort of Enthuſiaſt for Popery. The King complained to Sheldon of this preaching on controverſy, as done on purpoſe to inflame the people, and to alienate them from him and his Government. Upon this Sheldon called ſome of the Clergy together, to conſider what anſwer he ſhould make the King, if he preſſed him any farther on that head. Tillotſon was one of theſe: And he ſuggeſted this anſwer, that ſince the King himſelf profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he ſhould forbid his Clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himſelf ſaid he was of it. But the King never renewed the motion. 1672.

While things were in this fermentation, the Dutcheſs of York died. It was obſerved, that for fifteen months before that time, ſhe had not received the ſacrament; and that, upon all occaſions, ſhe was excuſing the errours, that the Church of Rome was charged with, and was giving them the beſt colours they were capable of. An unmarried Clergy was alſo a common topick with her. Morley had been

The Dutcheſs of York died.

1672. been her father confessour: For, he told me, she practised secret confession to him, from the time that she was twelve years old: And, when he was sent away from the Court, he put her in the hands of Blanford, who died Bishop of Worcester. Morley also told me, that, upon the reports that were brought him of her slackness in receiving the sacrament, she having been, for many years, punctual to once a month, he had spoken plainly to her about it, and told her what inferences were made upon it. She pretended ill health and business; but protested to him, she had no scruples with relation to her religion, and was still of the Church of England; and assured him, that no Popish Priest had ever taken the confidence to speak to her of those matters. He took a solemn engagement of her, that if scruples should arise in her mind, she would let him know them, and hear what he should offer to her upon all of them. And he protested to me, that, to her death, she never owned to him that she had any scruples, though she was, for some days, entertained by him at Farnham, after the date of the paper, which was afterwards published in her name. All this passed between the Bishop and me, upon the Duke's shewing me that paper, all writ in her own hand, which was afterwards published by Maimburg. He would not let me take a copy of it; but he gave me leave to read it twice. And I went immediately to Morley, and gave him an account of it; from whom I had all the particulars already mentioned. And upon that he concluded, that that unhappy Princess had been prevailed on to give false words under her hand, and to pretend, that these were the grounds of her conversion. A long decay of health came at last to a quicker crisis than had been apprehended. All on a sudden she fell into the agony of death. Blanford was sent for, to prepare her for it, and to offer her the sacrament. Before he could come, the Queen came in, and sat by her. He was

modest

modeſt and humble, even to a fault. So he had not preſence of mind enough to begin prayers, which probably would have driven the Queen out of the room. But, that not being done, ſhe pretending kindneſs would not leave her. The Biſhop ſpoke but little and fearfully. He happened to ſay, he hoped ſhe continued ſtill in the truth: Upon which ſhe aſked, what is truth: And then, her agony encreaſing, ſhe repeated the word Truth Truth often: And in a few minutes after ſhe died, very little beloved, or lamented. Her haughtineſs had raiſed her many enemies. She was indeed a firm, and a kind friend: But the change of her religion, made her friends reckon her death, rather a bleſſing than a loſs at that time to them all. Her father, when he heard of her ſhaking in her religion, was more troubled at it, than at all his own misfortunes. He writ her a very grave and long letter upon it, encloſed in one to the Duke. But ſhe was dead before it came into England. I have ſet down all that I know concerning the fatal alliance with France, and our preparations for the ſecond Dutch war. 1672.

But that I may open the ſcene more diſtinctly, I will give as particular an account, as I was able to gather, of the affairs of the States of Holland at this time. And, becauſe this was the fifth great criſis, under which the whole Proteſtant religion was brought, I will lead my reader thro' a full account of them all; ſince I may probably lay things before him, that he may otherwiſe paſs over, without making due reflections on them.

The firſt criſis was, when Charles V. by the defeating the Duke of Saxony, and the getting him and the Landgrave of Heſſe into his hands, had ſubdued the Smalcaldick league; in which the ſtrength of the Proteſtant religion did then conſiſt, having been weakened by the ſucceeding deaths of Henry VIII. and Francis I. Upon that defeat all ſubmitted to the Emperor: Only the The firſt criſis of the Proteſtant religion.

1672. Town of Magdeburgh ſtood out. The Emperor ſhould either not have truſted Maurice, or have uſed him better: And it ſeems, that he reckoned Maurice had neither religion nor honour, ſince his ambition had made him betray his religion, and abandon his party. When Maurice had got the Electorate, he made himſelf ſure of the Army; and entered into an alliance with France, and other Princes of the Empire; and made ſo quick a turn on the Emperor, that he had almoſt ſurpriſed him at Inchſpruck, and of a ſudden overturned all that deſign, upon which the Emperor had been labouring for many years. This ended in the Edict of Paſſau, which ſettled the peace of Germany for that time.

The ſecond Criſis.

The ſecond Criſis was, towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, when the Proteſtant religion ſeemed extinguiſhed in England; and the two Cardinals of Lorrain and Granvell, then the chief Miniſters of the two Crowns, deſigned a peace for that very end, that their maſters might be at leiſure to extirpate hereſy, which was then ſpreading in both their dominions. But, after they had formed their ſcheme, Queen Mary died, and was ſucceeded by Queen Elizabeth in England. Soon after that the King of France was accidentally killed: So that Kingdom fell under a long continuance of a minority, and a civil war. And the Netherlands felt from thence, and from England, ſuch encouragement, that they made the longeſt and braveſt reſiſtance that is to be found in all hiſtory; which was in a great meaſure owing to the obſtinate and implacable cruelty of Philip II. and his great diſtance from the ſcene of the war; and was paſt all poſſibility of being made up, by reaſon of his perfidious breach of all agreements, and his uſing thoſe that ſerved him well in ſo baſe a manner, as he did both the Duke of Alva, and the Prince of Parma.

The

The third Criſis laſted from 1585 to the year 1589. Then began the League of France. The Prince of Parma was victorious in the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange was murdered. The States fell under great diſtractions. And Spain entered into a deſign of dethroning the Queen of England, and putting the Queen of Scots in her ſtead. In order to that they were for ſome years preparing the greateſt fleet that the world had ever ſeen, which came to be called the Invincible Armada. All Europe was amazed at theſe great preparations: And many conjectures were made concerning the deſign of ſuch a vaſt fleet. Some thought of Conſtantinople. Others talked of Ægypt, in conjunction with the Emperor of the Abiſſynes. But that which was moſt probable was, that King Philip intended to make a great effort, and put an end to the war of the Netherlands in one campaign. At laſt the true intent of it was found out. Walſingham's chief ſpies were Prieſts: As he uſed always to ſay, an active, but vicious, Prieſt was the beſt ſpy in the world. By one of theſe he had advice, that the King of Spain had fixed on a reſolution with relation to his fleet; but that it was not yet communicated to any of his Miniſters in foreign Courts. The King himſelf had indeed writ a letter about it to the Pope: But it was not entred in any office: So this was all that the intelligence from Madrid could diſcover. Upon this one was ſent to Venice, from whence the correſpondence with Rome was held. And at Rome it was found out, that one of the Pope's chief confidents had a Miſtreſs, to whom twenty thouſand crowns were given, for a ſight and copy of that letter. The copy of it was ſent over ſoon after Chriſtmaſs, in the winter 1586. By it the King of Spain had acquainted the Pope, that the deſign of his fleet was to land in England, to deſtroy Queen Elizabeth and hereſy, and to ſet the Queen of Scots on the throne: In this he had the con-

1672.

The third Criſis.

1672. currence of the Houſe of Guiſe: And he alſo depended on the King of Scotland. This proved fatal to the Queen of Scots. It is true, King James ſent one Steward, the anceſtor of the Lord Blantyre, who was then of his bedchamber, with an earneſt and threatning meſſage to Queen Elizabeth for ſaving his mother. But in one of the intercepted letters of the French Ambaſſadours then in Scotland, found among Walſingham's papers, it appears, that the King, young as he was then, was either very double, or very inconſtant in his reſolutions. The French Ambaſſadour aſſured him, that Steward had adviſed the Queen to put a ſpeedy end to that buſineſs, which way ſhe pleaſed; and that as for his maſter's anger, he would ſoon be pacified, if ſhe would but ſend him dogs and deer. The King was ſo offended at this, that he ſaid, he would hang him up in his boots, as ſoon as he came back. Yet when he came back, it was ſo far from that, that he lay all that night in the bedchamber. As for the pompous Embaſſy that was ſent from France to proteſt againſt it, Maurier has told a very probable ſtory, of Henry III. writing a letter with them to the Queen, adviſing her to proceed with all haſte to do that, which the Embaſſy was ſent to prevent. He ſaw, the Houſe of Guiſe built a great part of their hopes on the proſpect of their couſin's coming to the Crown of England, which would cut off all the hopes the Houſe of Bourbon had of aſſiſtance from thence. I have ſeen an original letter of the Earl of Leiceſter's to the Earl of Bedford, who had married his ſiſter, and was then Governour of Berwick, telling him, that, how high ſoever the French Ambaſſadours had talked in their harangues upon that occaſion, calling any proceeding againſt the Queen of Scots an open indignity, as well as an act of hoſtility againſt France, ſince ſhe was Queen Dowager of France; yet all this was only matter of form and decency, that was extorted from the

King

King of France; and, how high ſoever they might talk, they were well aſſured he would do nothing upon it. So that unfortunate Queen fell at that time, by reaſon of the Spaniſh preparations to conquer England, under the pretence of ſetting her on the throne. She died, much more decently than ſhe had lived, in February 1587. 1672.

But the Court of England ſaw, that if King Philip's fleet was in a condition to conquer England, he would not abandon the deſign for her being put out of the way; and that he certainly intended to conquer it for himſelf, and not for another. So orders were given to make all poſſible haſte with a fleet. Yet they were ſo little provided for ſuch an invaſion, that, tho' they had then twenty good ſhips upon the ſtocks, it was not poſſible to get them in a condition to ſerve that ſummer: And the deſign of Spain was to ſail over in 1587. So, unleſs by corruption, or any other method, the attempt could be put off for that year, there was no ſtrength ready to reſiſt ſo powerful a fleet. But when it ſeemed not poſſible to divert the preſent execution of ſo great a deſign, a merchant of London to their ſurpriſe undertook it. He was well acquainted with the ſtate of the revenue of Spain, with all their charge, and all that they could raiſe. He knew all their funds were ſo ſwallowed up, that it was impoſſible for them to victual and ſet our their fleet, but by their credit in the bank of Genoa. So he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and to get ſuch draughts made on that bank, that he ſhould by that means have it ſo entirely in his hands, that there ſhould be no money current there, equal to the great occaſion of victualling the fleet of Spain. He reckoned, the keeping ſuch a treaſure dead in his hands, till the ſeaſon of victualling was over, would be a loſs of 400001. And at that rate he would ſave England. He managed the matter with ſuch ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, that the fleet could

The Spaniſh fleet came not as at firſt intended.

1672. not be ſet out that year. At ſo ſmall a price, and with ſo ſkilful a management, was the Nation ſaved at that time. This it ſeems was thought too great a myſtery of State to be communicated to Cambden, or to be publiſhed by him, when the inſtructions were put in his hands for writing the hiſtory of that glorious reign. But the famous Boyle, Earl of Cork, who had then a great ſhare in the affairs of Ireland, came to know it; and told it to two of his children, from whom I had it. The ſtory is ſo coherent, and agrees ſo well with the ſtate of affairs at that time, that it ſeems highly credible. And, if it is true, it is certainly one of the curiouſeſt paſſages in our whole Engliſh hiſtory. I return from this digreſſion, which I hope will be no unacceptable entertainment to the reader: It is well known, how the deſign of the Armada miſcarried: And ſoon after that the Duke of Guiſe was ſtabbed: Not long after Henry III. was alſo ſtabbed: And Henry IV. ſucceeded, who broke the League, with which the great deſigns of Spain fell to the ground. So happily did this third Criſis paſs over.

The fourth Criſis.

The fourth Criſis was from the battle of Prague to the year 1630, in which, as was told in the firſt book, not only the Elector Palatine fell, but almoſt all the Empire came under the Auſtrian yoke. All attempts to ſhake it off proved unſucceſsful, and fatal to thoſe who undertook it, till the young and great King of Sweden, Guſtavus Adolphus, engaged in it. The wars of Rochelle, together with the loſs of that important place, ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of France. England fell under thoſe unhappy jealouſies, which began a disjointing between the King and his people. And the States were much preſſed by the Spaniards under Spinola. Breda was taken. But the worſt of all was, a quarrel that was raiſed between Prince Maurice and Barnevelt, that will require a fuller diſcuſſion, than was offered in the

former

former book. All agree, that William Prince of Orange was one of the greateſt men in ſtory, who, after many attempts for the recovery of the liberty of the Provinces, was in concluſion ſucceſsful, and formed that Republick. In the doing of it he was guilty of one great error, unleſs he was forced to it by the neceſſity of his affairs; which was the ſettling a negative in every one of the Towns of Holland, in the matters of religion, of taxes, and of peace and war. It had been much ſafer, if it had been determined, that the two thirds muſt concur; by which the Government would have been much ſtronger. Some thought, that he brought in ſo many little Towns to balance the greater, of whom he could not be ſure; whereas he could more eaſily manage theſe ſmaller ones. Others have ſaid, that he was forced to it, to draw them to a more hearty concurrence in the war, ſince they were to have ſuch a ſhare in the Government for the future. But, as he ſettled it, the corruption of any one ſmall Town, may put all the affairs of Holland in great diſorder. He was alſo blamed, becauſe he laboured to raiſe the power of the Stadtholder ſo high, that in many regards it was greater, than the power of the Counts of Holland had been. But this was balanced by its being made elective, and by the ſmall appointments he took to himſelf. It ſeems, he deſigned to have ſettled that honour in his family: For after his death, there were reverſal letters found among his papers from the Duke of Anjou, when the Provinces invited him to be their Prince, by which the Duke engaged himſelf to leave Holland and Zealand in the Prince's hands. Before he died, he had in a great meaſure loſt the affections of the Clergy; becauſe he was very earneſt for the toleration of Papiſts, judging that neceſſary for the engaging men of all perſuaſions, in the common concerns of liberty, and for encouraging the other Provinces to come into the union. This 1672.

1672. was much oppoſed by the preachers in Holland, who were for more violent methods. Thoſe, who but a few years before had complained of the cruelty of the Church of Rome, were no ſooner delivered from that, than they began to call for the ſame ways of proſecuting thoſe who were of the other ſide. This made that great Prince loſe ground with the zealots of his own ſide before he died. With him all their affairs ſunk ſo faſt, that they ſaw the neceſſity of ſeeking protection elſewhere. Their Miniſters did of themſelves, without the concurrence of the States, ſend to Queen Elizabeth, to deſire her to take them under her protection, on ſuch terms as ſhe ſhould preſcribe. And, tho' the States were highly offended at this, yet they durſt not at that time complain of it, much leſs puniſh it: but were forced by the clamour of their people to follow an example, that was ſo irregularly ſet them. This I had from Halewyn of Dort, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to write afterwards. When the Queen ſent over the Earl of Leiceſter, with a new title, and an authority greater than was either in the Counts of Holland, or in the Stadtholder, by the name of Supreme Governour: He as ſoon as he landed at Fluſhing went firſt to Church, where he ordered prayers to be offered up for a bleſſing on his counſels, and deſired that he might receive the Sacrament next day: And there he made ſolemn proteſtations of his integrity and zeal. This pleaſed the people ſo much, that Barnevelt, and the States at the Hague, thought it neceſſary to ſecure themſelves, from the effects of ſuch a threatning popularity: So they ſent for the Count, afterwards Prince Maurice, who was then at Leyden, not yet eighteen, and choſe him Stadtholder of Holland and Zealand. There had been no proviſion made againſt that, in their treaty with the Earl of Leiceſter. Yet he was highly offended at it. I will go no farther into the errors of his government,

and

and the end that the Queen put to it; which she did, as soon as it appeared that he was incapable of it, and was beginning to betray, and to sell their best places. 1672.

Differences between Prince Maurice of Orange and Barnevelt.

Prince Maurice and Barnevelt continued long in a perfect conjunction of counsels: Till upon the negotiations for a peace, or at least for a truce, they differed so much, that their friendship ended in a most violent hatred, and a jealousy that could never be made up. Prince Maurice was for carrying on the war, which set him at the head of a great army. And he had so great an interest in the conquests they made, that for that very reason Barnevelt infused it into the States, that they were now safe, and needed not fear the Spaniards any more; so there was no reason for continuing the war. Prince Maurice on the other hand said, their persecuted brethren in the Popish Provinces wanted their help to set them at liberty. The work seemed very easy, and the prospect of success was great. In opposition to this it was said; since the seven Provinces were now safe, why should they extend their territories? Those who loved their religion and liberty in the other Provinces might come and live among them: This would encrease both their numbers, and their wealth: Whereas the conquest of Antwerp might prove fatal to them: Besides, that both France and England interposed: They would not allow them to conquer more, nor become more formidable. All the zealous preachers were for continuing the war: And those that were for peace were branded as men of no religion, who had only carnal and political views. While this was in debate every where, the disputes began between Arminius and Gomarus, two famous professors at Leyden, concerning the decrees of God, and the efficacy of grace; in which those two great men, Maurice and Barnevelt, went upon interest, to lead the two parties, from which they both differed in opinion. Prince Maurice in private

1672. vate always talked on the side of the Arminians: And Barnevelt believed predestination firmly. But, as he left reprobation out in his scheme, so he was against the unreasonable severity with which the Ministers drove those points. He found the Arminians were the better patriots: And he thought the other side out of their zeal were engaged for carrying on the war, so as that they called all the others indifferent as to all religions, and charged them as favourers of Spain and Popery. I will go no farther into the differences that followed, concerning the authority of the States General over the several Provinces. It is certain, that every Province is a separated State, and has an entire sovereignty within itself; and that the States General are an assembly of the deputies of the several Provinces, but without any authority over them. Yet it was pretended, that extraordinary diseases required extraordinary remedies: And Prince Maurice, by the assistance of a party that the Ministers made for him among the people, engaged the States to assume an authority over the Province of Holland, and to put the Government in new hands. A Court was erected by the same authority, to judge those who had been formerly in the magistracy. Barnevelt was accused, together with Grotius, and some others, as fomentors of sedition, and for raising distractions in the country. He was condemned, and beheaded. Others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And every one of the Judges had a great gold medal given them, in the reverse of which the Synod of Dort was represented, which was called by the same authority. I saw one of those medals in the possession of the posterity of one of those Judges. King James assisted Prince Maurice in all this: So powerfully do the interests of Princes carry them to concur in things that are most contrary to their own inclinations. The prevailing passion of that King was his

his hatred of the Puritans: That made him hate these opinions into which they went with great heat: And, tho' he encouraged all that were of the Arminian party in his own dominions, yet he helped to crush them in Holland: He hated Barnevelt upon another score; for his getting the cautionary towns out of his hands: And, according to the nature of impotent passions, this carried him to procure his ruin. After this victory that Prince Maurice had got over the party that opposed him, he did not study to carry it much farther. He found quickly how much he had lost the hearts of the people, who had before that time made him their idol, and now looked on him with horror. He studied to make up matters the best he could, that he might engage the States in the Bohemian war. But all that was soon at an end. It was plain, that he had no design upon their liberty: Tho' he could not bear the opposition, that he began to meet with from a free State. 1672.

His death put an end to all jealousies: And his brother Prince Henry Frederick quickly settled the disputes of Arminianism, by the toleration that was granted them. He was known to be a secret favourer of their tenets: He conducted the Armies of the States with so much success, and left them so much at liberty as to all their state affairs, that all the jealousies which his brother's conduct had raised, were quite extinguished by him. The States made him great presents. He became very rich. And his son had the survivance of the Stadtholdership. But his son had more of his uncle's fire in him, than of his father's temper. He opposed the peace of Munster all he could. The States came then to see, that they had continued too long in their alliance with France against Spain, since France had got the ascendant by too visible a superiority. So that their interest led them now to support Spain against France. Prince William fell to be in ill terms with his mother. And she, who had great

Prince Henry Frederick's wife govern. ment.

His son's heat.

1672. great credit with the States, ſet up ſuch an open oppoſition to her ſon, that the peace of Munſter was in a great meaſure the effect of their private quarrel. Prince William, being married into the Royal family of England, did all he could to embroil the States with the new Common-wealth. But he met with ſuch oppoſition, that, he, finding the States were reſolved to diſmiſs a great part of their army, ſuffered himſelf to be carried to violent counſels. I need not enlarge on things that are ſo well known, as his ſending ſome of the States priſoners to Loveſtein, and his deſign to change the government of Amſterdam, which was diſcovered by the poſt-boy, who gave the alarm a few hours before the Prince could get thither.

Theſe things, and the effects that followed on them, are well known: As is alſo his death which followed a few weeks after, in the moſt unhappy time poſſible for the Princeſs Royal's pregnancy. For as ſhe bore her ſon a week after his death, in the eighth month of her time, ſo he came into the world under great diſadvantages. The States were poſſeſſed with great jealouſies of the family, as if aſpiring to ſubdue the liberties of their country was inherent in it, and inſeparable from it. His private affairs were alſo in a very bad condition: Two great jointures went out of his eſtate, to his mother, and grandmother, beſides a vaſt debt that his father had contracted to aſſiſt the King. Who could have thought that an infant, brought into the world with ſo much ill health, and under ſo many ill circumſtances, was born for the preſervation of Europe, and of the Proteſtant religion? So unlike do the events of things prove to their firſt appearances. And, ſince I am writing of his birth, I will ſet down a ſtory, much to the credit of aſtrology, how little regard ſoever I myſelf have to it. I had it from the late Queen's own mouth: And ſhe directed me to ſome, who were of the Prince's Court in that time,

who

who confirmed it to me. An unknown perſon put a paper into the old Princeſs's hands, which ſhe took from him, thinking it was a petition. When ſhe looked into it, ſhe found it was her ſon's nativity, together with the fortunes of his life, and a full deduction of many accidents, which followed very punctually, as they were predicted. But that which was moſt particular was, that he was to have a ſon by a widow, and was to die of the ſmall pox in the twenty fifth year of his age. So thoſe who were apt to give credit to predictions of that ſort fancied, that the Princeſs Royal was to die; and that he was upon that to marry the widow of ſome other perſon. It was a common piece of raillery in the Court, upon the death of any Prince, to aſk what a perſon his widow was. But when he was taken ill of the ſmall pox, then the decyphering the matter was obvious, and it ſtruck his fancy ſo much, that probably it had an ill effect upon him. Thus was the young Prince born; who was ſome years after barred by the Perpetual Edict, from all hopes of arriving at the Stadtholderſhip. 1672.

The chief error in De Wit's adminiſtration was, that he did not again raiſe the authority of the Council of State; ſince it was very inconvenient to have both the legiſlature and the execution in the ſame hands. It ſeemed neceſſary to put the conduct of affairs in a body of men, that ſhould indeed be accountable to the States, but ſhould be bred to buſineſs. By this means their counſels might be both quick and ſecret; whereas, when all is to be determined by the States, they can have no ſecrets: And they muſt adjourn often to conſult their principals: So their proceedings muſt be ſlow. During De Wit's Miniſtry, the Council of State was ſo ſunk, that it was conſidered only as one of the forms of the government. But the whole execution was brought to the States themſelves. Certainly a great aſſembly is a very improper The errors of De Wit's government.

1672. proper ſubject of the executive part of power. It is indeed very proper, that ſuch a body ſhould be a check on thoſe, who have the executive power truſted to them. It is true, De Wit found it ſo; which was occaſioned by reaſon of the Engliſh Ambaſſador's being once admitted to ſit in that Council. They pretended, indeed, that it was only on the account of the cautionary towns; which moved the States to give England a right to ſome ſhare in their counſels. After theſe were reſtored, they did not think it decent to diſpute the right of the Ambaſſador's ſitting any more there. But the eaſier way was, the making that Council to ſignify nothing, and to bring all matters immediately to the States. It had been happy for De Wit himſelf, and his country, if he had made uſe of the credit he had, in the great turn upon Prince William's death, to have brought things back to the ſtate in which they had been anciently; ſince the eſtabliſhed errors of a conſtitution and government can only be changed in a great revolution. He ſet up on a popular bottom: And ſo he was not only contented to ſuffer matters to go in the channel in which he found them; but in many things he gave way to the raiſing the ſeparated juriſdiction of the towns, and to the leſſening the authority of the Courts at the Hague. This raiſed his credit, but weakened the union of the Provinces. The ſecret of all affairs, chiefly the foreign negotiations, lay in few hands. Others, who were not taken into the confidence, threw all miſcarriages on him; which was fatal to him. The reputation he had got in the war with England, and the happy concluſion of it, broke a party that was then formed againſt him. After that he dictated to the States: And all ſubmitted to him. The concluding the Triple Alliance in ſo ſhort a time, and againſt the forms of their government, ſhewed, how ſure he was of a general concurrence with every thing that he propoſed. In the negotiations between

between the States, and France, and England, he fell into great errors. He ſtill fancied, that the King of England muſt ſee his own intereſt ſo viſibly, in the exaltation of the Prince of Orange, that he reckoned that the worſt that could happen was, to raiſe him to the truſt of Stadtholder; ſince England could not gain ſo much by a conjunction with France, as by the King's having ſuch an intereſt in their government, as he muſt certainly come to have, when his nephew ſhould be their Stadtholder. So he thought, he had a ſure reſerve to gain England at any time over to them. But he had no apprehenſion of the King's being a Papiſt, and his deſign to make himſelf abſolute at home. And he was amazed to find, that, tho' the Court of England had talked much of that matter of the Prince of Orange, when the States were in no diſpoſition to hearken to it, and ſo uſed it as a reproach or a ground of a quarrel, yet when it came more in view, they took no ſort of notice of it, and ſeemed not only cold, but even diſpleaſed with it. The Prince, as his natural reſervedneſs ſaved him from committing many errors, ſo his gravity, and other virtues recommended him much to the Miniſters, and to the body of the people. The family of De Wit, and the town of Amſterdam, carried ſtill the remembrance of what was paſs'd freſh in their thoughts. They ſet it alſo up for a maxim, that the making of a Stadtholder was the giving up their liberty, and that the conſequence of it would be, the putting the ſovereignty of their country in him, or at leaſt in his family. The long continuance of a Miniſtry in one perſon, and that to ſo high a degree, muſt naturally raiſe envy, and beget diſcontent, eſpecially in a popular government. This made many become De Wit's enemies, and by conſequence the Prince's friends. And the Preachers employed all their zeal, to raiſe the reſpect of the 1672.

people

1672. people for a family, under which they had been ſo long eaſy and happy.

The Prince of Orange made General.

When the Prince was of full age, it was propoſed in ſo many places that he ſhould have the ſupream command of their armies and fleets, that De Wit ſaw the tide was too ſtrong to be reſiſted, So, after he had oppoſed it long, he propoſed ſome limitations, that ſhould be ſettled, previous to his advancement. The hardeſt of all was, that he ſhould bind himſelf by oath never to pretend to be Stadtholder, nor ſo much as to accept of it, tho' it ſhould be offered him. Theſe conditions were not of an eaſy digeſtion. Yet, it was thought neceſſary, that the Prince ſhould be once at the head of their armies: That would create a great dependence on him: And if God bleſs'd him with ſucceſs, it would not be poſſible to keep him ſo low, as theſe limitations laid him: And the obligation never to accept of the Stadtholderſhip could only be meant of his not accepting the offer from any tumultuary bodies of the populace, or the army; but could not be a reſtraint on him, if the States ſhould make the offer, ſince his oath was made to them, and by conſequence it was in their power to releaſe the obligation that did ariſe from it to themſelves. The Court of England blamed him for ſubmitting to ſuch conditions. But he had no reaſon to rely much on the advices of thoſe, who had taken ſo little care of him during all the credit they had with the States, while the Triple Alliance gave them a great intereſt in their affairs. As ſoon as he was brought into the command of the armies, he told me, he ſpoke to De Wit, and deſired to live in an entire confidence with him. His anſwer was cold: So he ſaw that he could not depend upon him. When he told me this, he added, that he was certainly one of the greateſt men of the age, and he believed he ſerved his country faithfully. De Wit reckoned, that the French could not come to Holland but by the Maeſe.

And

And he had taken great care of the garriſon of Maeſtricht; but very little of thoſe that lay on the Rhine and the Iſel, where the States had many places, but none of them good. They were ill fortified, and ill ſupplied. But moſt of them were worſe commanded, by men of no courage, nor practice in military affairs, who conſidered their governments as places, of which they were to make all the advantage that they could. 1672.

Now I come to give an account of the fifth Criſis brought on the whole Reformation, which has been of the longeſt continuance, ſince we are yet in the agitations of it. The deſign was firſt laid againſt the States. But the method of invading them was ſurprizing, and not look'd for. The Elector of Coloign was all his life long a very weak man: Yet it was not thought that he could have been prevailed on to put the French in poſſeſſion of his country, and to deliver himſelf with all his dominions over into their hands. When he did that, all upon the Rhine were ſtruck with ſuch a conſternation, that there was no ſpirit nor courage left. It is true, they could not have made a great reſiſtance. Yet if they had but gained a little time, that had given the States ſome leiſure to look round them, to ſee what was to be done. The fifth Criſis.

The King of France came down to Utrecht, like a land flood. This ſtruck the Dutch with ſo juſt a terror, that nothing but great errors in his management could have kept them, from delivering themſelves entirely up to him. Never was more applauſe given with leſs reaſon than the King of France had upon this campaign. His ſucceſs was owing rather to De Wit's errors, than to his own conduct. There was ſo little heart or judgment ſhewn, in the management of that run of ſucceſs, that, when that year is ſet out, as it may well be, it will appear to be one of the leaſt glorious of his life; tho', when ſeen in a falſe light, it appears one of the moſt glorious in hiſtory. The French ſucceſs.

1672. conqueſt of the Netherlands at that time might have been ſo eaſily compaſſed, that, if his underſtanding and his courage had not been equally defective, he could not have miſcarried in it. When his army paſs'd the Rhine, upon which ſo much eloquence and poetry have been beſtowed, as if all had been animated by his preſence and direction, he was viewing it at a very ſafe diſtance. When he came to Utrecht, he had neither the Prince of Conde, nor Mr. Turenne to adviſe with: And he was wholly left to his Miniſters. The Prince of Conde was ſlightly wounded, as he paſſed the Rhine: And Turenne was ſent againſt the Elector of Brandenburgh, who was coming down with his army, partly to ſave his own country of Cleve, but chiefly to aſſiſt his allies the Dutch. So the King had none about him to adviſe with, but Pomponne and Louvoy, when the Dutch ſent to him to know what he demanded. Pomponne's advice was wiſe and moderate, and would in concluſion have brought about all that he intended. He propoſed, that the King ſhould reſtore all that belonged to the ſeven Provinces, and require of them only the places that they had without them; chiefly Maeſtricht, Bois Le Duc, Breda, and Bergen-op-zoom: Thus the King would maintain an appearance of preſerving the ſeven Provinces entire, which the Crown of France had always protected. To this certainly the Dutch would have yielded, without any difficulty. By this he had the Spaniſh Netherlands entirely in his power, ſeparated from Holland and the Empire; and might have taken them, whenſoever he pleaſed. This would have an appearance of moderation, and would ſtop the motion that all Germany was now in; which could have no effect, if the States did not pay and ſubſiſt the troops. Louvoy on the other hand propoſed, that the King ſhould make uſe of the conſternation the Dutch were then in, and put them out of a condition of oppoſing him for the future.

But followed by an ill managment.

He therefore adviſed, that the King ſhould demand of them, beſides all that Pomponne moved, the paying a vaſt ſum for the charge of that campaign; the giving the chief Church in every town for the exerciſe of the Popiſh religion; and that they ſhould put themſelves under the protection of France; and ſhould ſend an Embaſſador every year with a medal acknowledging it; and ſhould enter into no treaties, or alliances, but by the directions of France. The Dutch Embaſſadors were amazed, when they ſaw that the demands roſe to ſo extravagant a pitch. One of them ſwooned away, when he heard them read: He could neither think of yielding to them, nor ſee how they could reſiſt them. There was an article put in for form, that they ſhould give the King of England full ſatisfaction. But all the other demands were made without any concert with England, tho' Lockhart was then following the Court. 1672.

I ſay nothing of the ſea fight in Solbay, in which De Ruyter had the glory of ſurprizing the Engliſh fleet, when they were thinking leſs of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the uſual diſorders of the twenty ninth of May: Which he prevented, engaging them on the twenty eighth, in one of the moſt obſtinate ſea fights that has happened in our age; in which the French took more care of themſelves than became gallant men, unleſs they had orders to look on, and leave the Engliſh and Dutch to fight it out, while they preſerved the force of France entire. De Ruyter diſabled the ſhip in which the Duke was, whom ſome blamed for leaving his ſhip too ſoon. Then his perſonal courage began firſt to be called in queſtion. The Admiral of the blue ſquadron was burnt by a fire-ſhip, after a long engagement with a Dutch ſhip much inferior to him in ſtrength. In it the Earl of Sandwich periſhed with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he

1672. would not leave his ſhip, by a piece of obſtinate courage, to which he was provoked by an indecent reflection the Duke made, on an advice he had offered, of drawing nearer the ſhore, and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himſelf than of the King's honour. The Duke of Buckingham came aboard the fleet; tho' it was obſerved, that he made great haſte away, when he heard the Dutch fleet was in view. The Duke told me, that he ſaid to him, ſince they might engage the enemy quickly, he intended to make ſure of another world: So he deſired to know who was the Duke's Prieſt, that he might reconcile himſelf to the Church. The Duke told him, Talbot would help him to a Prieſt. And he brought one to him. They were for ſome time ſhut up together. And the Prieſt ſaid, he had reconciled him according to their form. The Duke of Buckingham, who had no religion at heart, did this only to recommend himſelf to the Duke's confidence.

The Dutch in great extremities.

It may be eaſily imagined, that all things were at this time in great diſorder at the Hague. The French poſſeſſed themſelves of Naerdin: And a party had entred into Muyden, who had the keys of the gates brought to them. But they, ſeeing it was an inconſiderable place, not knowing the importance of it, by the command of the water that could drown all to Amſterdam, flung the keys into the ditch, and went back to Naerden. But when the conſequence of the place was underſtood, another party was ſent to ſecure it. But before their return, two battalions were ſent from the Prince of Orange, who ſecured the place; and by that means preſerved Amſterdam, where all were trembling, and thought of nothing but of treating and ſubmiſſion. The States were very near the extremities of deſpair. They had not only loſt many places, but all their garriſons in them. Guelder, Overyſſel, and Utrecht, were quite loſt:

And

And the Biſhop of Munſter was making a formidable impreſſion on Groninghen, and at laſt beſieged it. All theſe misfortunes came ſo thick one after another, that no ſpirit was left. And, to compleat their ruin, a jealouſy was ſpread thro' all Holland, that they were betrayed by thoſe who were in the government; and that De Wit intended, all ſhould periſh, rather than the family of Orange ſhould be ſet up. Mombas, one of their Generals, who married De Groot's ſiſter, had baſely abandoned his poſt, which was to defend the Rhine where the French paſſed it: And when he was put in arreſt for that, he made his eſcape, and went to the French for ſanctuary. Upon this the people complained loudly: And the States were ſo puzzled, that their hearts quite failed them. When they were aſſembled, they looked on one another like men amazed; ſometimes all in tears. Once the Spaniſh Embaſſador came, and demanded audience. And when he was brought in, he told them, that out of the affection that he bore them, and the union of his Maſter's intereſt with theirs, he came to blame their conduct: They looked ſad: They never appeared in the Vorhaut in their coaches: And upon all occaſions they looked like men deſpairing of their country: This quite diſheartened their people: Therefore he adviſed them to put on another countenance, to publiſh that they had good news, that their allies were in march; and to feed their people with probable ſtories, and ſo to keep up their ſpirits. They thought the advice was ſeaſonable, and followed it. 1672.

Embaſſadors ſent to England.

They ſent two Embaſſadors, Dycvelt and Halewyn, to join with Borel, who was ſtill in England, to try if it was poſſible to divide England from France. And the morning in which they were diſpatch'd away, they had ſecret powers given them to treat, concerning the Prince of Orange's being their Stadtholder: For Lord Arlington had ſo oft reproached Borel for their not doing it, that

1672. he in all his letters continued ſtill to preſs that on them. When they came over, they were for form's ſake put under a guard. Yet Borel was ſuffered to come to them; and was tranſported with joy, when they told him what powers they had in that affair of the Prince. And immediately he went to Lord Arlington: But came ſoon back, like one amazed, when he found that no regard was had to that, which he had hoped would have entirely gained the Court. But he was a plain man, and had no great depth. The others were ſent to Hampton Court; and were told, that the King would not treat ſeparately, but would ſend over Embaſſadors to treat at Utrecht. They met ſecretly with many in England, and informed themſelves by them of the ſtate of the Nation. They gave money liberally, and gained ſome in the chief offices to give them intelligence. The Court underſtanding that they were not idle, and that the Nation was much inflamed, ſince all the offers that they made were rejected, commanded them to go back. The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington were ordered to go to Utrecht. And, to give the Nation ſome ſatisfaction, Lord Hallifax was ſent over afterwards. But he was not in the ſecret. The Dutch, hearing that their Embaſſadors were coming over without making peace with England, ran together in great numbers to Maeſland ſluice, and reſolved to cut them in pieces at their landing; for they heard they were at the Brill. But, as they were croſſing the Maes, a little boat met them, and told them of their danger, and adviſed them to land at another place, where coaches were ſtaying to carry them to the Hague. So they miſſed the ſtorm, that broke out fatally at the Hague the next day, where mens minds were in great agitation.

The tragical end of De Wit.

De Wit was once at night going home from the States, when four perſons ſet on him to murder him. He ſhewed on that occaſion both an intre-

pid

pid courage, and a great preſence of mind. He 1672.
was wounded in ſeveral places. Yet he got out of
their hands. One of them was taken, and condemned for it. All De Wit's friends preſſed him to ſave his life. But he thought, that ſuch an attempt, on a man in his poſt, was a crime not to be pardoned; tho', as to his own part in the matter, he very freely forgave it. The young man confeſſed his crime, and repented of it: And proteſted he was led to it by no other conſideration, but that of zeal for his country and religion, which he thought were betrayed. And he died as in a rapture of devotion, which made great impreſſion on the ſpectators. At the ſame time a Barber accuſed De Wit's elder brother of a practice on him, in order to his murdering the Prince. There were ſo many improbabilities in his ſtory, which was ſupported by no circumſtances, that it ſeemed no way credible. Yet Cornelius de Wit was put to the torture on it, but ſtood firm to his innocence. The ſentence was accommodated rather to the ſtate of affairs, than to the ſtrict rules of juſtice. In the mean time, while his brother had reſigned his charge of Penſionary, and was made one of the Judges of the High Court, Cornelius De Wit was baniſhed; which was intended rather as a ſending him out of the way, than as a ſentence againſt him. I love not to deſcribe ſcenes of horror, as was that black and infamous one committed on the two brothers. I can add little to what has been ſo often printed. De Wit's going in his own coach to carry his brother out of town was a great error: And looked like a triumph over a ſentence, which was unbecoming the character of a Judge. Some furious agitators, who pretended zeal for the Prince, gathered the rabble together. And by that vile action that followed they did him more hurt, than they were ever able to repair. His enemies have taken advantages from thence to caſt the infamy of this on him, and on his party, to

1672. make them all odious; tho' the Prince ſpoke of it always to me with the greateſt horror poſſible. The Miniſters in Holland did upon this occaſion ſhew a very particular violence. In their ſermons, and in ſome printed treatiſes, they charged the Judges with corruption, who had carried the ſentence no farther than to baniſhment: And compared the fate of the De Wits to Haman's.

The Prince of Orange made Stadtholder.

I need not relate the great change of the Magiſtracy in all the Provinces; the repealing the Perpetual Edict; and the advancing the Prince of Orange to be Stadtholder, after they had voided the obligation of the oath he had taken, about which he took ſome time to deliberate. Both Lawyers and Divines agreed, that thoſe to whom he had made that oath releaſing the obligation of it, he was no longer bound by it. The States gave him, for that time, the full power of peace and war. All this was carried farther by the town of Amſterdam; for they ſent a deputation to him, offering him the ſovereignty of their town. When he was pleaſed to tell me this paſſage, he ſaid, he knew the reaſon for which they made it was, becauſe they thought all was loſt; And they choſe to have the infamy of their loſs fall on him, rather than on themſelves. He added, that he was ſure the country could not bear a ſovereign; and that they would contribute more to the war, when it was in order to the preſerving their own liberty, than for any Prince whatſoever. So he told them, that, without taking any time to conſult on the anſwer to be made to ſo great an offer, he did immediately refuſe it. He was fully ſatisfied with the power already lodged with him, and would never endeavour to carry it any farther.

The Prince's advancement gave a new life to the whole country. He, tho' then very young, and little acquainted with the affairs of State or War, did apply himſelf ſo to both, that, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſtate in which he found matters,

he

he neither loſt heart, nor committed errors. The Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Arlington tried to bring the King of France to offer them better terms; but in vain. That Prince was ſo lifted up, that he ſeemed to conſider the King very little. While he was ſo high on the one hand, and the Prince of Orange ſo ſteady on the other, the Engliſh Embaſſadors ſoon ſaw, that all the offices they could do were ineffectual. One day the Prince (who told me this himſelf) was arguing with them upon the King's conduct, as the moſt unaccountable thing poſſible, who was contributing ſo much to the exaltation of France, which muſt prove in concluſion fatal to himſelf; and was urging this in ſeveral particulars. The Duke of Buckingham broke out in an oath, which was his uſual ſtyle, and ſaid, he was in the right; and ſo offered to ſign a peace immediately with the Prince. Lord Arlington ſeemed amazed at his raſhneſs. Yet he perſiſted in it, and ſaid poſitively he would do it. The Prince upon that, not knowing what ſecret powers he might have, ordered the articles to be engroſſed. And he believed, if he could poſſibly have got them ready while he was with him, that he would have ſigned them. They were ready by next morning: But by that time he had changed his mind. That Duke at parting preſſed him much, to put himſelf wholly in the King's hands; and aſſured him he would take care of his affairs, as of his own. The Prince cut him ſhort: He ſaid, his country had truſted him, and he would never deceive, nor betray them for any baſe ends of his own. The Duke anſwered, he was not to think any more of his country, for it was loſt: If it ſhould weather out the ſummer, by reaſon of the waters that had drowned a great part of it, the winter's froſt would lay them open: And he repeated the words often, do not you ſee it is loſt? The Prince's anſwer deſerves to be remembred: He ſaid, he ſaw it was indeed in great danger: But there was a ſure way never to ſee it loſt, and that was to die in the laſt ditch.

1672.

The Engliſh Embaſſadors were wholly in the intereſt of France.

The

1672. The perſon that the Prince relied on chiefly, as to the affairs of Holland, was Fagel: A man very learned in the law, who had a quick apprehenſion, and a clear and ready judgment. He had a copious eloquence, more popular than correct: And was fit to carry matters with a torrent in a numerous aſſembly. De Wit had made great uſe of him; for he joined with him very zealouſly in the carrying the Perpetual Edict, which he negotiated with the States of Frizeland, who oppoſed it moſt: And he was made Greffier, or Secretary to the States General, which is the moſt beneficial place in Holland. He was a pious, and virtuous man: Only he was too eager, and violent. He was too apt to flatter himſelf. He had much heart, when matters went well; but had not the courage that became a great Miniſter, on uneaſy and difficult occaſions.

The character of Fagel.

Prince Waldeck. Prince Waldeck was their Chief General: A man of a great compaſs, and a true judgment; equally able in the cabinet, and in the camp. But he was always unſucceſsful, becauſe he was never furniſhed according to the ſchemes that he had laid down. The opinion that Armies had of him, as an unfortunate General, made him really ſo: For ſoldiers cannot have much heart, when they have not an entire confidence in him, that has the chief command.

Dickvelt. Dickvelt on his return from England, ſeeing the ruin of the De Wits, with whom he was formerly united, and the progreſs the French had made in Utrecht, where his eſtate and intereſt lay, deſpaired too ſoon; and went and lived under them. Yet he did great ſervice to his Province. Upon every violation of articles, he went and demanded juſtice, and made proteſtations with a boldneſs, to which the French were ſo little accuſtomed, that they were amazed at it. Upon the French leaving Utrecht, and on the re-eſtabliſhing that Province, he was left out of the Government,

vernment. Yet his great abilities, and the insinuating ſmoothneſs of his temper, procured him ſo many friends, that the Prince was prevailed on to receive him into his confidence: And he had a great ſhare of it to the laſt, as he well deſerved. He had a very perfect knowledge of all the affairs of Europe, and great practice in many Embaſſies. He ſpoke too long, and with too much vehemence. He was in his private deportment a virtuous and religious man, and a zealous Proteſtant. In the adminiſtration of his Province, which was chiefly truſted to him, there was great complaints of partiality, and of a defective juſtice. 1672.

And Halewyn.

Halewyn, a man of great intereſt in the town of Dort, and one of the Judges in the Court of Holland, was the perſon of them all whom I knew beſt, and valued moſt: And was the next Fagel in the Prince's confidence. He had a great compaſs of learning, beſides his own profeſſion, in which he was very eminent. He had ſtudied divinity with great exactneſs; and was well read in all hiſtory, but moſt particularly in the Greek and Roman authors. He was a man of great vivacity: He apprehended things ſoon, and judged very correctly. He ſpoke ſhort, but with life. He had a courage and vigour in his counſels, that became one, who had formed himſelf upon the beſt models in the ancient authors. He was a man of ſevere morals. And as he had great credit in the Court where he ſate, ſo he took care that the partialities of friendſhip ſhould not mix in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He had in him all the beſt notions of a great patriot, and a true Chriſtian philoſopher. He was brought in very early to the ſecret of affairs, and went into the buſineſs of the Perpetual Edict very zealouſly. Yet he quickly ſaw the error of bringing matters of State immediately into numerous aſſemblies. He conſidered the States maintaining in themſelves the ſovereign power, as the baſis upon which the liberty

1672. berty of their country was built. But he thought, the adminiſtration of the government muſt be lodged in a Council. He thought it a great misfortune, that the Prince was ſo young at his firſt exaltation; and ſo poſſeſſed with military matters, to which the extremity of their affairs required that he ſhould be entirely applied, that he did not then correct that error, which could only be done upon ſo extraordinary a conjuncture. He ſaw the great error of De Wit's miniſtry, of keeping the ſecret of affairs ſo much in his own hands. Such a precedent was very dangerous to publick liberty, when it was in the power of one man to give up his country. Their people could not bear the lodging ſo great a truſt with one, who had no diſtinction of birth or rank. Yet he ſaw it was neceſſary to have ſuch an authority, as De Wit's merits and ſucceſs had procured him, lodged ſome where. The factions and animoſities, that were in almoſt all their towns, made it as neceſſary for their good government at home, as it was for the command of their armies abroad, to have this power truſted to a perſon of that eminence of birth and rank, that he might be above the envy, that is always among equals, when any one of them is raiſed to a diſproportioned degree of greatneſs above the reſt. He obſerved ſome errors that were in the Prince's conduct. But after all, he ſaid, it was viſible that he was always in the true intereſt of his country: So that the keeping up a faction againſt him was like to prove fatal to all Europe, as well as to themſelves.

The Prince ſtudied to correct the errors he fell in at firſt.

The greateſt misfortune in the Prince's affairs was, that the wiſeſt, and the moſt conſiderable men in their towns, that had been acquainted with the conduct of affairs formerly, were now under a cloud, and were either turned out of the Magiſtracy, or thought it convenient to retire from buſineſs. And many hot, but poor men, who had ſignalized their zeal in the turn newly made, came

to

to be called the Prince's friends, and to be put every where into the Magiſtracy. They quickly loſt all credit, having little diſcretion, and no authority. They were very partial in the government, and oppreſſive, chiefly of thoſe of the other ſide. The Prince ſaw this ſooner than he could find a remedy for it. But by degrees the men of the other ſide came into his intereſt; and promiſed to ſerve him faithfully, in order to the driving out the French, and the ſaving their country. The chief of thoſe were Halewyn of Dort, Pats of Rotterdam, and Van Beuning of Amſterdam. 1672.

Van Beuning's character.

The laſt of theſe was ſo well known, both in France and England, and had ſo great credit in his own town, that he deſerves to be more particularly ſet out. He was a man of great notions. He had a wonderful vivacity, but too much levity in his thoughts. His temper was inconſtant; firm, and poſitive for a while; but apt to change, from a giddineſs of mind, rather than from any falſehood in his nature. He broke twice with the Prince, after he came into a confidence with him. He employed me to reconcile him to him for the third time: But the Prince ſaid, he could not truſt him any more. He had great knowledge in all ſciences, and had ſuch a copiouſneſs of invention, with ſuch a pleaſantneſs, as well as a variety of converſation, that I have often compared him to the Duke of Buckingham: Only he was virtuous, and devout; much in the enthuſiaſtical way. In the end of his days he ſet himſelf wholly to mind the Eaſt-India trade. But that was an employment not ſo well ſuited to his natural genius. And it ended fatally: For the actions ſinking on the ſudden on the breaking out of a new war, that ſunk him into a melancholy, which quite diſtracted him. The town of Amſterdam was for many years conducted by him as by a dictator. And that had expoſed them to as many errors, as the irregularity of his notions ſuggeſted. The breaking

Errors committed by the town of Amſterdam.

1672. ing the West-India company, and the loss of Munster in the year 1658, was owing to that. It was then demonstrated, that the loss of that town laid the States open on that side; and that Munster, being in their hands, would not only cover them, but be a fit place for making levies in Westphalia. Yet Amsterdam would not consent to that new charge; and fancied, there was no danger on that side. But they found afterwards, to their cost, that their unreasonable managery in that particular drew upon them an expence of many millions, by reason of the unquiet temper of that martial Bishop, who had almost ruined them this year on the side of Friseland. But his miscarriage in the siege of Groninghen, and the taking Coevorden by surprize in the end of the year, as it was among the first things that raised the spirits of the Dutch, so both the Bishop's strength and reputation sunk so entirely upon it, that he never gave them any great trouble after that.

Another error, into which the frugality of Amsterdam drew the States, was occasioned by the offer that D'Estrades, the French Embassador, made them in the year 1663, of a division of the Spanish Netherlands, by which Ostend and a line from thence to Mastricht, within which Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, were to be comprehended, was offered to them; the French desiring only St. Omer, Valenciennes, Cambray, and Luxemburgh: And the dominions that lay between those lines were to be a free Commonwealth; as Kalewyn assured me, who said, he was in the secret at that time. This was much debated all Holland over. It was visible, that this new Commonwealth, taken out of the hands of the Spaniards, must naturally have fallen into a dependence on the States; and have become more considerable, when put under a better conduct. Yet this would have put the States at that time to some considerable charge. And, to avoid that, the proposition was rejected, chiefly by

by the oppoſition that Amſterdam made to it; where the prevailing maxim was, to reduce their expence, to abate taxes, and to pay their publick debts. By ſuch an unreaſonable parſimony matters were now brought to that ſtate, that they were engaged into a war of ſo vaſt an expence, that the yearly produce of their whole eſtates, did not anſwer all the taxes, that they were forced to lay on their people. 1672.

The Prince animates the States to continue the war.

After the Prince ſaw, that the French demands were at this time ſo high, and that it was not poſſible to draw England into a ſeparate treaty, he got the States to call an extraordinary aſſembly, the moſt numerous that has been in this age. To them the Prince ſpoke near three hours, to the amazement of all that heard him, which was owned to me by one of the deputies of Amſterdam. He had got great materials put in his hands, of which he made very good uſe. He firſt went thro' the French propoſitions, and ſhewed the conſequence and the effects that would follow on them; that the accepting them would be certain ruin, and the very treating about them would diſtract and diſpirit their people: He therefore concluded, that the entertaining a thought of theſe was the giving up their country: If any could hearken to ſuch a motion, the lovers of religion and liberty muſt go to the Indies, or to any other country where they might be free and ſafe. After he had gone thro' this, near an hour, he in the next place ſhewed the poſſibility of making a ſtand, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſtate to which their affairs ſeemed reduced: He ſhewed the force of all their allies; that England could not hold out long without a Parliament; and they were well aſſured, that a Parliament would draw the King to other meaſures: He ſhewed the impoſſibility of the French holding out long, and that the Germans coming down to the lower Rhine muſt make them go out of their country, as faſt as they came

1672. came into it. In all this he ſhewed, that he had a great inſight into the French affairs. He came laſt to ſhew, how it was poſſible to raiſe the taxes that muſt be laid on the country, to anſwer ſuch a vaſt and unavoidable expence; and ſet before them a great variety of projects for raiſing money. He concluded, that if they laid down this for a foundation, that religion and liberty could not be purchaſed at too dear a rate, and that therefore every man among them, and every Miniſter in the country, ought to infuſe into all the people, that they muſt ſubmit to the preſent extremity, and to very extraordinary taxes: by this means, as their people would again take heart, ſo their enemies would loſe theirs, who built their chief hopes on that univerſal dejection among them, that was but too viſible to all the world. Every one that was preſent ſeemed amazed to hear ſo young a man ſpeak to ſo many things, with ſo much knowledge, and ſo true a judgment. It raiſed his character wonderfully, and contributed not a little to put new life into a country, almoſt dead with fear, and diſpirited with ſo many loſſes. They all reſolved to maintain their liberty to the laſt; and, if things ſhould run to extremities, to carry what wealth they could with them to the Eaſt-Indies. The ſtate of the ſhipping capable of ſo long a voyage was examined: And it was reckoned, that they could tranſport above two hundred thouſand people thither.

The French King goes back to Paris.

Yet all their courage would probably have ſtood them in little ſtead, if the King of France could have been prevailed on to ſtay longer at Utrecht. But he made haſte to go back to Paris. Some ſaid, it was the effect of his amours, and that it was haſtened by ſome quarrels among his Miſtreſſes. Others thought, he was haſtening to receive the flatteries that were preparing for him there. And indeed in the outward appearances of things there was great occaſion for them; ſince he

he had a run of ſucceſs beyond all expectation, tho' he himſelf had no ſhare in it, unleſs it was to ſpoil it. He left a garriſon in every place he took, againſt Turenne's advice, who was for diſmantling them all, and keeping his army ſtill about him. But his Miniſters ſaw ſo far into his temper, that they reſolved to play a ſure game, and to put nothing to hazard. Upon the Elector of Brandenburgh's coming down, Monſieur Turenne was ſent againſt him: By which means the army about the King was ſo diminiſhed, that he could undertake no great deſign, beſides the ſiege of Nimeguen, that held out ſome weeks, with ſo ſmall a force. And tho' the Prince of Orange had not above eight thouſand men about him, employed in keeping a paſs near Woerden, yet no attempt was made to force him from it. Another probable reaſon of his returning back ſo ſoon was, a ſuggeſtion of the deſperate temper of the Dutch, and that they were capable of undertaking any deſign, how black ſoever, rather than periſh. Some told him of vaults under the ſtreets of Utrecht, where gun powder might be laid to blow him up, as he went over them: And all theſe were obſerved to be avoided by him. He would never lodge within the town, and came but ſeldom to it. He upon one or other of theſe motives went back. Upon which the Prince of Conde ſaid, he ſaw he had not the ſoul of a conqueror in him; and that his Miniſters were the beſt *Commis*, but the pooreſt Miniſters in the world, who had not ſouls made for great things, or capable of them. 1672.

If the King had a mind to be flattered by his people, he found at his return enough even to ſurfeit him. Speeches, verſes, inſcriptions, triumphal arches, and medals were prepared with a profuſion, and exceſs of flattery, beyond what had been offered to the worſt of the Roman Emperors, bating the ceremony of adoration. But

1672. blaſphemous impieties were not wanting to raiſe, and feed his vanity. A ſolemn debate was held all about Paris, what title ſhould be given him. Le Grand was thought too common. Some were for Invincible. Others were for Le Conquerant. Some, in imitation of Charlemagne, for Lewis Le magne. Others were for Maximus. But Tres Grand founded not ſo well: No more did Maxime. So they ſettled on Le Grand. And all the bodies of Paris ſeemed to vie in flattery. It appeared, that the King took pleaſure in it: So there has followed upon it the greateſt run of the moſt fulſom flattery that is in hiſtory. Had the King of France left ſuch a man as Turenne at Utrecht, it might have had ill effects on the reſolutions taken by the Dutch. But he left Luxemburgh there, who had no regard to articles; but made all people ſee what was to be expected, when they ſhould come under ſuch a yoke, that was then ſo intolerable a burden, even while it ought to have been recommended to thoſe, who were yet free, by a gentle adminiſtration. This contributed not a little to fix the Dutch, in thoſe obſtinate reſolutions they had taken up.

The Dutch ſaved by ſome extraordinary Providence.

There was one very extraordinary thing that happened near the Hague this ſummer: I had it from many eye witneſſes: And no doubt was made of the truth of it by any at the Hague. Soon after the Engliſh fleet had refitted themſelves, (for they had generally been much damaged by the engagement in Solbay,) they appeared in ſight of Scheveling, making up to the ſhore. The tide turned: But they reckoned that with the next flood they would certainly land the forces that were aboard, where they were like to meet with no reſiſtance. So they ſent to the Prince for ſome regiments to hinder the deſcent. He could not ſpare many men, having the French very near him. So between the two the country was given for loſt, unleſs De Ruyter ſhould quickly come up.

up. The flood returned, which they thought was to end in their ruin. But to all their amazement, after it had flowed two or three hours, an ebb of many hours ſucceeded, which carried the fleet again to the ſea. And, before that was ſpent, De Ruyter came in view. This they reckoned a miracle wrought for their preſervation. Soon after that they eſcaped another deſign, that otherwiſe would very probably have been fatal to them. 1672.

The Earl of Oſſory, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of Ormond, a man of great honour, generoſity, and courage, had been oft in Holland: And, coming by Helvoetſluys, he obſerved, it was a place of great conſequence, but very ill looked to. The Dutch truſting to the danger of entring into it, more than to any ſtrength that defended it, he thought it might be eaſy to ſeize, and fortify that place. The King approved this. So ſome ſhips were ſheathed, and victualled, as for a voyage to a great diſtance. He was to have five men of war, and tranſport ſhips for twelve or fifteen hundred men. And a ſecond ſquadron, with a farther ſupply, if he ſucceeded in the attempt, was to follow. He had got two or three of their pilots brought out on a pretended errand: And theſe he kept very ſafe to carry him in. This was communicated to none, but to the Duke, and to Lord Arlington: And all was ready for the execution. Lord Oſſory went to this fleet, and ſaw every thing ready as was ordered, and came up to receive the King's ſailing orders. But the King, who had ordered him to come next morning for his diſpatch, diſcovered the deſign to the Duke of Buckingham, who hated both the Duke of Ormond, and Lord Oſſory, and would have ſeen the King and all his affairs periſh, rather than that a perſon whom he hated ſhould have the honour of ſuch a piece of merit. He upon that did turn all his wit to make the thing appear ridiculous, and impracticable. He repreſented it

Oſſory intended to ſurpriſe Helvoetſluys.

1672. as unsafe on many accounts; and as a desperate stroke, that put things, if it should succeed, out of a possibility of treaty or reconciliation. The King could not withstand this. Lord Offory found next morning, that the King had changed his mind. And it broke out, by the Duke of Buckingham's loose way of talking, that it was done by his means. So the design was laid aside. But when the peace was made, Lord Offory told it to the Dutch Embassadors: And said, since he did not destroy them by touching them in that weak and sore part, he had no mind they should lye any longer open to such another attack. When the Embassadors wrote this over to their masters, all were sensible, how easy it had been to have seized, and secured that place; and what a terrible disorder it would have put them in: And upon this they gave order to put the place in a better posture of defence for the future. So powerfully did spite work on those about the King: And so easy was he to the man of wit and humour. The Duke staid long at sea, in hopes to have got the East India fleet. But they came sailing so near the German coast, that they passed him before he was aware of it. So he came back after a long and inglorious campaign. He lost the honour of the action that was at Solbay; and missed the wealth of that fleet, which he had long waited for.

An army from Utrecht came on the ice to Holland.

I will compleat the transactions of this memorable year with an account of the impression that Luxemburgh made on the Dutch near the end of it; which would have had a very tragical conclusion, if a happy turn of weather had not saved them. Stoupe was then with him, and was in the secret. By many feints, that amused the Dutch so skillfully, that there was no suspicion of the true design, all was prepared for an invasion, when a frost should come. It came at last: And it froze and thawed by turns for some time, which they reckon makes the ice firmest. At last a frost continued

tinued so strong for some days, that upon piercing and examining the ice, it was thought it could not be dissolved by any ordinary thaw, in less than two days. So about midnight Luxemburgh marched out of Utrecht towards Leyden, with about sixteen thousand men. Those of Utrecht told me, that, in the minute in which they began to march, a thaw wind blew very fresh. Yet they marched on till day light, and came to Summerdam and Bodegrave, which they gained not without difficulty. There they stopt, and committed many outrages of crying lust and barbarous cruelty; and vented their impiety in very blasphemous expressions, upon the continuance of the thaw, which now had quite melted the ice, so that it was not possible to go back, the way that they came, where all had been ice, but was now dissolved to about three foot depth of water. There were cause-ways: And they were forced to march on these. But there was a fort, thro' which they must pass. And one Painevine with two regiments was ordered to keep it, with some cannon in it. If he had continued there, they must all have been taken prisoners, which would have put an end to the war. But, when he saw them march to him in the morning, he gave all for lost; and went to Tergow, where he gave the alarm, as if all was gone. And he offered to them, to come to help them by that garrison to a better capitulation. So he left his post, and went thither. The French army not being stopt by that fort, got safe home. But their behaviour in those two villages was such, that, as great pains was taken to spread it over the whole country, so it contributed not a little to the establishing the Dutch in their resolutions, of not only venturing but of losing all, rather than come under so cruel a yoke. 1672.

Painevine's withdrawing had lost them an advantage never to be regained. So the Prince ordered a Council of war to try him. He pleaded, Painevine's sentence.

1672. that the place was not tenable; that the enemy had pass'd it; so he thought the use it was intended for was lost: And if the enemy had come to attack him, he must have surrendered upon discretion: And he pleaded farther, that he went from it upon the desire of one of their towns to save it. Upon this defence, he was acquitted as to his life, but condemned to infamy, as a coward, and to have his sword broke over his head, and to be for ever banished the States dominions. But an appeal lay, according to their discipline, to a Council of war composed of General Officers: And they confirmed the sentence. The towns of Holland were highly offended at these proceedings. They said, they saw the officers were resolved to be gentle to one another, and to save their fellow officers, how guilty soever they might be. The Prince yielded to their instances, and brought him to a third trial before himself, and a Court of the supreme officers, in which they had the assistance of six Judges. Painevine stood on it, that he had undergone two trials, which was all that the martial law subjected him to; and in those he was acquitted. Yet this was over-ruled. It was urged against him, that he himself was present in the Council of war that ordered the making that fort; and he knew, that it was not intended to be a place tenable against an army, but was only meant to make a little stand for some time, and was intended for a desperate state of affairs; and that therefore he ought not to have left his post, because of the danger he was in: He saw the thaw began; and so ought to have staid, at least till he had seen how far that would go: And being put there by the Prince, he was to receive orders from none but him. Upon these grounds he was condemned, and executed, to the great satisfaction of the States, but to the general disgust of all the officers, who thought they were safe in the hands of an ordinary council of war, and did not like this new method of proceeding. They

They were alſo not a little troubled at the ſtrict diſcipline that the Prince ſettled, and at the ſevere execution of it. But by this means he wrought up his army to a pitch of obedience and courage, of ſobriety and good order, that things put on another face: And all men began to hope that their armies would act with another ſpirit, now that the diſcipline was ſo carefully look'd to. It ſeems the French made no great account of them: For they releaſed twenty five thouſand priſoners, taken in ſeveral places for fifty thouſand crowns. 1672.

Thus I have gone far into the ſtate of affairs of Holland in this memorable year. I had moſt of theſe particulars from Dyckvelt and Halewyn. And I thought this great turn deſerved to be ſet out with all the copiouſneſs, with which my informations could furniſh me. This year the King declared a new Miſtreſs, and made her Dutcheſs of Portſmouth. She had been Maid of Honour to Madame, the King's ſiſter, and had come over with her to Dover; where the King had expreſſed ſuch a regard to her, that the Duke of Buckingham, who hated the Dutcheſs of Cleveland, intended to put her on the King. He told him, that it was a decent piece of tenderneſs for his ſiſter, to take care of ſome of her ſervants. So ſhe was the perſon the King eaſily conſented to invite over. That Duke aſſured the King of France, that he could never reckon himſelf ſure of the King, but by giving him a Miſtreſs that ſhould be true to his intereſts. It was ſoon agreed to. So the Duke of Buckingham ſent her with a part of his equipage to Dieppe; and ſaid, he would preſently follow. But he, who was the moſt inconſtant and forgetful of all men, never thought of her more; but went to England by the way of Calais. So Montague, then Embaſſador at Paris, hearing of this, ſent over for a Yacht for her, and ſent ſome of his ſervants to wait on her, and to defray her charge, till ſhe was brought to Whitehall: And

A French Miſtreſs made Dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

1675. then Lord Arlington took care of her. So the Duke of Buckingham loſt the merit he might have pretended to; and brought over a Miſtreſs, whom his own ſtrange conduct threw into the hands of his enemies. The King was preſently taken with her. She ſtudied to pleaſe and obſerve him in every thing: So that he paſs'd away the reſt of his life in a great fondneſs for her. He kept her at a vaſt charge. And ſhe, by many fits of ſickneſs, ſome believed real, and others thought only pretended, gained of him every thing ſhe deſired. She ſtuck firm to the French intereſt, and was its chief ſupport. The King divided himſelf between her and Miſtreſs Gwyn; and had no other avowed amour. But he was ſo entirely poſſeſſed by the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and ſo engaged by her in the French intereſt, that this threw him into great difficulties, and expoſed him to much contempt and diſtruſt.

The affairs of Scotland.

I now return to the affairs of Scotland, to give an account of a Seſſion of Parliament, and the other tranſactions there in this critical year. About the end of May, Duke Lauderdale came down with his Lady in great pomp. He was much lifted up with the French ſucceſs; and took ſuch pleaſure in talking of De Wit's fate, that it could not be heard without horror. He treated all people with ſuch ſcorn, that few were able to bear it. He adjourned the Parliament for a fortnight, that he might carry his Lady round the country; and was every where waited on, and entertained, with as much reſpect, and at as great a charge, as if the King had been there in perſon. This enraged the Nobility. And they made great applications to Duke Hamilton, to lead a party againſt him, and to oppoſe the tax, that he demanded, of a whole year's aſſeſſment. I ſoon grew ſo weary of the Court, tho' there was ſcarce a perſon ſo well uſed by him as I myſelf was, that I went out of town. But Duke Hamilton ſent for me; and told me, how vehemently

Lauderdale's great inſolence.

vehemently he was ſolicited by the majority of the Nobility to oppoſe the demand of the tax. He had promiſed me not to oppoſe taxes in general: And I had aſſured Duke Lauderdale of it. But he ſaid, this demand was ſo extravagant, that he did not imagine it would go ſo far: So he did not think himſelf bound, by a promiſe made in general words, to agree to ſuch a high one. Upon this I ſpoke to Duke Lauderdale, to ſhew him the inclinations many had to an oppoſition to that demand, and the danger of it. He rejected it in a brutal manner, ſaying, they durſt as ſoon be damned as oppoſe him. Yet I made him ſo ſenſible of it, that he appointed the Marquis of Athol to go and talk in his name to Duke Hamilton, who moved that I might be preſent: And that was eaſily admitted. Lord Athol preſſed Duke Hamilton to come into an entire confidence with Duke Lauderdale; and promiſed, that he ſhould have the chief direction of all affairs in Scotland under the other. Duke Hamilton aſked, how ſtood the Parliament of England affected to the war. Lord Athol aſſured him, there was a ſettled deſign of having no more Parliaments in England. The King would be maſter, and would be no longer curbed by a Houſe of Commons. He alſo laid out the great advantages that Scotland, more particularly the great Nobility, might find by ſtriking in heartily with the King's deſigns, and of making him abſolute in England. Duke Hamilton anſwered very honeſtly, that he would never engage in ſuch deſigns: He would be always a good and faithful ſubject: But he would be likewiſe a good countryman. He was very unwilling to concur in the land tax. He ſaid, Scotland had no reaſon to engage in the war, ſince as they might ſuffer much by it, ſo they could gain nothing, neither by the preſent war, nor by any peace that ſhould be made. Yet he was prevailed on, in concluſion, to agree to it. And upon that the buſineſs of the 1672.

ſeſſion

1672. ſeſſion of Parliament went on ſmoothly without any oppoſition.

The Dutcheſs of Lauderdale, not contented with the great appointments they had, ſet herſelf by all poſſible methods to raiſe money. They lived at a vaſt expence: And every thing was ſet to ſale. She carried all things with a haughtineſs, that could not have been eaſily born from a Queen. She talked of all people with an ungoverned freedom, and grew to be univerſally hated. I was out of meaſure weary of my attendance at their Court, but was preſſed to continue it. Many found I did good offices. I got ſome to be conſidered, and advanced, that had no other way of acceſs. But that which made it more neceſſary was, that I ſaw Sharp and his creatures were making their Court with the moſt abject flattery, and all the ſubmiſſions poſſible. Leightoun went ſeldom to them, tho' he was always treated by them with great diſtinction. So it was neceſſary for me to be about them, and keep them right: Otherwiſe all our deſigns were loſt without recovery. This led me to much uneaſy compliance; tho' I aſſerted my own liberty, and found ſo often fault with their proceedings, that once or twice I uſed ſuch freedom, and it was ſo ill taken, that I thought it was fit for me to retire. Yet I was ſent for, and continued in ſuch high favour, that I was again tried if I would accept of a Biſhoprick, and was promiſed the firſt of the two Archbiſhopricks that ſhould fall. But I was ſtill fixed in my former reſolutions, not to engage early, being then but nine and twenty: Nor could I come into a dependence on them.

He expected addreſſes for a Toleration.

Duke Lauderdale at his coming down had expected, that the Preſbyterians ſhould have addreſſed themſelves to him for a ſhare in that liberty, which their brethren had now in England; and which he had aſſerted in a very particular manner at the Council table in White-hall. One

Whatley, a Juſtice of peace in Lincolnſhire, if I remember the County right, had diſturbed one of the Meeting-houſes, that had got a licence purſuant to the declaration for a Toleration: And he had ſet fines on thoſe that met in it, conformably to the Act againſt Conventicles. Upon which he was brought up to Council, to be reprimanded for his high contempt of his Majeſty's declaration. Some Privy Counſellors ſhewed their zeal in ſevere reflections on his proceedings. Duke Lauderdale carried the matter very far: He ſaid, the King's edicts were to be conſidered, and obeyed as laws, and more than any other laws. This was writ down by ſome that heard it, who were reſolved to make uſe of it againſt him in due time. He looked on near two months after he came down from Scotland, waiting ſtill for an application for liberty of conſcience. But the deſigns of the Court were now clearly ſeen into. The Preſbyterians underſtood, they were only to be made uſe of in order to the introducing of Popery. So they reſolved to be ſilent and paſſive. Upon this he broke out into fury and rage againſt them. Conventicles abounded in all places of the country. And ſome furious zealots broke into the houſes of ſome of the Miniſters, wounding them and robbing their goods, forcing ſome of them to ſwear, that they would never officiate any more in their Churches. Some of theſe were taken, and executed. I viſited them in priſon; and ſaw in them the blind madneſs of ill grounded zeal, of which they were never fully convinced. One of them ſeemed to be otherwiſe no ill man. Another of them was a bold villain. He juſtified all that they had done, from the Iſraelites robbing the Ægyptians, and deſtroying the Canaanites. 1672.

That which gave Duke Lauderdale a juſter ground of offence was, that one Carſtairs, much employed ſince that time in greater matters, was taken in a ſhip that came from Rotterdam. He himſelf Deſigns from Holland to raiſe a rebellion in Scotland.

1672. himself escaped out of their hands: But his letters were taken. They had a great deal writ in white ink; which shewed, that the design of sending him over was, to know in what disposition the people were, promising arms and other necessaries, if they were in a condition to give the Government any disturbance. But the whole was so darkly writ, much being referred to the bearer, that it was not possible to understand what lay hid under so many mysterious expressions. Upon this a severe prosecution of Conventicles was set on foot: And a great deal of money was raised by arbitrary fines. Lord Athol made of this in one week 1900 l. ster. I did all I could to moderate this fury: But all was in vain. Duke Lauderdale broke out into the most frantick fits of rage possible. When I was once saying to him, was that a time to drive them into a rebellion? Yes, said he, would to God they would rebel, that so he might bring over an army of Irish Papists to cut all their throats. Such a fury as this seemed to furnish work for a physician, rather than for any other sort of men. But after he had let himself loose into these fits for near a month, he calmed all on the sudden: Perhaps upon some signification from the King; for the party complained to their friends in London, who had still some credit at Court.

A farther Indulgence.

He called for me all on the sudden, and put me in mind of the project I had laid before him, of putting all the outed Ministers by couples into parishes: So that instead of wandring about the country, to hold Conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain abode, and every one might have the half of a benefice. I was still of the same mind: And so was Leightoun; who compared this to the gathering the coals that were scattered over the house, setting it all on fire, into the chimney, where they might burn away safely. Duke Lauderdale set about it immediately;

mediately: And the benefit of the Indulgence was extended to forty more Churches. This, if followed as to that of doubling them in a parish, and of confining them within their parishes, would have probably laid a flame that was spreading over the Nation, and was like to prove fatal in conclusion. But Duke Lauderdale's way was, to govern by fits, and to pass from hot to cold ones, always in extreams. So this of doubling them, which was the chief part of our scheme, was quite neglected. Single Ministers went into those Churches: And those, who were not yet provided for, went about the country [illegible] Conventicles very boldly, without any [illegible]: And no care at all was taken of the [illegible]

1672.

Sharp and his instruments took occasion from this to complain, that the [illegible] was ruined by Leightoun's means. And [illegible]ated not my share in the charge. And [illegible] remissness of the government was [illegible] there was just cause of complaint. Great [illegible]s met in the fields. Men went to those [illegible]rings with such arms as they had. And we were blamed for all this. It was said, that things went so far beyond what a principle of moderation could suggest, that we did certainly design to ruin and overturn the constitution. Leightoun upon all this concluded he could do no good on either side? He had gained no ground on the Presbyterians, and was suspected and hated by the Episcopal party. So he resolved to retire from all publick employments, and to spend the rest of his days in a corner, far from noise and business, and to give himself wholly to prayer and meditation, since he saw he could not carry on his great designs of healing and reforming the Church, on which he had set his heart. He had gathered together many instances out of Church history of Bishops that had left their Sees, and retired from the world: And was much pleased with these. He and I had

Leightoun resolved to retire, and to leave his See.

1672. had many discourses on this argument. I thought a man ought to be determined by the providence of God, and to continue in the station he was in, tho' he could not do all the good in it that he had proposed to himself: He might do good in a private way by his example, and by his labours, more than he himself could know: And as a man ought to submit to sickness, poverty, or other afflictions, when they are laid on him by the hand providence; so I thought the labouring without success was indeed a very great trial of patience, yet such labouring in an ungrateful employment was a cross, and so was to be born with submission; and that a great uneasiness under that, or the forsaking a station because of it, might be the effect of secret pride, and an indignation against providence. He on the other hand said, his work seemed to be at an end: He had no more to do, unless he had a mind to please himself with the lazy enjoying a good revenue. So he could not be wrought on by all that could be laid before him; but followed Duke Lauderdale to Court, and begged leave to retire from his Archbishoprick. The Duke would by no means consent to this. So he desired, that he might be allowed to do it within a year. Duke Lauderdale thought so much time was gained: So to be rid of his importunities he moved the King to promise him, that, if he did not change his mind, he would within the year accept of his resignation. He came back much pleased with what he had obtained; and said to me upon it, there was now but one uneasy stage between him and rest, and he would wrestle thro' it the best he could.

And now I am come to the period that I set out for this book. The world was now in a general combustion, set on by the ambition of the Court of France, and supported by the feebleness and treachery of the Court of England. A stand

was

was made by the Prince of Orange, and the Elector of Brandenburgh. But the latter, not being in time assisted by the Emperor, was forced to accept of such conditions as he could obtain. This winter there was great practice in all the Courts of Europe, by the Agents of France, to lay them every where asleep; and to make the world look on their King's design in that campaign, as a piece of glory, for the humbling of a rich and proud Common-wealth; and that, as soon as that was done suitably to the dignity of the Great Monarch, he would give peace to the world, after he had shewn that nothing could stand before his arms. But the opening the progress of these negotiations, and the turn that the affairs of Europe took, belongs to the next period. 1672.

BOOK

THE

HISTORY

OF

My Own Times.

BOOK III.

Of the reſt of King Charles II's reign, from the year 1673 to the year 1685, in which he died.

HItherto the reign of King Charles was pretty ſerene and calm at home. A nation, weary of a long civil war, was not eaſily brought into jealouſies and fears, which were the ſeeds of diſtraction, and might end in new confuſions and troubles. But the Court had now given ſuch broad intimations of an ill deſign, both on our religion and the civil conſtitution, that it was no more a jealouſy: All was now open and barefaced. In the King's preſence the Court-flatterers were always magnifying abſolute government, and reflecting on the inſolence of a Houſe of Commons. The King ſaid once to the Earl of Eſſex, as he told me, that he did not wiſh to be like a Grand Signior, with ſome

1673. Great jealouſies of the King.

1673. mutes about him, and bags of bow-ſtrings to ſtrangle men, as he had a mind to it: But he did not think he was a King, as long as a company of fellows were looking into all his actions, and examining his Miniſters, as well as his accounts. He reckoned, now he had ſet the Church party at ſuch a diſtance from the diſſenters, that it was impoſſible to make them join, in oppoſition to his deſigns. He hoped, the Church party would be always ſubmiſſive: And he had the diſſenters at mercy.

The proceedings of the former year had opened all mens eyes. The King's own religion was ſuſpected, as his brother's was declared: And the whole conduct ſhewed a deſign to govern by the French model. A French General was brought over to command our armies. Count Schomberg, who was a German by birth, (but his mother was an Engliſh woman,) was ſent over. He was a firm proteſtant, and ſerved at firſt in Holland. But upon the Prince of Orange's death he went into France, where he grew into ſo high a reputation, that he was kept under and not raiſed to be a marſhal, only on the account of his religion. He was a calm man, of great application and conduct. He thought much better than he ſpoke. He was a man of true judgment, of great probity, and of an humble and obliging temper: And at any other time of his life he would have been very acceptable to the Engliſh. But now he was looked on as one ſent over from France, to bring our army under a French diſcipline: And ſo he was hated by the nation, and not much loved by the Court. He was always preſſing the King to declare himſelf the head of the Proteſtant party. He preſs'd him likewiſe to bring his brother over from popery: But the King ſaid to him, you know my brother long ago, that he is as ſtiff as a mule. He liked the way of Charenton ſo well, that he went once a week in London

Schomberg brought to command the army.

to

to the French Church there, that was according to that form: So the Duke and Lord Clifford looked on him as a presbyterian, and an unfit man for that purpose. The Duke of Buckingham hated him; for he hoped to have commanded the army. And as an army is a very unacceptable thing to the English nation, so it came to be the more odious, when commanded by a General sent over from France. Schomberg told me, he saw it was impossible that the King could bring any great design to a good effect: He loved his ease so much, that he never minded business: And every thing that was said to him of affairs was heard with so little attention, that it made no impression. 1673.

The Court was much divided.

The ministry was all broke to pieces. The Duke of Buckingham was alone, hated by all, as he hated all the rest. But he went so entirely into all their ill designs, that the King considered him, and either loved or feared him so much, that he had a deep root with him. Lord Clifford stuck firm to the duke, and was heated with the design of bringing in popery, even to enthusiasm. It was believed, if the design had succeeded, he had agreed with his wife to take orders, and to aspire to a cardinal's hat. He grew violent, and could scarce speak with patience of the Church of England, and of the Clergy. The Earl of Arlington thought, that the design was now lost, and that it was necessary for the King to make up with his people in the best manner he could. The Earl of Shaftsbury was resolved to save himself on any terms.

A session of Parliament.

The money was exhausted: So it was necessary to have a session of Parliament. And one was called in the beginning of the year. At the opening it, the King excused the issuing out the writs, as done to save time, and to have a full House at the first opening: But he left that matter wholly to them: He spoke of the declaration

1673. for liberty of conſcience in another ſtyle: He ſaid, he had ſeen the good effects of it; and that he would ſtick to it, and maintain it: He ſaid, he was engaged in a war for the honour of the Nation, and therefore he demanded the ſupplies that were neceſſary to carry it on. On theſe heads Lord Shaftſbury enlarged. But no part of his ſpeech was more amazing than that, ſpeaking of the war with the Dutch, he ſaid, Delenda eſt Carthago. Yet, while he made a baſe complying ſpeech in favour of the Court, and of the war, he was in a ſecret management with another party.

The Declaration was voted illegal.

The Houſe of Commons was upon this all in a flame. They ſaw Popery and ſlavery lay at the bottom. Yet, that they might not graſp at too much at once, they reſolved effectually to break the whole deſign of Popery. They argued the matter of the Declaration; whether it was according to law or not. It was plainly an annulling of the penal Laws, made both againſt Papiſts and Diſſenters. It was ſaid, that tho' the King had a power of pardoning, yet he had not a power to authoriſe men to break laws. This muſt infer a power to alter the whole government. The ſtrength of every law was the penalty laid upon offenders: And, if the King could ſecure offenders by indemnifying them before hand, it was a vain thing to make laws; ſince by that maxim they had no force, but at the King's diſcretion. Thoſe who pleaded for the Declaration pretended to put a difference between penal Laws in ſpiritual matters, and all others: And ſaid, that the King's ſupremacy ſeemed to give him a peculiar authority over theſe: By virtue of this it was, that the ſynagogue of the Jews, and the Walloon Churches, had been ſo long tolerated. But to this it was anſwered, that the intent of the law in aſſerting the ſupremacy was only to exclude all foreign juriſdiction, and

to

to lodge the whole authority with the King: But that was ſtill to be bounded, and regulated by law: And a difference was to be made between a connivance, ſuch as that the Jews lived under, by which they were ſtill at mercy, and a legal authority: The Parliament had never diſputed the legality of the Patent for the Walloon congregations, which was granted to encourage ſtrangers, profeſſing the ſame religion, to come among us, when they were perſecuted for it in their own country: It was at firſt granted only to ſtrangers: But afterwards in the days of their children, who were natives, it had been made void: And now they were excepted by a ſpecial clauſe out of the Act of Uniformity. The Houſe came quickly to a very unanimous reſolution, that the Declaration was againſt law. And they ſet that forth, in an addreſs to the King, in which they prayed that it might be called in. Some were ſtudying to divert this, by ſetting them on to enquire into the iſſuing out the writs. And the Court ſeemed willing that the ſtorm ſhould break on Lord Shaftſbury, and would have gladly compounded the matter by making him the ſacrifice. He ſaw into that; and ſo was reſolved to change ſides with the firſt opportunity. 1673.

A bill for a new teſt.

The Houſe was not content with this: But they brought in a bill diſabling all Papiſts from holding any employment, or place at Court; requiring all perſons in publick truſt to receive the Sacrament in a pariſh Church, and to carry an atteſted certificate of that, with witneſſes to prove it, into Chancery or the County Seſſions; and there to make a declaration renouncing Tranſubſtantiation in full and poſitive words. Great pains was taken by the Court to divert this. They propoſed that ſome regard might be had to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and that their Meetings might be allowed. By this means they hoped to have ſet them and the Church party into new heats; for now all were united

1673. ted againſt Popery. Love who ſerved for the city of London, and was himſelf a Diſſenter, ſaw what ill effects any ſuch quarrels might have: So he moved, that an effectual ſecurity might be found againſt Popery, and that nothing might interpoſe till that was done. When that was over, then they would try to deſerve ſome favour: But at preſent they were willing to lye under the ſeverity of the laws, rather than clog a more neceſſary work with their concerns. The chief friends of the ſects agreed to this. So a vote paſs'd to bring in a bill in favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters, tho' there was not time enough, nor unanimity enough, to finiſh one this ſeſſion: For it went no farther than a ſecond reading, but was dropt in the Committee. But this prudent behaviour of theirs did ſo ſoften the Church party, that there was no more votes nor bills offered at againſt them, even in that angry Parliament, that had been formerly ſo ſevere upon them.

The prudence of the Diſſenters.

Debates in the Houſe of Lords.

The Court was now in great perplexity. If they gave way to proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, there was a full ſtop put to the deſign for Popery: And if they gave not way to it, there was an end of the war. The French could not furniſh us with ſo much money, as was neceſſary: And the ſhutting up the Exchequer had put an end to all credit. The Court tried what could be done in the Houſe of Lords. Lord Clifford reſolved to aſſert the Declaration with all the force, and all the arguments, he could bring for it. He ſhewed the heads he intended to ſpeak on to the King, who approved of them, and ſuggeſted ſome other hints to him. He began the debate with rough words: He called the vote of the Commons Monſtrum Horrendum Ingens, and run on in a very high ſtrain. He ſaid all that could be ſaid, with great heat, and many indecent expreſſions. When he had done, the Earl of Shaftſbury, to the amazement of the whole Houſe, ſaid, he muſt differ

from

from the Lord that ſpoke laſt toto cœlo. He ſaid, 1673.
while thoſe matters were debated out of doors, he might think with others, that the Supremacy, aſſerted as it was by law, did warrant the Declaration: But now that ſuch a Houſe of Commons, ſo loyal and affectionate to the King were of another mind, he ſubmitted his reaſons to theirs: They were the King's great Council: They muſt both adviſe and ſupport him: They had done it; and would do it ſtill, if their laws and their religion were once ſecure to them. The King was all in a fury to be thus forſaken by his Chancellor: And told Lord Clifford, how well he was pleaſed with his ſpeech, and how highly he was offended with the other. The debate went on, and upon a diviſion the Court had the majority. But againſt that vote about thirty of the moſt conſiderable of the Houſe proteſted. So the Court ſaw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it ſuch a proteſtation.

This matter took ſoon after that a quick turn. It had been much debated in the cabinet, what the King ſhould do. Lord Clifford and Duke Lauderdale were for the King's ſtanding his ground. Sir Ellis Leightoun aſſured me, that the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Berkeley offered to the King, if he would bring the army to town, that they would take out of both Houſes the Members that made the oppoſition. He fancied, the thing might have been eaſily brought about, and that, if the King would have acted with the ſpirit that he ſometimes put on, they might have carried their buſineſs. Duke Lauderdale talked of bringing an army out of Scotland, and ſeizing on Newcaſtle; and preſs'd this with as much vehemence, as if he had been able to have executed it. Lord Clifford ſaid to the King, his people did now ſee thro' all his deſigns: And therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt. The

The variety of opinions in the King's Council.

1673. Earls of Shaftſbury and Arlington preſſed the King on the other hand to give the Parliament full content: And they undertook to procure him money for carrying on the war: And, if he was ſucceſsful in that, he might eaſily recover what he muſt in this extremity part with. This ſuited the King's own temper. Yet the Duke held him in ſuſpence.

The French adviſe the King to yield to the Parliament.

Colbert's brother, Croiſſy, was then the French Embaſſador here. Lord Arlington poſſeſſed him with ſuch an apprehenſion of the madneſs of violent counſels, and that the leaſt of the ill effects they might have would be the leaving the war wholly on the French King, and that it would be impoſſible to carry it on, if the King ſhould run to ſuch extremities, as ſome were driving him to at home; that he gained him both to preſs the King and his brother to comply with the Parliament, and to ſend an expreſs to his own maſter, repreſenting the whole matter in the light in which Lord Arlington had ſet it before him.

In the afternoon of the day in which the matter had been argued in the Houſe of Lords, the Earls of Shaftſbury and Arlington got all thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons on whom they had any influence, (and who had money from the King, and were his ſpies, but had leave to vote with the party againſt the Court, for procuring them the more credit) to go privately to him, and to tell him that upon Lord Clifford's ſpeech the Houſe was in ſuch fury, that probably they would have gone to ſome high votes and impeachments: But the Lord Shaftſbury ſpeaking on the other ſide reſtrained them: They believed, he ſpoke the King's ſenſe, as the other did the Duke's: This calmed them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's ſpeech, with which he had been ſo much offended, was really a great ſervice done him: And they perſuaded him farther, that he might now ſave himſelf, and obtain

an

an indemnity for his Miniſters, if he would part with the Declaration, and paſs the bill. This was ſo dextrouſly managed by Lord Arlington, who got a great number of the Members to go one after another to the King, who by concert ſpoke all the ſame language, that before night the King was quite changed, and ſaid to his brother, that Lord Clifford had undone himſelf, and had ſpoiled their buſineſs by his mad ſpeech; and that, tho' Lord Shaftſbury had ſpoke like a rogue, yet that had ſtopt a fury which the indiſcretion of the other had kindled, to ſuch a degree that he could ſerve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. The Duke was ſtruck with this; and imputed it wholly to Lord Arlington's management. In the evening he told Lord Clifford what the King had ſaid. The Lord Clifford, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that to the King, who ſcarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord Clifford ſaid, he knew how many enemies he muſt needs make to himſelf by his ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords: But he hoped that in it he both ſerved and pleaſed the King, and was therefore the leſs concerned in every thing elſe: But he was ſurpriſed to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in ſome confuſion: He owned, that all he had ſaid was right in itſelf: But he ſaid, that he, who ſat long in the Houſe of Commons, ſhould have conſidered better what they could bear, and what the neceſſity of his affairs required. Lord Clifford in his firſt heat was inclined to have laid down his white ſtaff, and to have expoſtulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought ſtop'd him. He reckoned he muſt now retire: And therefore he had a mind to take ſome care of his family in the way of doing it: So he reſtrained himſelf; and ſaid, he was ſorry that his beſt meant ſervices were ſo ill underſtood. Soon after this, letters came from the French King, preſſing the King to do

1673.

The King went into that ſuddenly.

Clifford diſgraced.

1673. do all that was neceſſary to procure money of his Parliament, ſince he could not bear the charge of the war alone. He alſo writ to the Duke, and excuſed the advice he gave upon the neceſſity of affairs; but promiſed faithfully to eſpouſe his concerns, as ſoon as he got out of the war, and that he would never be eaſy, till he recovered that which he was now forced to let go. Some parts of theſe tranſactions I had from the Duke, and from Duke Lauderdale: The reſt, that related to the Lord Clifford, Titus told me, he had from his own mouth.

As ſoon as Lord Clifford ſaw he muſt loſe the white ſtaff, he went to the Duke of Buckingham, who had contributed much to the procuring it to him; and told him, he brought him the firſt notice that he was to loſe that place to which he had helped him, and that he would aſſiſt him to procure it to ſome of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any ſort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at laſt pitched on Sir Thomas Oſborn, a Gentleman of Yorkſhire, whoſe eſtate was much ſunk. He was a very plauſible ſpeaker, but too copious, and could not eaſily make an end of his diſcourſe. He had been always among the high Cavaliers: And miſſing preferment he had oppoſed the Court much, and was one of Lord Clarendon's bittereſt enemies. He gave himſelf great liberties in diſcourſe, and did not ſeem to have any regard to truth, or ſo much as to the appearances of it; and was an implacable enemy: But he had a peculiar way to make his friends depend on him, and to believe he was true to them. He was a poſitive, and undertaking man: So he gave the King great eaſe, by aſſuring him all things would go according to his mind in the next ſeſſion of Parliament. And when his hopes failed him, he had always ſome excuſe ready to put the miſcarriage upon. And by this means he got into

Oſborn made Lord Treaſurer.

into the higheſt degree of confidence with the King, and maintained it the longeſt, of all that ever ſerved him. 1673.

The King now went into new meaſures. He called for the Declaration, and ordered the ſeal put to it to be broken. So the Act for the taking the Sacrament, and the Teſt againſt Tranſubſtantiation went on: And together with it an Act of Grace paſs'd, which was deſired chiefly to cover the Miniſtry, who were all very obnoxious by their late actings. The Court deſired at leaſt 1200000l. for that ſum was neceſſary to the carrying on the war. The great body of thoſe who oppoſed the Court had reſolved to give only 600000l. which was enough to procure a peace, but not to continue the war. Garroway and Lee had led the oppoſition to the Court all this ſeſſion in the Houſe of Commons: So they were thought the propereſt to name the ſum. Above eighty of the chief of the party had met over night, and had agreed to name 600000l. But Garroway named 1200000, and was ſeconded in it by Lee. So this ſurpriſe gained that great ſum, which enabled the Court to carry on the war. When their party reproached theſe perſons for it, they ſaid, they had tried ſome of the Court as to the ſum intended to be named, who had aſſured them, the whole agreement would be broke, if they offered ſo ſmall a ſum: And this made them venture on the double of it. They had good rewards from the Court: And yet they continued ſtill voting on the other ſide. They ſaid, they had got good pennyworths for their money: A ſure law againſt Popery, which had clauſes in it never uſed before; for all that continued in office after the time lapſed, they not taking the Sacrament, and not renouncing Tranſubſtantiation (which came to be called the Teſt, and the Act from it the Teſt Act) were rendered incapable of holding any office: All the Acts they did in it were declared invalid and illegal, beſides a fine of 500l. to the

A great ſupply was given.

1673. the diſcoverer. Yet upon that Lord Cavendiſh, now Duke of Devonſhire, ſaid, that when much money was given to buy a law againſt Popery, the force of the money would be ſtronger in order to the bringing it in, than the law could be for keeping it out. I never knew a thing of this nature carried ſo ſuddenly, and ſo artificially, in the Houſe of Commons, as this was, to the great amazement of the Dutch, who relied on the Parliament, and did not doubt but that a peace with England would be procured by their interpoſition.

The Duke laid down all his Commiſſions.

Thus this memorable ſeſſion ended. It was indeed much the beſt ſeſſion of that long Parliament. The Church party ſhewed a noble zeal for their religion: And the Diſſenters got great Reputation by their ſilent deportment. After the ſeſſion was over, the Duke carried all his Commiſſions to the King, and wept as he delivered them up: But the King ſhewed no concern at all. Yet he put the Admiralty in a Commiſſion compoſed wholly of the Duke's creatures: So that the power of the navy was ſtill in his hands. Lord Clifford left the Treaſury, and was ſucceeded by Oſborn, who was ſoon after made Earl of Danby. The Earl of Shaftſbury had loſt the King's favour quite. But it was not thought fit to lay him aſide, till it ſhould appear what ſervice he could do them in another ſeſſion of Parliament. Lord Arlington had loſt the Duke more than any other. He looked on him as a pitiful coward, who would forſake and betray any thing, rather than run any danger himſelf. Prince Rupert was ſent to command the fleet. But the Captains were the Duke's creatures: So they croſs'd him all they could, and complained of every thing he did. In a word they ſaid, he had neither ſenſe nor conduct left. Little could be expected from a fleet ſo commanded, and ſo divided. He had two or three engagements with the Dutch, that were well fought on both ſides, but were of no great conſequence, and were drawn

drawn battles. None of the French ships engaged, except one, who charged their Admiral for his ill conduct: But, instead of reward, he was clapt in the Bastille upon his return to France. This opened the eyes and mouths of the whole Nation. All men cried out, and said, we were engaged in a war by the French, that they might have the pleasure to see the Dutch and us destroy one another, while they knew our seas and ports, and learned all our methods, but took care to preserve themselves. Count Schomberg told me, he press'd the French Embassador to have the matter examined. Otherwise, if satisfaction was not given to the Nation, he was sure the next Parliament would break the alliance. But by the Embassador's coldness he saw, the French Admiral had acted according to his instructions. So Schomberg made haste to get out of England, to prevent an address to send him away: And he was by that time as weary of the Court, as the Court was of him. 1673.

The Duke treats for a second marriage.

The Duke was now looking for another wife. He made addresses to the Lady Bellasis, the widow of the Lord Bellasis's son. She was a zealous Protestant, tho' she was married into a Popish family. She was a woman of much life, and great vivacity, but of a very small proportion of beauty; as the Duke was often observed to be led by his amours, to objects that had no extraordinary charms. Lady Bellasis gained so much on the Duke, that he gave her a promise under his hand to marry her. And he sent Coleman to her to draw her over to Popery: But in that she could not be moved. When some of her friends reproached her, for admitting the Duke so freely to see her, she could not bear it, but said, she could shew that his addresses to her were honourable. When this came to the Lord Bellasis's ears, who was her father in law, and was a zealous Papist, and knew how intractable the Lady was in

1673. thoſe matters, he gave the whole deſign of bringing in their religion for gone, if that was not quickly broke: So he, pretending a zeal for the King, and the Duke's honour, went and told the King all he had heard. The King ſent for the Duke, and told him, it was too much that he had plaid the fool once: That was not to be done a ſecond time, and at ſuch an age. The Lady was alſo ſo threatened, that ſhe gave up the promiſe, but kept an atteſted copy of it, as ſhe herſelf told me. There was an Archduchеſs of Inſpruck, to whom marriage was ſolemnly propoſed: But, the Empreſs happening to die at that time, the Emperor himſelf married her. After that a match was propoſed to the Duke of Modena's daughter, which took effect. But becauſe thoſe at Rome were not willing to conſent to it, unleſs ſhe might have a publick Chapel, which the Court would not hearken to, another marriage was propoſed for a daughter of the Duke of Crequi's. I ſaw a long letter of the Duke's writ to Sir William Lockhart, upon this ſubject, with great anxiety. He apprehended, if he was not married before the ſeſſion of Parliament, that they would fall on that matter, and limit him ſo, that he ſhould never be able to marry to his content: He was vexed at the ſtiffneſs of the Court of Rome, who were demanding terms that could not be granted: He had ſent a poſitive order to the Earl of Peterborough, who was negotiating the buſineſs at Modena, to come away by ſuch a day, if all was not conſented to: In the mean while he hoped, the King of France would not put that mortification on him, as to expoſe him to the violence of the Parliament, (I uſe his own words;) but that he would give order for diſpatching that matter with all poſſible haſte. But, while he was thus perplexed, the Court of Rome yielded: And ſo the Duke married that Lady by proxy: And the

Earl

Earl of Peterborough brought her over thro' France. 1673.

The Swedes offered at this time a mediation in order to a peace: And Cologn was propoſed to be the place of treaty. The King ordered the Earl of Sunderland, Sir Leolin Jenkins, and Sir Joſeph Williamſon thither, to be his Plenipotentiaries. Lord Sunderland was a man of a clear and ready apprehenſion, and a quick deciſion in buſineſs. He had too much heat both of imagination and paſſion, and was apt to ſpeak very freely both of perſons and things. His own notions were always good: But he was a man of great expence. And, in order to the ſupporting himſelf, he went into the prevailing counſels at Court: And he changed ſides often, with little regard either to religion, or the intereſt of his country. He raiſed many enemies to himſelf, by the contempt with which he treated thoſe who differed from him. He had indeed a ſuperior genius to all the men of buſineſs that I have yet known. And he had the dexterity of inſinuating himſelf ſo entirely, into the greateſt degree of confidence with three ſucceeding Princes, who ſet up on very different intereſts, that he came by this to loſe himſelf ſo much, that even thoſe who eſteemed his parts, depended little on his firmneſs.

A treaty opened at Cologn.

Lord Sunderland's character.

The treaty of Cologn was of a ſhort continuance: For the Emperor, looking on Furſtenberg, the Dean of Cologn, and Biſhop of Straſbourg, afterwards advanced to be Cardinal, who was the Elector's Plenipotentiary at that treaty, as a ſubject of the Empire, who had betrayed it, ordered him to be ſeized on. The French look'd on this as ſuch a violation of the paſs-ports, that they ſet it up for a preliminary, before they would enter upon a treaty, to have him ſet at liberty.

The treaty broke off.

Maſtricht was taken this ſummer; in which the Duke of Monmouth diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently, that he was much conſidered upon it.

1673. The King of France was there. After the taking of Maſtricht he went to Nancy in Lorraine, and left the Prince of Conde with the army in Flanders, Turenne having the command of that on the upper Rhine againſt the Germans; for the Emperor and the whole Empire were now engaged.

The affairs of Scotland.

But I return now to the intrigues of our Court. I came up this ſummer, in order to the publiſhing the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. I had left Scotland under an univerſal diſcontent. The whole adminiſtration there was both violent and corrupt, and ſeemed to be formed on a French model. The Parliament had in the year 1663, in order to the bringing our trade to a balance with England, given the King in truſt a power to lay impoſitions on foreign commodities. So upon that a great duty was lately laid upon French ſalt, in order to the better vending the ſalt made at home: Upon which it was ſold very dear. And that raiſed great complaints: For, as the ſalt was exceſſive dear, ſo it did not ſerve all purpoſes. All people looked on this, as the beginning of a gabel. An impoſition was alſo laid on Tobacco: And all brandy was prohibited to be imported, but not to be retailed: So thoſe who had the grant of the ſeizures ſold them, and raiſed the price very much. Theſe occaſioned monopolies: And the price of thoſe things that were of great conſumption among the Commons was much raiſed: So that a truſt lodged with the Crown was now abuſed in the higheſt degree. As theſe things provoked the body of the people, ſo Duke Lauderdale's inſolence, and his engroſſing every thing to himſelf, and to a few of his friends, and his wife and his brother ſetting all things to ſale, raiſed a very high diſcontent all over the Nation. The affairs of the Church were altogether neglected: So that in all reſpects we were quite out of joint.

I went

I went up with a full reſolution to do my country all the ſervice I could, and to deal very plainly with the Duke of Lauderdale, reſolving if I could do no good, to retire from all affairs, and to meddle no more in publick buſineſs. I loſt indeed my beſt friend at Court. Sir Robert Murray died ſuddenly at that time. He was the wiſeſt, and worthieſt man of the age, and was as another father to me. I was ſenſible how much I loſt in ſo critical a conjuncture, being bereft of the trueſt and faithfulleſt friend I had ever known: And ſo I ſaw, I was in danger of committing great errors, for want of ſo kind a monitor. 1673.

At my coming to Court, Duke Lauderdale took me into his cloſet, and aſked me the ſtate of Scotland. I upon that gave him a very punctual and true account of it. He ſeemed to think that I aggravated matters; and aſked me, if the King ſhould need an army from Scotland to tame thoſe in England, whether that might be depended on? I told him, certainly not: The Commons in the ſouthern parts were all Preſbyterians: And the Nobility thought they had been ill uſed, and were generally diſcontented, and only waited for an occaſion to ſhew it. He ſaid, he was of another mind: The hope of the ſpoil of England would fetch them all in. I anſwer'd, the King was ruined if ever he truſted to that: And I added, that with relation to other more indifferent perſons, who might be otherwiſe ready enough to puſh their fortunes, without any anxious enquiries into the grounds they went on, yet even theſe would not truſt the King, ſince he had ſo lately ſaid, he would ſtick to his Declaration, and yet had ſo ſoon after given it up. He ſaid, Hinc illæ Lacrymæ: But the King was forſaken in that matter, for none ſtuck to him but Lord Clifford, and himſelf: And then he ſet himſelf into a fit of railing at Lord Shaftſbury. I was ſtruck with this converſation: And by it I clearly ſaw into the deſ- Lauderdale's deſign.

1673. perate designs of the Court, which were as foolish, as they were wicked: For I knew, that upon the least disorder in England, they were ready in Scotland to have broke out into a rebellion: So far were they from any inclination to have assisted the King, in the mastering of England. I was much perplexed in myself what I ought to do, whether I ought not to have tried to give the King a truer view of our affairs: But I resolved to stay for a fit opportunity. I tried the Dutchess of Lauderdale, and set before her the injustice and oppression that Scotland was groaning under: But I saw she got too much by it to be any way concerned at it. They talked of going down to hold a session of Parliament in Scotland: I warned them of their danger. But they despised all I could say: Only great offers were made to myself to make me wholly theirs, which made no impression on me.

The King liked my Memoirs.

He carried me to the King, and proposed the licensing my Memoirs to him. The King bid me bring them to him; and said, he would read them himself. He did read some parts of them, particularly the account I gave of the ill conduct of the Bishops, that occasioned the beginning of the wars; and told me, that he was well pleased with it. He was at that time so much offended with the English Bishops for opposing the toleration, that he seemed much sharpened against them. He gave me back my book to carry it to Secretary Coventry, in order to the licensing it. The Secretary said, he would read it all himself: So this obliged me to a longer stay than I intended. Sir Ellis Leightoun carried me to the Duke of Buckingham, with whom I pass'd almost a whole night; and happened so far to please him, that he, who was apt to be fired with a new acquaintance, gave such a character of me to the King, that ever after that he took much notice of me, and said, he would hear me preach. He seemed well pleased with

with my ſermon; and ſpoke of it in a ſtrain that drew much envy on me. 1673.

He ordered me to be ſworn a Chaplain, and admitted me to a long private audience, that laſted above an hour, in which I took all the freedom with him, that I thought became my Profeſſion. He run me into a long diſcourſe about the authority of the Church, which he thought we made much of in our diſputes with the Diſſenters, and then took it all away when we dealt with the Papiſts. I ſaw plainly what he aimed at in this: And I quickly convinced him, that there was a great difference between an authority of government in things indifferent, and a pretence to infallibility. He complained heavily of the Biſhops for neglecting the true concerns of the Church, and following Courts ſo much, and being ſo engaged in parties. I went thro' ſome other things with relation to his courſe of life, and entred into many particulars with much freedom. He bore it all very well; and thank'd me for it: Some things he freely condemned, ſuch as living with another man's wife: Other things he excuſed, and thought God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleaſure. He ſeemed to take all I had ſaid very kindly: And during my ſtay at Court he uſed me in ſo particular a manner, that I was conſidered as a man growing into a high degree of favour. And ſhewed me great favour.

At the ſame time Lord Ancram, a Scotch Earl, but of a ſmall fortune, and of no principles, either as to religion or virtue, whoſe wife was a Papiſt, and himſelf a member of the Houſe of Commons, told the Duke that I had a great Intereſt in Scotland, and might do him ſervice in that Kingdom. He depended on Duke Lauderdale; but hated him, becauſe he did nothing for him. We were acquainted there: And, he having ſtudied the moſt divinity of any man of quality I ever knew, we found many ſubjects of diſcourſe. He ſaw, I did not flatter Duke Lauderdale: And he fancied My converſation with the Duke.

1673. he might make a tool of me. So he ſeemed to wonder that I had not been carried to wait on the Duke; and brought me a meſſage from him, that he would be glad to ſee me: And upon that he carried me to him. The Duke received me very graciouſly. Lord Ancram had a mind to engage me to give him an account of the affairs of Scotland: But I avoided that, and very bluntly entred into much diſcourſe with him about matters of religion. He ſaid ſome of the common things, of the neceſſity of having but one Church, otherwiſe we ſaw what ſwarms of ſects did riſe up on our revolt from Rome, and theſe had raiſed many rebellions, and the ſhedding much blood: And he named both his father's death, and his great grandmother's, Mary Queen of Scots: He alſo turned to ſome paſſages in Heylin's hiſtory of the Reformation, which he had lying by him: and the paſſages were marked, to ſhew upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all theſe particulars; and ſhewed him the progreſs that ignorance and ſuperſtition had made in many dark ages, and how much bloodſhed was occaſioned by the Papal pretenſions, for all which the opinion of infallibility was a ſource never to be exhauſted. And I ſpoke long to ſuch things as were beſt ſuited to his temper, and his capacity. I ſaw Lord Ancram helped him all he could, by which I perceived how he made his Court; for which when I reproached him afterwards, he ſaid, it was ill breeding in me to preſs ſo hard on a Prince. The Duke upon this converſation expreſſed ſuch a liking to me, that he ordered me to come oft to him: And afterwards he allowed me to come to him in a private way, as oft as I pleaſed. He deſired to know the ſtate of affairs in Scotland. I told him how little that Kingdom could be depended on. I turned the diſcourſe often to matters of religion. He broke it very gently; for he was not at all rough in private

vate converſation. He wiſhed, I would let thoſe matters alone: I might be too hard for him, and ſilence him, but I could never convince him. I told him, it was a thing he could never anſwer to God nor the world, that, being born and baptized in our Church, and having his father's laſt orders to continue ſtedfaſt in it, he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced, and as it were ſtollen out of it, hearing only one ſide, without offering his ſcruples to our divines, or hearing what they had to ſay in anſwer to them; and that he was now ſo fixed in his Popery, that he would not ſo much as examine the matter. He ſaid to me, he had often picqueered out (that was his word) on Sheldon, and ſome other Biſhops; by whoſe anſwers he could not but conclude, that they were much nearer the Church of Rome, than ſome of us young men were. 1673.

Stillingfleet had a little before this time publiſhed a book of the idolatry and fanaticiſm of the Church of Rome. Upon that the Duke ſaid, he aſked Sheldon, if it was the doctrine of the Church of England, that Roman Catholicks were idolaters: Who anſwered him, it was not; but that young men of parts would be popular; and ſuch a charge was the way to it. He at that time ſhewed me the Dutcheſs's paper, that has been ſince printed: It was all writ with her own hand. He gave me leave to read it twice over: But would not ſuffer me to copy it. And upon the mention made in it of her having ſpoke to the Biſhops, concerning ſome of her ſcruples, and that ſhe had ſuch anſwers from them, as confirmed and heightened them, I went from him to Morley, as was ſaid formerly, and had from him the anſwer there ſet down. I aſked the Duke's leave to bring Doctor Stillingfleet to him. He was averſe to it; and ſaid, it would make much noiſe, and could do no good. I told him, even the noiſe would have a good effect: It would ſhew he was not ſo obſtinate, but that he was willing to hear our divines. I

I carried Doctor Stillingfleet to him.

1673. preſſed it much: For it became neceſſary to me, on my own account, to clear myſelf from the ſuſpicion of Popery, which this extraordinary favour had drawn upon me. I at laſt prevailed with the Duke to conſent to it: And he aſſigned an hour of audience. Stillingfleet went very readily, tho' he had no hopes of ſucceſs. We were about two hours with him, and went over moſt of the points of controverſy. Stillingfleet thought, the point that would go the eaſieſt, and be the beſt underſtood by him, was the Papal pretenſions to a power over Princes, in depoſing them, and giving their dominions to others: And upon that, he ſhewed him, that Popery was calculated to make the Pope the ſovereign of all Chriſtendom. The Duke ſhifted the diſcourſe from one point to another; and did not ſeem to believe the matters of fact, and hiſtory alledged by us. So we deſired, he would call for ſome Prieſts, and hear us diſcourſe of thoſe matters with them in his preſence. He declined this; and ſaid, it would make a noiſe. He aſſured us, he deſired nothing, but to follow his own conſcience, which he impoſed on no body elſe, and that he would never attempt to alter the eſtabliſhed Religion. He loved to repeat this often. But when I was alone with him, I warned him of the great difficulties his religion was like to caſt him into. This was no good argument to make him change: But it was certainly a very good argument to make him conſider the matter ſo well, that he might be ſure he was in the right. He objected to me the doctrine of the Church of England in the point of ſubmiſſion, and of paſſive obedience. I told him, there was no truſting to a diſputable opinion: There were alſo diſtinctions and reſerves, even in thoſe who had aſſerted theſe points the moſt: And it was very certain, that when men ſaw a viſible danger of being firſt undone, and then burnt, they would be inclined to the ſhorteſt way of arguing, and to ſave themſelves

ſelves the beſt way they could : Intereſt and ſelf- 1673.
preſervation were powerful motives. He did very often aſſure me, he was againſt all violent methods, and all perſecution for conſcience ſake, and was better furniſhed to ſpeak well on that head, than on any other. I told him, all he could ſay that way would do him little ſervice ; For the words of Princes were looked on as arts to lay men aſleep : And they had generally regarded them ſo little themſelves, that they ought not to expect that others ſhould have great regard to them. I added, he was now of a religion, in which others had the keeping of his Conſcience, who would now hide from him this point of their religion, ſince it was not ſafe to own it, till they had it in their power to put it in practice : And whenever that time ſhould come, I was ſure that the principles of their Church muſt carry him to all the extremities of extirpation. I carried a volume of Judge Crook's to him, in which it is reported, that King James had once in Council complained of a ſlander caſt on him, as if he was inclined to change his religion ; and had ſolemnly vindicated himſelf from the imputation ; and prayed, that if any ſhould ever ſpring out of his loins that ſhould maintain any other religion than that which he truly maintained and profeſſed, that God would take him out of the world. He read it : But it made no impreſſion. And when I urged him with ſome things in his father's book, he gave me the account of it that was formerly mentioned. He entered into great freedom with me about all his affairs : And he ſhewed me the journals he took of buſineſs every day with his own hand : A method he ſaid, that the Earl of Clarendon had ſet him on. The Dutcheſs had begun to write his life. He ſhewed me a part of it in a thin volume in folio. I read ſome it, and found it writ with a great deal of ſpirit. He told me, he intended to truſt me with his journals, that I might draw a hiſtory out

1673. of them. And thus, in a few weeks time, I had got far into his confidence. He did alſo allow me to ſpeak to him of the irregularities of his life, ſome of which he very freely confeſſed: And when I urged him, how ſuch a courſe of life did agree with the zeal he ſhewed in his religion; he anſwered, muſt a man be of no religion unleſs he is a ſaint? Yet he bore my freedom very gently, and ſeemed to like me the better for it. My favour with him grew to be the obſervation of the whole Court. Lord Ancram ſaid, I might be what I pleaſed, if I would be a little ſofter in the points of religion. Sir Ellis Leightoun brought me a meſſage from F. Sheldon, and ſome of his prieſts, aſſuring me, they heard ſo well of me, that they offered me their ſervice. He preſſed me to improve my preſent advantages to the making my fortune: The See of Durham was then vacant: And he was confident, it would be no hard matter for me to compaſs it. But I had none of thoſe views, and ſo was not moved by them. The Duke of Buckingham aſked me, what I meant in being ſo much about the Duke? If I fancied I could change him in point of religion, I knew him and the world very little: If I had a mind to raiſe my ſelf, a ſure method for that was, to talk to him of the Reformation, as a thing done in heat and haſte, and that in a calmer time it might be fit to review it all. He ſaid, I needed go no farther; for ſuch an intimation would certainly raiſe me. And when I was poſitive not to enter into ſuch a compliance, he told me, he knew Courts better than I did: Princes thought their favours were no ordinary things: They expected great ſubmiſſions in return: Otherwiſe they thought they were deſpiſed: And I would feel the ill effects of the favour I then had, if I did not ſtrike into ſome compliances: And, ſince I was reſolved againſt theſe, he adviſed me to withdraw from the Court; the ſooner the better. I imputed this to his hatred of the Duke;

Duke: But I found afterwards the advice was found and good. I likewiſe ſaw thoſe things in the Duke's temper, from which I concluded, I could not maintain an intereſt in him long. He was for ſubjects ſubmitting in all things to the King's notions; and thought, that all who oppoſed him, or his Miniſters in Parliament, were rebels in their hearts; and he hated all popular things, as below the dignity of a King. He was much ſharpened at that time by the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. 1673.

In the former ſeſſion it was known, that he was treating a marriage with the Archdutcheſs: And yet no addreſs was made to the King to hinder his marrying a Papiſt. His honour was not then engaged: So it had been ſeaſonable, and to good purpoſe to have moved in it then. But now he was married by proxy, and Lord Peterborough had brought the Lady to Paris. Yet the Houſe of Commons reſolved to follow the pattern the King of France had lately ſet. He treated with the Elector Palatine, for a marriage between his brother and the Elector's daughter; in which one of the conditions agreed to was, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the freedom of her religion, and have a private Oratory for the exerciſe of it. When ſhe came on her way as far as Metz, an order was ſent to ſtop her, till ſhe was better inſtructed: Upon which ſhe changed, at leaſt as to outward Appearance. It is true, the Court of France gave it out that the Elector had conſented to this method, for the ſaving his own honour. And he had given the world cauſe to believe, he was capable of that, tho' he continued openly to deny it. The Houſe of Commons reſolved to follow this precedent, and to make an addreſs to the King, to ſtop the Princeſs of Modena's coming to England, till ſhe ſhould change her Religion. Upon this the Duke moved the King to prorogue the Parliament for a week: And a Commiſſion

The Duke's marriage oppoſed by the Commons

was

1673. was ordered for it. The Duke went to the Houſe on that day, to preſs the calling up the Commons before they could have time to go on to buſineſs. Some Peers were to be brought in. The Duke preſſed Lord Shaftſbury to put that off, and to prorogue the Parliament. He ſaid coldly to him, there was no haſte. But the Commons made more haſte: For they quickly came to a vote for ſtopping the marriage. And by this means they were engaged, (having put ſuch an affront on the Duke) to proceed farther. He preſently told me, how the matter went, and how the Lord Chancellor had uſed him: He was confident the King would take the Seals from him, if he could not manage the ſeſſions ſo as to procure him money, of which there was indeed ſmall appearance. I told him, I looked on that as a fatal thing, if the Commons began once to affront him: That would have a ſad train of conſequences, as ſoon as they thought it neceſſary for their own preſervation, to ſecure themſelves from falling under his revenges. He ſaid, he was reſolved to ſtand his ground, and to ſubmit to the King in every thing: He would never take off an enemy: But he would let all the world ſee, that he was ready to forgive every one, that ſhould come off from his oppoſition, and make applications to him. When the week of the prorogation was ended, the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech of the King's, which had ſuch various ſtrains in it, that it was plain it was made by different perſons. The Duke told me, that Lord Clarendon during his favour, had penned all the King's Speeches: but that now they were compoſed in the Cabinet, one Miniſter putting in one period, while another made another; ſo that all was not of a piece. He told me, Lord Arlington was almoſt dead with fear: But Lord Shaftſbury reckoned himſelf gone at Court, and acted more roundly. In his ſpeech he ſtudied to correct his Delenda eſt Carthago, applying it to the Loeveſtein party,

party, whom he called the Carthaginians: But this made him as ridiculous, as the other made him odious. The Houſe of Commons took up again the matter of the Duke's marriage, and moved for an addreſs about it. But it was ſaid, the King's honour was engaged. Yet they addreſſed to him againſt it. But the King made them no anſwer. By that time I had obtained a licence of Secretary Coventry for my book, which the King ſaid ſhould be printed at his charge. 1673.

A Parliament in Scotland.

But now I muſt give an account of a ſtorm raiſed againſt myſelf, the effects of which were very ſenſible to me for many years. The Duke of Lauderdale had kept the Scotch Nation in ſuch a dependence on himſelf, that he was not pleaſed with any of them that made an acquaintance in England, and leaſt of all in the Court: Nor could he endure, that any of them ſhould apply themſelves to the King or the Duke, but thro' him. So he looked on the favour I had got into with a very jealous eye. His Dutcheſs queſtioned me about it. Thoſe who know what Court jealouſies are will eaſily believe, that I muſt have ſaid ſomewhat to ſatisfy them, or break with them. I told her, what was very true as to the Duke, that my converſation with him was about religion; and that with the King I had talked of the courſe of life he led. I obſerved a deep jealouſy of me in them both; eſpecially, becauſe I could not go with them to Scotland. I ſaid, I would follow, as ſoon as the Secretary would diſpatch me. And as ſoon as that was done I took poſt, and by a great fall of ſnow was ſtopt by the way. But I unhappily got to Edinburgh the Night before the Parliament met. Duke Hamilton, and many others, told me how ſtrangely Duke Lauderdale talked of my intereſt at Court; as if I was ready to turn Papiſt. Duke Hamilton alſo told me, they were reſolved next day to attack Duke Lauderdale, and his whole adminiſtration in Parliament. I was troubled

at

1673. at this; and argued with him againſt the fitneſs of it all I could. But he ſaid he was engaged: The Earls of Rothes, Argile, and Tweedale, and all the Cavalier party, had promiſed to ſtick by him. I told him, what afterwards happened, that moſt of theſe would make their own terms, and leave him in the lurch: And the load would lye on him. When I ſaw the thing was paſt remedy, I reſolved to go home, and follow my ſtudies; ſince I could not keep Duke Lauderdale and him any longer in a good underſtanding.

A party formed againſt Lauderdale.

Next day, when the Parliament was opened, the King's letter was read, deſiring their aſſiſtance in carrying on the war with Holland, and aſſuring them of his affection to them in very kind words. This was ſeconded by Duke Lauderdale in a long ſpeech. And immediately it was moved to appoint a Committee to prepare an anſwer to the King's letter, as was uſual. Duke Hamilton moved, that the ſtate of the Nation might be firſt conſidered, that ſo they might ſee what grievances they had: And he hinted at ſome. And then, as it had been laid, about twenty men, one after another, ſpoke to ſeveral particulars. Some mentioned the ſalt, others the tobacco, and the brandy: Some complained of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and others of the coin. With this the Duke of Lauderdale was ſtruck, as one dead; for he had raiſed his credit at Court by the opinion of his having all Scotland in his hand, and in a dependence on him: So a diſcovery of this want of credit with us he ſaw muſt ſink him there. He had not looked for this; tho' I had warned him of a great deal of it. But he reflecting on that, and on the credit I had got at Court, and on the haſte I made in my journey, and my coming critically the night before the ſeſſion opened; he laid all this together, and fancied I was ſent on deſign, as the agent of the party, and that the licenſing my book was only a blind;

blind: He believed Sir Robert Murray had laid it, and that the Earl of Shaftsbury had managed it. And becauſe it was a common artifice of King Charles's Miniſters, to put the miſcarriage of affairs upon ſome accident, that had not been foreſeen by them, but ſhould be provided againſt for the future; he aſſured the King, that I had been the incendiary, that I had my uncle's temper in me, and that I muſt be ſubdued, otherwiſe I would embroil all his affairs. The King took all things of that kind eaſily from his Miniſters, without hearing any thing to the contrary: For he was wont to ſay, all apologies were lies: Upon which one ſaid to him once, then he would always believe the firſt lye. But all this was much encreaſed, when Duke Lauderdale upon his coming up told the King, that I had boaſted to his wife of the freedom that I had uſed with him, upon his courſe of life. With this the King was highly offended: Or at leaſt he made much uſe of it, to juſtify many hard things that he ſaid of me: And for many years he allowed himſelf a very free ſcope in talking of me. I was certainly to blame for the freedom I had uſed with the Dutcheſs of Lauderdale: But I was ſurprized by her queſtion: And I could not bring myſelf to tell a lye: So I had no other ſhift ready to ſatisfy her. But the Duke kept up ſtill a very good opinion of me. I went home to Glaſgow, where I proſecuted my ſtudies till the June following, when I went again to London. 1673.

He offers to redreſs grievances in Council.

Duke Lauderdale put off the ſeſſion of Parliament for ſome time; and called a Council, in which he ſaid, great complaints had been made in Parliament of grievances: He had full authority to redreſs them all in the King's name: Therefore he charged the Privy Counſellors to lay all things of that kind before that board, and not to carry them before any other aſſembly, till they ſaw what redreſs was to be had there. Duke

1673. Hamilton said, the regular way of complaints was to make them in Parliament, which only could redress them effectually; since the putting them down by the authority of Council, was only laying them aside for a while, till a fitter opportunity was found to take them up again. Upon this Duke Lauderdale protested, that he was ready in the King's name to give the subject ease and freedom, and that those who would not assist and concur with him in this, were wanting in duty and respect to the King; and since he saw the matter of the salt, the tobacco, and the brandy, had raised much clamour, he would quash these. But the party had a mind to have the instruments of their oppression punished, as well as the oppression itself removed; and were resolved to have these things condemned by some exemplary punishments, and to pursue Duke Lauderdale and his party with this clamour.

1674. Next session of Parliament new complaints were offered. Duke Lauderdale said, these ought to be made first to the Lords of the Articles, to whom all petitions and motions ought to be made first; and that they were the only Judges, what matters were fit to be brought into Parliament. The other side said, they were only a Committee of Parliament, to put motions into the form of acts; but that the Parliament had still an entire authority to examine into the state of the Nation. In this debate, they had the reason of things on their side: But the words of the Act favoured Duke Lauderdale. So he lodged it now where he wished it might be, in a point of prerogative. He valued himself to the King on this, that he had drawn the Act that settled the power of the Lords of the Articles; who being all upon the matter named by the King, it was of great concern to him to maintain that, as the check upon factious spirits there; which would be no sooner let

A dispute raised about the Lords of the Articles.

go, than the Parliament of Scotland would grow as unquiet, as a Houſe of Commons was in England: That was a conſideration which at this time had great weight with the King. I now return to give an account of this year's ſeſſion in England. 1674.

In the beginning of it, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Shaftſbury, and Arlington, and Secretary Coventry, offered an advice to the King, for ſending the Duke for ſome time from the Court, as a good expedient both for himſelf and the Duke. The King hearkened ſo far to it, that he ſent them to move it to the Duke. He was highly incenſed at it: He ſaid, he would obey all the King's orders, but would look on thoſe as his enemies, who offered him ſuch advices. And he never forgave this to any of them; no not to Coventry, for all his good opinion of him. He preſſed the King vehemently to take the ſeals from the Earl of Shaftſbury. So it was done: And they were given to Finch, then Attorney General, made afterwards Earl of Nottingham. He was a man of probity, and well verſed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence: But it was laboured and affected: And he ſaw it much deſpiſed before he died. He had no ſort of knowledge in foreign affairs: And yet he loved to talk of them perpetually: By which he expoſed himſelf to thoſe who underſtood them. He thought he was bound to juſtify the Court in all debates in the Houſe of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the ſolemnity of a ſenator. He was an incorrupt Judge: And in his Court he could reſiſt the ſtrongeſt applications, even from the King himſelf, tho' he did it no where elſe. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the Houſe of Lords, and in common converſation. One thing deſerves to be remembered of him: He took great care of filling the Church livings, that belonged to the Seal with worthy men: And he obliged

The proceedings in the Parliament of England.

Finch's character.

1674. obliged them all to residence. Lord Shaftsbury was now at liberty to open himself against the Court; which he did with as little reserve as decency.

The House of Commons were resolved to fall on all the Ministry. They began with Duke Lauderdale, and voted an address to remove him from the King's Councils and presence for ever. They went next upon the Duke of Buckingham: And, it being moved in his name, that the House would hear him, he was suffered to come to the House. The first day of his being before them he fell into such a disorder, that he pretended he was taken ill, and desired to be admitted again. Next day he was more composed. He justified his own designs, laying all the ill counsels upon others, chiefly on Lord Arlington, intimating plainly that the root of all errors was in the King and the Duke. He said, hunting was a good diversion, but if a man would hunt with a brace of lobsters, he would have but ill sport. He had used that figure to myself; but had then applied it to Prince Rupert and Lord Arlington: But it was now understood to go higher. His speech signified nothing towards the saving of himself: But it lost him the King's favour so entirely, that he never recovered it afterwards. Lord Arlington was next attack'd: He appeared also before the Commons, and spoke much better than was expected: He excused himself, but without blaming the King: And this had so good an effect, that tho' he, as Secretary of State, was more exposed than any other, by the many warrants and orders he had signed, yet he was acquitted, tho' by a small majority. But the care he took to preserve himself, and his success in it, lost him his high favour with the King, as the Duke was out of measure offended at him: So he quitted his post, and was made Lord Chamberlain.

The

The Houſe of Commons was reſolved to force the King to a peace with the Dutch. The Court of France recalled Croiſſy, finding that the Duke was offended at his being led by Lord Arlington. Rouvigny was ſent over: A man of great practice in buſineſs, and in all intrigues. He was ſtill a firm Proteſtant, but in all other reſpects a very dextrous Courtier, and one of the greateſt Stateſmen in Europe. He had the appointments of an Embaſſador, but would not take the character, that he might not have a Chapel, and Maſs ſaid in it. Upon his coming over, as he himſelf told me, he found all the Miniſters of the Allies were perpetually plying the Members of the Houſe of Commons with their memorials. He knew he could gain nothing on them: So he never left the King. The King was in great perplexity: He would have done any thing, and parted with any perſons, if that would have procured him money for carrying on the war. But he ſaw little appearance of that. He found he was indeed at the mercy of the States. So Lord Arlington preſſed the Spaniſh Miniſters to prevail with the States, and the Prince of Orange, to get a propoſition for a peace to be ſet on foot. And that it might have ſome ſhew of a peace both begg'd and bought, he propoſed that a ſum of money ſhould be offered the King by the States, which ſhould be made over by him to the Prince, for the payment of the debt he owed him. Rouvigny preſs'd the King much to give his Parliament all ſatisfaction in points of religion. The King anſwered him, if it was not for his brother's folly, (La Sottiſe de mon Frere,) he would get out of all his difficulties. Rouvigny drew a memorial for informing the Houſe of Commons of the modeſty of his maſter's pretenſions: For now the French King was ſenſible of his errors in making ſuch high demands, as he had made at Utrecht; and was endeavouring to get out of the war on eaſier terms.

1674.

A peace concluded with the States.

1674. terms. The States committed a great error in desiring a peace with England, without desiring at the same time, that the King should enter into the alliance, for reducing the French to the terms of the Triple Alliance. But the Prince of Orange thought, that if he could once separate the King from his alliance with France, the other point would be soon brought about. And the States were much set on the having a peace with England, hoping then both to be freed of the great trouble of securing the coast at a vast charge, and also by the advantage of their fleet to ruin the trade, and to insult the coast of France. The States did this winter confer a new and extraordinary dignity on the Prince of Orange. They made him Hereditary Stadtholder. So that this was entailed on him, and his issue male. He had in a year and a half's time changed the whole face of their affairs. He had not only taken Naerden, which made Amsterdam easy: But by a very bold undertaking he had gone up the Rhine to Bon, and had taken it in a very few days: And in it had cut off the supplies that the French sent down to their garrisons on the Rhine and the Isel. So that the French finding they could not subsist longer there, were now resolved to evacuate all those places, and the three Provinces of which they were possessed: which they did a few months after. An alliance was also made with the Emperor. And by this means both the Elector of Cologn, and the Bishop of Munster, were brought to a peace with the States. The Elector of Brandenburgh was likewise returning to the alliance with the States: For in the treaty, to which he was forced to submit, with Turenne for a truce of a year, he had put an article, reserving to himself a liberty to act in concurrence with the Empire, according to such resolutions as should be taken in the Diet. This change of the affairs of the States had got the

Prince

Prince of Orange the affections of the people to such a degree, that he could have obtained every thing of them that he would have desired: And even the loss of so important a place as Mastricht was not at all charged on him. So he brought the States to make applications to the King in the style of those who begg'd a peace, tho' it was visible they could have forced it. In conclusion, a project of a peace with England was formed, or rather the peace of Breda was writ over again, with the offer of 2 or 300000 l. for the expence of the war. And the King signed it at Lord Arlington's office. 1674.

He came up immediately into the drawing room; where seeing Rouvigny he took him aside, and told him, he had been doing a thing that went more against his heart, than the losing of his right hand: He had signed a peace with the Dutch, the project being brought him by the Spanish Embassador: He saw nothing could content the House of Commons, or draw money from them: And Lord Arlington had pressed him so hard, that he had stood out till he was weary of his life: He saw it was impossible for him to carry on the war without supplies, of which it was plain he could have no hopes. Rouvigny told him, what was done could not be helped: But he would let him see how faithfully he would serve him on this occasion: He did not doubt but his master would submit all his pretensions to him, and make him the arbiter and mediator of the peace. This the King received with great joy; and said, it would be the most acceptable service that could be done him. The French resolved upon this to accept of the King's mediation. And so the King got out of the war, very little to his honour, having both engaged in it upon unjust grounds, and managed it all along with ill conduct, and bad success: And now he got out of it in so poor and so dishonourable a manner, that with it he lost his credit both at home and abroad.

The King became the mediator of the peace.

1674. Yet he felt little of all this. He and his brother were now at their eaſe. Upon this, the Parliament was quickly prorogued: And the Court delivered itſelf up again to its ordinary courſe of ſloth and luxury. But Lord Arlington, who had brought all this about, was ſo entirely loſt by it, that tho' he knew too much of the ſecret to be ill uſed, yet he could never recover the ground he had loſt.

The Dutcheſs's character.

The Dutcheſs of York came over that winter. She was then very young, about ſixteen, but of a full growth. She was a graceful perſon, with a good meaſure of beauty, and ſo much wit and cunning, that during all this reign ſhe behaved herſelf in ſo obliging a manner, and ſeemed ſo innocent and good, that ſhe gained upon all that came near her, and poſſeſſed them with ſuch impreſſions of her, that it was long before her behaviour, after ſhe was a Queen, could make them change their thoughts of her. So artificially did this young Italian behave herſelf, that ſhe deceived even the eldeſt and moſt jealous perſons, both in the Court and Country. Only ſometimes a ſatyrical temper broke out too much, which was imputed to youth and wit, not enough practiſed in the world. She avoided the appearances of a zealot, or a meddler in buſineſs; and gave herſelf up to innocent cheerfulneſs; and was univerſally eſteemed and beloved, as long as ſhe was Dutcheſs.

Coleman's character.

She had one put about her to be her Secretary, Coleman; who became ſo active in the affairs of the party, and ended his life ſo unfortunately, that ſince I had much converſation with him, his circumſtances may deſerve that his character ſhould be given, tho' his perſon did not. I was told, he was a Clergyman's ſon: But he was early catched by the Jeſuits, and bred many years among them. He underſtood the art of managing controverſies, chiefly that great one of the

authority

authority of the Church, better than any of their Priests. He was a bold man, resolved to raise himself, which he did by dedicating himself wholly to the Jesuits: And so he was raised by them. He had a great easiness in writing in several languages; and writ many long letters, and was the chief correspondent the party had in England. He lived at a vast expence. And talked in so positive a manner, that it looked like one who knew he was well supported. I soon saw into his temper; and I warned the Duke of it: For I looked on him, as a man much liker to spoil business, than to carry it on dextrously. He got into the confidence of P. Ferrier the King of France's confessor; and tried to get into the same pitch of confidence with P. de la Chaise, who succeeded him in that post. He went about every where, even to the jayls among the criminals, to make proselytes. He dealt much both in the giving and taking of bribes. But now the affairs of England were calmed, I look again to Scotland, which was yet in a storm. 1674.

The affairs of Scotland.

The King writ to Duke Hamilton to come up. And when he and Lord Tweedale arrived, they were so well received, that they hoped to carry their point. But the King's design in this was, that, if he could have brought the House of Commons to have given money, he was resolved to have parted with Duke Lauderdale, and have employed them. And his kind usage of them was on design to persuade the Commons to use himself better, by shewing that he was ready to comply with them. He gave them so good a hearing, that they thought they had fully convinced him: And he blamed them only for not complaining to himself of those grievances. But, as soon as he saw it was to no purpose to look for money from the House of Commons, and had signed the peace, he sent them down with full assurances that all things should be left to the judgment of the Parliament. They came down thro' the greatest fall

1674. of ſnow that has been in all my life-time. When they got home, inſtead of a ſeſſion, there was an order for a prorogation; which gave ſuch an univerſal diſcontent, that many offered at very extravagant propoſitions, for deſtroying Duke Lauderdale and all his party. Duke Hamilton, who told me this ſome years after, when an Act of Grace was publiſhed, was neither ſo bad nor ſo bold as to hearken to theſe. The King writ him a cajoling letter, deſiring him to come up once more, and to refer all matters to him: And he aſſured him, he would make up all differences.

The Parliament was prorogued

In the mean while Duke Lauderdale took all poſſible methods to become more popular. He connived at the inſolence of the Preſbyterians, who took poſſeſſion of one of the vacant Churches of Edinburgh, and preached in it for ſome months. The Earl of Argile and Sir James Dalrimple were the men on whom the Preſbyterians depended moſt. Duke Lauderdale returned to his old kindneſs with the former: And Lord Argile was very ready to forget his late unkindneſs. So matters were made up between them. Dalrimple was the Preſident of the ſeſſion, a man of great temper, and of a very mild deportment, but a cunning man. He was now taken into the chief confidence. He told the Preſbyterians, if they would now ſupport Duke Lauderdale, this would remove the prejudice the King had againſt them, as enemies to his ſervice. This wrought on many of them.

Dalrimple's character.

The Clergy was much provoked.

What influence ſoever this might have on the Preſbyterians, the ſtrange conduct with relation to them provoked the Clergy out of meaſure. Some hot men, that were not preferred as they thought they deſerved, grew very mutinous, and complained that things were let fall into much confuſion. And they raiſed a grievous outcry for the want of a National Synod, to regulate our worſhip and government: And ſo moved in the Dioceſan Synods, that a petition ſhould be offered

to

to the Privy Council, setting forth the necessity of having a National Synod. I liked no part of this. I knew the temper of our Clergy too well, to depend much on them. Therefore I went out of the way on purpose when our Synod was to meet. Petitions were offered for a National Synod, which was thought an innocent thing. Yet, it being done on design to heighten the fermentation the Kingdom was in, great exceptions were taken to it. One Bishop, and four of the Clergy, were turned out by an order from the King, pursuant to the Act asserting the Supremacy. After a year, upon their submission, they were restored. Tho' I was not at all concerned in this, (for I was ever of Nazianzen's opinion, who never wished to see any more Synods of the Clergy) yet the King was made believe, that I had laid the whole matter, even tho' I did not appear in any part of it. 1674.

Another disorder broke out, which had greater effects. A cause being judged in the supreme Court of Session, the party appealed to the Parliament. This was looked on as a high contempt, done on design to make the Parliament a Court of judicature, that so there might be a necessity of frequent Parliaments. So the Judges required all the lawyers to condemn this, as contrary to law. And they had the words of a law on their side: For there lay no such appeal as stopt process, nor was there a writ of error in their law: But upon petitions, Parliaments had, tho' but seldom, reviewed and reversed the judgment of the Courts. So the debate lay about the sense of the word "Appeal." Sir George Lockhart, brother to the Embassador, was the most learned lawyer, and the best pleader I have ever yet known in any Nation; and he had all the lawyers almost in a dependence on him. He was engaged with the party, and resolved to stand it out. The King sent down an order to put all men from the bar, that did not condemn Appeals. And, when that wrought not

A great distraction in Scotland.

1674. on them, they were by Proclamation baniſhed Edinburgh, and twelve miles about it: And a new day was aſſigned them for making their ſubmiſſion; the King in a very unuſual ſtyle declaring, on the word of a prince, that, if they ſubmitted not by that day, they ſhould never be again admitted to their practice. They ſtood it out: And the day lapſed without their ſubmitting. Yet afterwards they renounced appeals in the ſenſe of the Roman law: And, notwithſtanding the unuſual threatning in the Proclamation, they were again reſtored to practice. But this made a ſtop for a whole year in all legal proceedings.

Lauderdale's proceedings there.

The government of the city of Edinburgh was not ſo compliant, as was expected. So Duke Lauderdale procured a letter from the King to turn out twelve of the chief Magiſtrates, and to declare them for ever incapable of all publick truſts: So entirely had he forgot his complaints formerly made againſt incapacity, even when paſs'd in an Act of Parliament. The boroughs of Scotland have by law, a privilege of meeting once a year in a body, to conſider of trade, and of by-laws relating to it. At a convention held this year a petition was agreed on, and ſent to the King, complaining of ſome late Acts that hindred trade, for the repeal of which there was great need of a ſeſſion of Parliament: They therefore prayed, that when the King ſent down a Commiſſioner to hold a ſeſſion, he might be inſtructed in order to that repeal. This was judged a legal thing by the lawyers there; for this was a lawful aſſembly: They did not petition for a Parliament, but only for inſtructions to the ſeſſion. Yet it was condemn'd as ſeditious: And thoſe who promoted it were fined and impriſoned for it. Thus Duke Lauderdale was lifted up out of meaſure, and reſolved to cruſh all that ſtood in his way. He was made Earl of Guilford in England, and had a penſion of 3000l. And he let himſelf looſe into a very ungoverned fury. When

Duke Hamilton, and ſome other Lords came up, the King deſired they would put their complaints in writing. They ſaid, the laws were ſo oddly worded, and more oddly executed, in Scotland, that the modeſteſt paper they could offer might be condemned as leaſing-making, and miſrepreſenting the King's proceedings: So they would not venture on it. The King promiſed them, that no ill uſe ſhould be made of it to their prejudice. But they did not think it ſafe to truſt him; for he ſeemed to be entirely delivered up to all Duke Lauderdale's paſſions. 1674.

It is no wonder then that I could not ſtand before him; tho' at my coming up the Duke of York received me with great kindneſs, and told me, how he had got out of great difficulties, and added, that the King was very firm to him: He commended likewiſe his new Dutcheſs much: He was troubled at our diſorders: He was firm to Duke Lauderdale: But he would have endeavoured to reconcile matters, if there had been room for it. He told me, the King was highly incenſed againſt me; and was made believe, that I was the chief ſpring of all that had happened: He himſelf believed me more innocent; and ſaid, he would endeavour to ſet me right with him: And he carried me to the King, who received me coldly. Some days after, when the Duke was a hunting, the Lord Chamberlain told me, he had orders to ſtrike my name out of the liſt of the Chaplains; and that the King forbad me the Court, and expected I ſhould go back to Scotland. The Duke ſeemed troubled at this, and ſpoke to the King about it: But he was poſitive. Yet he admitted me to ſay to him what I had to offer in my own juſtification. I ſaid all that I thought neceſſary; and appealed to Duke Hamilton, who did me juſtice in it. But the King ſaid, he was afraid I had been too buſy; and wiſhed me to go home to Scotland, and be more quiet. The Duke upon this told me, that, I was diſgraced.

if

1674. if I went home without reconciling myſelf to Duke Lauderdale, I ſhould be certainly ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, where I might perhaps lye too long. This I looked on as a very high obligation: So I reſigned my employment, and reſolved to ſtay in England. I preached in many of the Churches of London; and was ſo well received, that it was probable I might be accepted of in any, that was to be diſpoſed of by a popular election. So a Church falling to be given in that way, the electors had a mind to chooſe me: But yet they were not willing to offend the Court. The Duke ſpoke to Duke Lauderdale, and told him that he had a mind I ſhould be ſettled in London, and deſired he would not oppoſe it. Duke Lauderdale ſaid, all this was a trick of the party in Scotland, to ſettle me, that I might be a correſpondent between the factions in both Kingdoms. Yet, upon the Duke's undertaking that I ſhould not meddle in thoſe matters, he was contented that the King ſhould let the electors know, he was not againſt their chooſing me. Upon this Duke Lauderdale, ſeeing what a root I had with the Duke, ſent a meſſage to me, that, if I would promiſe to keep no farther correſpondence with Duke Hamilton, I ſhould again be reſtored to his favour. I ſaid, I had promiſed the Duke to meddle no more in Scotch affairs: But I could not forſake my friends, nor turn againſt them. By this he judged I was inflexible. So he carried a ſtory to the King the very night before the election, that upon enquiry was found to be falſe, when it was too late to help what was done. Upon that, the King ſent a ſevere meſſage to the electors. So I miſſed that. And ſometime after a new ſtory was invented, of which Sharp was indeed the author, by which the King was made believe, that I was poſſeſſing both Lords and Commons againſt Duke Lauderdale. Upon that, the King ordered Coventry to command me to leave London, and not to come within

in

in twenty miles of it. The Duke told me what the particulars were, which were all false: For Lord Faulconbridge and Lord Carlisle were the Lords, into whom it was said I was infusing those prejudices. Now I was known to neither of them; for, tho' they had desired my acquaintance, I had declined it. So I told all this to Secretary Coventry, who made report of it to the King in the Duke's presence: And those Lords justified me in the matter. I hoped the King would upon all this recall his order. But he would not do it. So I asked to have it in writing. The Secretary knew it was against law: So he would not do it. But I was forbid the Court. The Duke brought Duke Lauderdale and me once together, to have made us friends. But nothing would do, unless I would forsake all my friends, and discover secrets. I said, I knew no wicked ones: And I could not break with persons, with whom I had lived long in great friendship. The Duke spoke to the Lord Treasurer, to soften Duke Lauderdale with relation to me; and sent me to him. He undertook to do it; but said afterwards, Duke Lauderdale was intractable. 1674.

This violent and groundless prosecution lasted some months. And during that time I said to some, that Duke Lauderdale had gone so far in opening some wicked designs to me, that I perceived he could not be satisfied, unless I was undone. So I told what was mentioned before, of the discourses that pass'd between him and me. This I ought not to have done, since they were the effects of confidence and friendship. But such a course of provocation might have heated a cooler and elder man than I was, being then but thirty, to forget the caution that I ought to have used. The persons who had this from me, resolved to make use of it against him, in the next session of Parliament: For which the Earl of Danby and he were preparing, by turning to new methods.

1674. Lord Danby set up to be the patron of the Church-party, and of the old Cavaliers: And Duke Lauderdale joined himself to him. It was said, the King had all along neglected his best and surest friends: So a new measure was taken up, of doing all possible honours to the memory of King Charles I. and to all that had been in his interests. A statue of brass on horse back, that had been long neglected, was bought, and set up at Charing-cross: And a magnificent funeral was designed for him. The building of St. Paul's in London was now set on foot with great zeal. Morley and some of the Bishops were sent for: And the new Ministry settled a scheme with them, by which it was offered to crush all the designs of Popery. The Ministers expressed a great zeal in this; and openly accused all the former Ministers for neglecting it so long. But, to excuse this to the Duke, they told him, it was a great misfortune, that the Church party and the Dissenters were now run into one; that the Church party must have some content given them; and then a test was to be set on foot, that should for ever shut out all Dissenters, who were an implacable sort of people. A Declaration renouncing the lawfulness of resistance in any case whatsoever, and an engagement to endeavour no alteration in Church or State, was designed to be a necessary qualification of all that might choose, or be chosen Members of Parliament. If this could be carried, the King's party would be for ever separated from the Dissenters, and be so much the more united to him. In order to this, it was necessary to put out severe orders of Council against all convicted or suspected Papists. The Duke acquainted me with this scheme. He disliked it much. He thought this would raise the Church party too high. He looked on them as intractable in the point of Popery. Therefore he thought, it was better to keep them under, by supporting the Papists. He looked on the whole project,

The Ministers turned to the Church party.

project, as both knaviſh and fooliſh. And upon this he ſpoke ſeverely of Duke Lauderdale, who he ſaw would do any thing to ſave himſelf: He had been all along in ill terms both with Sheldon and Morley: But now he reconciled himſelf to them: He brought Sharp out of Scotland, who went about aſſuring all people, that the party ſet againſt him was likewiſe ſet againſt the Church. This, tho' notoriouſly falſe, paſſed for true among ſtrangers. And, Leightoun coming up at the year's end to quit his Archbiſhoprick of Glaſgow, Burnet had made ſuch ſubmiſſions that he was reſtored to it. So that wound, which had been given to Epiſcopacy in his perſon, was now healed. And Leightoun retired to a private houſe in Suſſex, where he lived ten years in a moſt heavenly manner, and with a ſhining converſation. So now Duke Lauderdale was at the head of the Church party. 1674.

Correſpondence with Holland diſcovered.

The Court was ſomewhat diſturbed with diſcoveries that were made at this time. When Sir Joſeph Williamſon came back from Cologn, he ſecretly met with Wicquefort, who has publiſhed a work about Embaſſadors. He was the Dutch Secretary, that tranſlated the intelligence that came from England. And ſometimes the originals were left in his hands. Williamſon prevailed with him to deliver theſe to him. Moſt of them were writ by the Lord Howard's brother, who upon his brother's death was afterwards Lord Howard. He was a man of wit and learning, bold and poor, who had run thro' many parties in religion. In Cromwell's time he was rebaptized, and had preached in London. He ſet up in oppoſition to Cromwell, as a great Common-wealth's man, and did ſome ſervice in the Reſtoration. But he was always poor, and ready to engage in any thing that was bold. He went over in the beginning of the war, and offered to ſerve De Wit. But he told me, he found him a dry man. As ſoon as the Prince was raiſed, he waited on him, and on Fagel; and

1674. and undertook not only to send them good intelligence, but to make a great party for them. He pressed the Prince to make a descent on England, only to force the King to call a Parliament, and to be advised by it. And he drew such a Manifesto, as he believed would be acceptable to the Nation. He, and one of the Du Moulins, that was in Lord Arlington's office, joined together, and gave the States very good intelligence. Du Moulin, fearing that he was discovered, took the alarm in time, and got beyond sea. Most of the papers that Wicquefort delivered were of Howard's writing. So upon his examination in the Tower, it appeared they had his letters against him. And, when notice was sent of this to Holland, Wicquefort was called on to bring before them all the original letters that were trusted to him. And, upon his not doing it, he was clapt up. And the States sent word to the King, that, if any person suffered in England on the account of the letters betrayed by him, his head should go for it. Halewyn told me, when it was put to the Judges to know what sort of crime this could be made, since the papers were given up after the Peace was concluded, (otherwise the betraying the secrets of the State to enemies was a manifest crime) they came to this resolution, that as by the Roman law every thing was made capital that was contra salutem Populi Romani, so the delivering up such papers was a capital crime. This threatning saved Howard. But yet Wicquefort was kept very long in prison, and ruined by it. He had a sort of a character from one of the Princes of Germany, upon which he insisted. But the States thought, that his coming into their service was the throwing up of that character. Upon this occasion Carstairs, mentioned in the year 1672, was sent over from Holland to England. And he was seized on with a paper of instructions, that were drawn so darkly, that no wonder if they gave a jealousy of some ill designs then

Jealousies of the Prince of Orange.

then on foot. The Prince said, when asked about it, that it was only meant for a direction for carrying on the levies of some regiments, that the King had allowed the Dutch to make in Scotland, which the King did the better to excuse his letting so many continue in the French service. However, mention being made of money to be paid, and of men to be raised, and a compliment being ordered to be made to Duke Hamilton, this looked suspicious. Howard had confessed all he knew upon promise of pardon. So that and this laid together, gave the Court some apprehensions. Duke Lauderdale made use of it to heighten the King's ill opinion of the party against him. And, because Lieutenant General Drummond was of all the military men, he that had the best capacity, and the greatest reputation, he moved that he might be secured. The method he took in doing it shewed, that he neither suspected him, nor regarded the law. The ancient method was to require men to render themselves prisoners by such a day. This was a snare to many, who, though innocent, yet hating restraint went out of the way, and were proceeded against by an outlawry: But an Act of Parliament had been made, condemning that method for the future. Yet Duke Lauderdale resolved to follow it. And Drummond knowing his innocence, rendred himself as required; and was kept a year in a very cold and inconvenient prison, at Dunbarton, on the top of a high rock. This, coming after a whole life of loyalty and zeal, was thought a very extraordinary reward for such high pretensions.

1674.

Drummond was ordered to prison.

One thing on this occasion may be fit to be told. Lord Kincardin had served Duke Lauderdale faithfully, even longer than he could do with a good conscience: For he had stuck to him, and was left by him with the King, when he went to Scotland, who knew well with how much zeal he had supported his interest, and excused his faults. When

Duke

1674. Duke Lauderdale was hotly pushed at, he then promised to all his friends, that he would avoid all former errors, if he got out of his trouble: And that made Lord Kincardin so earnest to serve him. But, when he saw into how much fury he was running, he tried to have perswaded him to more temper; but found it was in vain. Then he confessed to me, that I had judged truer than he had done; for I believed he would grow worse than ever. When Lord Kincardin found, he could not hinder things in private, he opposed them in Council: And so they broke with him. He came up to justify himself to the King, who minded those matters very little; but thought it was necessary to give a full scope to Duke Lauderdale's motions, who had told the King there was a spirit of rebellion that run thro' all sorts of people, and that was to be subdued by acts of power, tho' perhaps neither legal nor just: And when that evil spirit was once broken, then it would be fit to return to more legal and moderate counsels. So Lord Kincardin found, there was no arguing with the King upon particulars. Therefore he begg'd leave to stay some time at Court, that he might not be obliged to oppose that, which the King was made believe his service required. The King consented to this; and upon all occasions used him very well. Duke Lauderdale could not bear that, and pressed the King often to command him home; which he refused to do. Once he urged it with much vehemence: And the King answered as positively, that he saw no reason for it, and he would not do it. Upon this he came home as in a fit of distraction, and was gathering together all his commissions to deliver them up to the King. Upon that the Marquis of Athol, who was then in high favour with him, went to the King; and told him that he had sent Duke Lauderdale home half dead, and half mad; and begg'd the King to take pity on him. So the King

King sent a message to Lord Kincardin, ordering him to go home. This Lord Athol himself told me afterwards. 1674.

Towards the end of summer the battle of Seneff was fought: In the beginning of which the French had a great advantage: But the Prince of Conde pushed it too far: And the Prince of Orange engaged the whole army with so much bravery, that it appeared that the Dutch army was now brought to another state, than he had found it in. He charged himself in many places, with too great a neglect of his person, considering how much depended upon it. He once was engaged among a body of French, thinking they were his own men, and bid them charge: They told him, they had no more powder: He, perceiving they were none of his men, with great presence of mind got out of their hands, and brought up a body of his army to charge them; who quickly routed them. The action in the afternoon recovered the loss that was made in the morning; and possessed all the world, the Prince of Conde in particular, with a great esteem of the Prince's conduct and courage. I will say little of foreign affairs; because there are many copious accounts of them in print; and I can add little to them. With relation to the battle of Seneff, the Prince himself told me that the day before he saw a Capuchin, that came over from the French army, and had a long conversation with Zouch, the Emperor's General; who behaved himself so ill on the day of battle, that the Prince said to his son at night, that his father had acted so basely, that, if it had not been for the respect he bore the Emperor, he would have shot him thro' the head. He was disgraced on this. But the success of the campaign was lost by it. They had a noble army; and might have done much more than they did. Grave was retaken in the end of the campaign. So the Provinces were

The battle of Seneff.

1674. now safe on that side. And the Prince had gained so much credit with the States, that he was now more than ever the master of their counsels.

Arlington went to Holland.

The alarm that those discoveries from Holland gave our Court, made Lord Arlington offer at one trial more for recovering the King's confidence. He offered to go over to Holland with the Earl of Ossory: For they fancied they had a great interest in the Prince, by their having married two of Bevervardt's daughters: And the Prince had always a particular affection to Lord Ossory. Lord Arlington said, he would go to the bottom of every thing with the Prince; and did not doubt, but he would bring him into an entire dependence on his uncle, and particularly dispose him to a general peace; on which the King was much set, it being earnestly desired by the French. It was likewise believed, that he had leave to give the Prince the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards married. The Duke told me, he knew nothing of the matter: He had heard, Lord Arlington had talked, as if the managing that was his chief errand: And upon that he had asked the King, who assured him that he had a positive order, not so much as to speak of that matter. Yet, whether notwithstanding this he had a secret order, or whether he did it without order, he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, as a thing which he might depend on, if he would in all other things be governed by the King.

Temple sent Embassador to Holland.

Sir William Temple had been sent over the summer before, as Embassador: And his chief instructions were, to dispose all peoples minds, chiefly the Prince's, to a peace. But the Prince had avoided the seeing him till the end of the campaign. Lord Arlington had thrown him off, when he went into the French interest: And Temple was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon. He was a vain man, much

blown up in his own conceit, which he ſhewed too indecently on all occaſions. He had a true judgment in affairs, and very good principles with relation to government; but in nothing elſe. He ſeemed to think that things were as they are from all eternity: At leaſt he thought religion was fit only for the mob. He was a great admirer of the ſect of Confuſius in China, who were atheiſts themſelves, but left religion to the rabble. He was a corrupter of all that came near him. And he delivered himſelf up wholly to ſtudy eaſe and pleaſure. He entered into a cloſe friendſhip with Lord Danby, who depended much on him: And was directed in all his notions as to foreign affairs by him; for no man ever came into the Miniſtry, that underſtood the affairs of Europe ſo little as he did. 1674.

I will henceforth leave the account of our affairs beyond ſea wholly to Temple's letters, in which they are very truly and fully ſet forth. And in them it appears, that the Prince of Orange, even while ſo young, and ſo little practiſed in affairs, had ſo clear and ſo juſt a view of them, that nothing could miſguide him; and that the bad proſpect he had from the ill condition of affairs did not frighten him into accepting of any mean or baſe conditions of peace. His fidelity to his country, and the publick intereſt, was ſo firm, that no private conſiderations of his own could biaſs him, or indeed be much conſidered by him. Theſe letters give him a character that is ſo ſublime, as well as ſo genuine, that it raiſes him much above all the performances of rhetorick or panegyrick. I will mention very little that is to be found in them. Holland was in great expectation, when they ſaw two ſuch men, as the Earls of Oſſory and Arlington come over, together with the Earl of Danby's eldeſt ſon, tho' the laſt only made the ſhew a little greater. Lord Arlington for ſome days inſiſted vehemently on the

1674. Prince's diſmiſſing Du Moulin, who had diſcovered the ſecrets of his office to him. In this the Prince complied: And Du Moulin was ſent to one of their plantations. As to all other things, Lord Arlington talked to him in the ſtrain of a governor; and ſeemed to preſume too much on his youth, and on his want of experience. But, inſtead of prevailing on the Prince, he loſt him ſo entirely, that all his endeavours afterwards could never beget any confidence in him. So he came back; and reckoned this was his laſt eſſay, which ſucceeding ſo ill, he ever after that withdrew from all buſineſs. He made himſelf eaſy to the King, who continued to be ſtill very kind to him.

1675. Affairs in England. At Eaſter a piece of private news came from France, which the Duke was much delighted with, becauſe it did an honour to the order of the Jeſuits, to whom he had devoted himſelf. The new Confeſſor had ſo preſſed the King of France in Lent to ſend away his Miſtreſs, Monteſpan, that he prevailed at laſt. She was ſent to a Nunnery. And ſo the King received the Sacrament, as was ſaid, in a ſtate of contrition. This was writ to the Duke, and ſet out with ſuch circumſtances, as the French uſually do every thing that relates to their King. The Duke was much pleaſed with it. He told me, he had related it with all its circumſtances to the King in the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth's hearing; and ſaid, they both heard it with great uneaſineſs, and were much out of countenance at it. The Duke himſelf was then in the beſt temper I had ever known him in. He was reading Nurembergius of the difference of things temporal and things eternal: And we had much good diſcourſe on that ſubject. Lord Arlington ran ſo much in his mind, that he once ſaid to me, if Lord Arlington would read that book, he would not meddle in ſo many affairs as he did. I ſaw he was very jealous of him, and of his

his intereſt in the King. Thus I have given a full account of my acquaintance with the Duke. 1675.

I loſt his favour ſoon after this. For in April 1675 a ſeſſion of Parliament was held, as preparatory to one that was deſigned next winter, in which money was to be aſked: But none was now aſked; it being only called to heal all breaches, and to beget a good underſtanding between the King and his people. The Houſe of Commons fell upon Duke Lauderdale. And thoſe who knew what had paſs'd between him and me, moved that I ſhould be examined before a Committee. I was brought before them. I told them how I had been commanded out of town. But tho' that was illegal, yet, ſince it had been let fall, it was not inſiſted on. I was next examined concerning his deſign of arming the Iriſh Papiſts. I ſaid, I, as well as others, had heard him ſay, he wiſhed the Preſbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Iriſh Papiſts to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning the deſign of bringing a Scotch army into Englnnd. I deſired to be excuſed, as to what had paſſed in private diſcourſe; to which I thought I was not bound to anſwer, unleſs it were high treaſon. They preſſed me long: And I would give them no other anſwer. So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Upon that I was ſent for, and brought before the Houſe. I ſtood upon it as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſſed that was high treaſon; and as to all other things, I did not think myſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. And, ſince he had uſed myſelf ſo ill, I thought myſelf the more obliged not to ſay any thing, that looked like revenge for what I had met with from him. I was brought four times to the bar. At laſt I was told,

I was examined by the Houſe of Commons.

1675. the Houſe thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety of the Nation, as well as into matters of treaſon: And they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them: Otherwiſe they would make me feel the weight of their heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they thought was neceſſary to be known. Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned. They laid great weight on this, and renewed their addreſs againſt Duke Lauderdale.

I was much blamed for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worſe, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was falſe; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great ſervices, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the diſcloſing of what had paſs'd in confidence; tho' I make it a great queſtion, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the deſigns are very wicked, and the perſon continued ſtill in the ſame poſt, and capacity of executing them. I have told the matter as it was, and muſt leave myſelf to the cenſure of the reader. My love to my country, and my private friendſhips carried me perhaps too far; eſpecially ſince I had declared much againſt Clergymen's meddling in ſecular affairs, and yet had run myſelf ſo deep in them.

This broke me quite with the Court, and in that reſpect proved a great bleſſing to me. It brought me out of many temptations: the greateſt of all being the kindneſs that was growing towards me from the Duke, which might have involved me into great difficulties, as it did expoſe me to much cenſure; all which went off upon this occaſion. And I applied myſelf to my ſtudies, and my function, being then ſettled preacher at the Rolls, and ſoon after Lecturer of St. Clements. I lived

many

many years under the protection of Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Maſter of the Rolls, who continued ſteady in his favour to me, tho' the King ſent Secretary Williamſon to deſire him to diſmiſs me. He ſaid, he was an old man, fitting himſelf for another world, and he found my miniſtry uſeful to him; ſo he prayed that he might be excuſed in that. He was a long, and very kind patron to me. I continued ten years in that poſt, free from all neceſſities: And I thank God, that was all I deſired. But, ſince I was ſo long happy in ſo quiet a retreat, it ſeems but a juſt piece of gratitude, that I ſhould give ſome account of that venerable old man. 1675.

Sir Harbottle Grimſtone's character.

He was deſcended from a long lived family; for his great grand-father lived till he was ninety-eight, his grand-father to eight-ſix, and his father to ſeventy-eight, and himſelf to eighty-two. He had to the laſt a great ſoundneſs of health, of memory, and of judgment. He was bred to the ſtudy of the law, being a younger brother. Upon his elder brother's death he threw it up. But falling in love with Judge Crook's daughter, the father would not beſtow her on him, unleſs he would return to his ſtudies; which he did with great ſucceſs. That Judge was one of thoſe who delivered his judgment in the Chequer chamber againſt the ſhip-money, which he did with a long and learned argument. And Sir Harbottle's father, who ſerved in Parliament for Eſſex, lay long in priſon, becauſe he would not pay the loan-money. Thus both his family, and his wife's, were zealous for the intereſt of their country. In the beginning of the long Parliament he was a great aſſerter of the laws; and inveigh'd ſeverely againſt all that had been concerned in the former illegal oppreſſion. His principle was, that allegiance and protection were mutual obligations: and that the one went for the other. He thought the law was the meaſure of both; and that when a legal protection was denied

1675. to one that paid a legal allegiance, the subject had a right to defend himself. He was much troubled, when preachers asserted a divine right of regal government. He thought it had no other effect, but to give an ill impression of them as aspiring men: No body was convinced by it: It inclined their hearers rather to suspect all they said besides: It looked like the sacrificing their country to their own preferment; and an encouraging of Princes to turn tyrants. Yet when the long Parliament engaged in the league with Scotland, he would not swear to the Covenant. And he discontinued sitting in the House till it was laid aside. Then he came back, and joined with Hollis, and the other Presbyterians, in a high opposition to the Independents, and to Cromwell in particular, as was told in the first book. And he was one of the secluded Members, that were forced out of the House. He followed afterwards the practice of the law, but was always looked upon, as one who wished well to the ancient government of England. So he was chosen Speaker of that House, that called home the King; and had so great a merit in that whole affair, that he was soon after, without any application of his own, made Master of the Rolls: In which post he continued to his death with a high reputation, as he well deserved. For he was a just Judge; very slow, and ready to hear every thing that was offered, without passion or partiality. I thought his only fault was, that he was too rich: And yet he gave yearly great sums in charity, discharging many prisoners by paying their debts. He was a very pious and devout man, and spent every day at least an hour in the morning, and as much at night, in prayer and meditation. And even in winter when he was obliged to be very early on the bench, he took care to rise so soon, that he had always the command of that time, which he gave to those exercises. He was much sharpened

against

againſt Popery; but had always a tenderneſs to the Diſſenters, tho' he himſelf continued ſtill in the communion of the Church. His ſecond wife, whom I knew, was niece to the great Sir Francis Bacon: And was the laſt heir of that family. She had all the high notions for the Church and the Crown, in which ſhe had been bred; but was the humbleſt, the devouteſt, and beſt tempered perſon I ever knew of that ſort. It was really a pleaſure to hear her talk of religion: She did it with ſo much elevation and force. She was always very plain in her clothes: And went oft to jayls, to conſider the wants of the priſoners, and relieve, or diſcharge them; and by the meanneſs of her dreſs, ſhe paſſed but for a ſervant truſted with the charities of others. When ſhe was travelling in the country, as ſhe drew near a village, ſhe often ordered her coach to ſtay behind till ſhe had walked about it, giving orders for the inſtruction of the children, and leaving liberally for that end. With two ſuch perſons I ſpent ſeveral of my years very happily. But I now return to the ſeſſion of Parliament. 1675.

In the Houſe of Commons the buſineſs againſt Duke Lauderdale was taken up warmly at three ſeveral times: And three ſeveral addreſſes were made to the King againſt him. The King's anſwer was, that he would protect no man againſt law and juſtice; but would condemn none without ſpecial matter well made out. There was no money offered: So addreſſes were feeble things. The next attempt was againſt the Earl of Danby, who had begun to invert the uſual methods of the Exchequer. But the majority were for him: So that charge came to nothing. Only thoſe who begun it formed a party againſt him, that grew in concluſion to be too hard for him. He took a different method from thoſe who were in the Miniſtry before him. They had taken off the great and leading men: And left the herd as a deſpiſed company, Danby attack'd, but in vain.

1675. company, who could do nothing, becauſe they had none to head them. But Lord Danby reckoned that the major number was the ſurer game: So he neglected the great men, who he thought raiſed their price too high; and reckoned, that he could gain ten ordinary men, cheaper than one of thoſe. This might have ſucceeded with him, if they that did lead his party had been wiſe and ſkilful men. But he ſeemed to be jealous of all ſuch, as if they might gain too much credit with the King. The chief men that he made uſe of were of ſo low a ſize, that they were baffled in every debate. So that many, who were inclined enough to vote in all obedience, yet were aſhamed to be in the vote on the ſide that was manifeſtly run down in the debate.

Seimour's character.

The ableſt man of his party was Seimour, who was the firſt Speaker of the Houſe of Commons that was not bred to the law. He was a man of great birth, being the elder branch of the Seimour family; and was a graceful man, bold and quick. But he had a ſort of a pride ſo peculiar to himſelf, that I never ſaw any thing like it. He had neither ſhame nor decency with it. He was violent againſt the Court, till he forced himſelf into good poſts. He was the moſt aſſuming Speaker that ever ſate in the chair. He knew the Houſe, and every man in it ſo well, that by looking about he could tell the fate of any queſtion. So, if any thing was put, when the Court party was not well gathered together, he would have held the Houſe from doing any thing, by a wilful miſtaking or miſtating the queſtion. By that he gave time to thoſe, who were appointed for that mercenary work, to go about and gather in all their party. And he would diſcern when they had got the majority. And then he would very fairly ſtate the queſtion, when he ſaw he was ſure to carry it.

A great many of the Court grew to be ſo uneaſy, eſpecially when they ſaw the King was under the

the influence of French and Popiſh counſels, that they were glad to be out of the way at critical times. On ſome occaſions they would venture to vote againſt the Court: Of which the memorable anſwer of Harvey's, who was Treaſurer to the Queen, was a noted inſtance. He was one whom the King loved perſonally: And yet upon a great occaſion he voted againſt that which the King deſired. So the King chid him ſeverely for it. Next day, another important queſtion falling in, he voted as the King would have him. So the King took notice of it at night; and ſaid, you were not againſt me to day. He anſwered, no, Sir, I was againſt my conſcience to day. This was ſo drily delivered, that the King ſeemed pleaſed with it: And it was much talked of. While things went thus in the Houſe of Commons, there was the greateſt and longeſt debate in the Houſe of Lords, that has been in all my time. They ſate upon it often till midnight. 1675.

Debates concerning a teſt.

It was about the teſt that Lord Danby had contrived, as was formerly mentioned. Lord Danby, and Lord Finch, and ſome of the Biſhops, were the chief arguers for it. They ſaid, it was neceſſary that a method ſhould be found out, to diſcriminate the good ſubjects from the bad: We had been lately involved in a long civil war, occaſioned by the ill principles that ſome had taken up with relation to government: It was fit to prevent the return of ſuch miſeries: The King had granted a very full indemnity, and had obſerved it religiouſly: But there was no reaſon, while ſo much of the old leaven ſtill remained, to leave the Nation expoſed to men of ſuch principles: It was not fit to make a Parliament perpetual: Yet that was a leſs evil, than to run the hazard of a bad election; eſpecially when jealouſies and fears had been blowed about the Nation: A good conſtitution was to be preſerved by all prudent methods: No man was to be preſſed to take this teſt: But, as they, who were

1675. were not willing to come into such an engagement, ought to have the modesty to be contented with the favour and connivance of the Government, so, if that did not teach them good manners, it might be fit to use severer methods. To all this great opposition was made. It was plain, the Duke did not like it: But the King was so set on it, that he did not declare himself against it. But all the Papists were against it: They thought the bringing any test in practice, would certainly bring on one that would turn them out of the House. The Lords Shaftsbury, Buckingham, Hollis, Hallifax, and all those who were thought the Country party, opposed this mightily. They thought, there ought to be no tests, beyond the oath of allegiance, upon the elections to Parliament: That it being the great privilege of English men, that they were not to be taxed but by their representatives; it was therefore thought a disinheriting men of the main part of their birthright, to do any thing that should shut them out from their votes in electing: All tests in publick assemblies were thought dangerous, and contrary to publick liberty: For if a Parliament thought any law inconvenient for the good of the whole, they must be supposed still free to alter it: And no previous limitation could bind up their legislature: A great deal was said, to shew that the peace of the world was best secured by good laws, and good government: and that oaths or tests were no security: The scrupulous might be fettered by them: Yet the bulk of the world would boldly take any test, and as boldly break thro' it; of which the late times had given large proofs: The matter of this test was very doubtful: For, tho' generally speaking the King's person and his power were not to be distinguished, yet that was not universally true: An infant King, or a lunatick, were exceptions: As also a King in his enemies hands, which was the case of Henry VI. for whose power his

his own party fought even againſt his perſon: So an exception was to be underſtood; otherwiſe the propoſition, that affirmed it was a traiterous poſition to ſeparate them, was not true: Nor could it be reaſonable to bind up men againſt alterations: Every new law was an alteration: It was not eaſy to define how far the power of making alterations might go, and where it muſt ſtop: Theſe things were beſt left at large: Upon the whole matter, as they were againſt any Parli mentary teſt, ſo they were more particularly againſt this. Lord Shaftſbury diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this ſeſſion, than ever he had done before. He ſpoke once a whole hour, to ſhew the inconvenience of Condemning all reſiſtance upon any pretence whatſoever. He ſaid, it might be proper to lay ſuch ties upon thoſe who ſerved in the militia, and in Corporations, becauſe there was ſtill a ſuperior power in Parliament to declare the extent of the oath: But it might be of very ill conſequence to lay it on a Parliament: Since there might be caſes, tho' ſo far out of view that it was hard to ſuppoſe them, in which he believed no man would ſay, it was not lawful to reſiſt. If a King would make us a Province, and tributary to France, and ſubdue the Nation by a French army, or to the Papal authority, muſt we be bound in that caſe tamely to ſubmit? Upon which he ſaid many things, that did cut to the quick. And yet, tho' his words were watched, ſo that it was reſolved to have ſent him to the Tower if any one word had fallen from him that had made him liable to ſuch a cenſure, he ſpoke both with ſo much boldneſs and ſo much caution, that though he provoked the Court extreamly, no advantage could be taken againſt him. The Court carried every queſtion in favour of the teſt, tho' with great oppoſition, and a proteſtation made upon every ſtep that was carried. So that the bill was in a fair way to have paſs'd: And very probably it would have paſs'd in

1675.

1675. the House of Commons, when by an unlooked for emergency the session was broke.

A dispute about appeals and privileges.

Ever since the end of King James I's. reign, petitions of appeal were brought to the House of Lords from decrees in Chancery. This rose from a parity of reason, because writs of error lay from the Courts of law to the House of Lords. And since the business of the Chancery grew to be so extended and comprehensive, it was not thought safe to leave it wholly to the Lord Chancellor's conscience. So this practice, tho' so lately begun, grew on by degrees to be the main business of the House of Lords. A petition of appeal was brought against a Member of the House of Commons. The Lords received it, and made an order upon it. The Member being served with it, brought it into the House of Commons. And they voted it a breach of privilege, for the Lords to meddle with one of their House. The Lords on the other hand said, they were bound to do justice to all: And no privilege could lye against that: And, since they never sate but when the Commons sate likewise, if a privilege from that House could stop their proceedings, there must be a failure in justice: And since no privilege was ever pretended in the case of a writ of error, it could not lye against an appeal. So they resolved to proceed in the cause. The Commons pass'd a vote against any lawyers that should plead at the Lords bar in this cause. But the Lords commanded the Council to go on; with which they complied. And as they went from the Lords bar, they were by an order from the House of Commons sent to the Tower. But they were by another order from the Lords set at liberty. So the two Houses being as it were at war, it was necessary to put an end to the session.

The session broke up on it.

This was very uneasy to the Court: For they saw it was a very sure method to break a session of Parliament, every time that it was taken up.

I am

I am not ſure, if this was laid, or if it happened by accident. Lord Shaftſbury ſaid, it was laid by himſelf. But others aſſured me, it happened in courſe, tho' it produced great effects: For there never was a ſtrength in the Court to raiſe this debate of the teſt in any ſubſequent ſeſſion. And as this made the Court apprehend, they might by the proſecution of the ſame appeal loſe the next ſeſſion, ſince the prorogation did only diſcontinue Parliamentary proceedings, but not Judiciary ones; ſo they feared this might go ſo far as to force a diſſolution of the preſent Parliament: To which the Court would be very hardly brought, after they had practiſed ſo long upon the Members, and knew them all ſo well. 1675.

In this ſeſſion, on a day that grievances were to be gone upon, Grimſtone ſaid, that conſidering the extent of privilege, he looked on a ſtanding Parliament as the greateſt grievance of the Nation; ſo many men being exempted from juſtice, and from the demands of their creditors, for ſo long, and ſo indefinite a time. This motion was let fall at that time. But it was not forgot. And it was likely to be taken up, when new opportunities ſhould be offered. The ſummer went over without any conſiderable accidents at home.

A new ſeſſion met next winter. And at the firſt opening it the King laid before the Commons the great difficulties he was in by the anticipations of his revenues. It was then generally thought, that the King was in ſuch ſtraits, that, if money could not be obtained, he muſt turn to other counſels, and to other Miniſters. The debate went high in the Committee of the whole Houſe. It was offered on the one ſide to ſhew, that the King had not enough in his hands to maintain the government, and to ſecure the Nation: Tho' our neutrality at that time made trade flow in upon us, ſo that the Cuſtoms roſe higher than ever. A ſeſſion of Parliament.

1675. ever. On the other hand it was ſaid, that if anticipations were once admitted as a reaſon for a ſupply, the Court would never want that reaſon. It was fitter to examine by whoſe means, or on what deſign thoſe anticipations were made. At laſt the queſtion was put. And, the vote being then ſtated, and the previous queſtion being then put, whether the main queſtion ſhould be then put, or not, the votes were equal. So Sir Charles Harbord, who was in the chair, gave it for putting the main queſtion. But, ſome of the Country ſide coming in between the two queſtions, the main queſtion was loſt by two or three. So near was the Court to the carrying ſo great a point. Harbord was much blamed for his raſhneſs. He ſaid, the duty of the chair was always to ſet matters forward: And ſo he ought to have given it for putting the main queſtion: And, if the ſame equality had continued, he ſaid, he would have given it for the Court. He was a very rich and covetous man, who knew England well: And his parts were very quick about him in that great age, being paſt eighty. A lively repartee was made by his own ſon to him in the debate. He had ſaid, the right way of dealing with the King, and of gaining him to them, was, to lay their hands on their purſes, and to deal roundly with him. So his ſon ſaid, he ſeconded his motion: But he meant, that they ſhould lay their hands on their purſes, as he himſelf did, and hold them well ſhut, that no money ſhould go out of them. The Earl of Danby was much diſappointed at this. Yet he took heart, ſince it was brought ſo near, that he reckoned he would make the next ſeſſion ſure. The petition of appeal, that had broke the former ſeſſion, was now brought on again before the Lords. The Court tried their whole ſtrength to keep it off, till they ſaw what might be expected from the Commons. So, upon the miſcarriage of the great vote

vote in the House of Commons, the Lords went on upon the petition: And, the Commons opposing them vigorously, as before, it was visible that the Parliament must be prorogued. 1675.

Upon this it was proposed in the House of Lords to address the King for dissolving the present Parliament. It was manifest the two Houses could no longer maintain the correspondence that was necessary. In a new Parliament this must fall to the ground: But it could not while this lasted. It was said, a standing Parliament changed the constitution of England. The King did no more consult with his people, nor know them: But he had now a cabal of single persons to deal with. The people were now cut off from their liberty of electing; and so had no more a true representative. It was said, that a Parliament of a long continuance would be either an engine to sell the liberties of their country, or would by rendring themselves popular join with the people against the Crown. In either case it was like to be destructive to the constitution. So it was moved, that an address should be made to the King for dissolving the Parliament. And, to the wonder of all men, the Duke joined in it. The majority of the temporal Lords were for it. But the bench of Bishops was against it: And so it was not carried. The thing became the universal subject of discourse. It was infused into the Members of the House of Commons, that, if they would not be more tractable, and help the King out of his necessities, he was sure a new Parliament would give him money, and make him easy; and that the rather for having dissolved them. This wrought on many of them, who had been chosen while the Nation was in a fit, or rather a fury of loyalty. They knew, they could never hope to be chosen again. Many of them were ruined in their fortunes, and lived upon their privileges, and upon their pensions. They had got it among

The characters of some Parliament men.

1675. them for a maxim, which contributed not a little to our preſervation while we were in ſuch hands, that, as they muſt not give the King too much at a time, leſt there ſhould be no more uſe for them, ſo they were to take care not to ſtarve the Court, leſt they themſelves ſhould be ſtarved by that means. They were indeed generally both againſt Popery and France. And, to redeem their credit for the money that they were ready to give ſomewhat too laviſhly, they ſaid, when they went into their countries, that it was on deſign to fix the King to an Engliſh intereſt, and the Proteſtant religion. And they had talked ſo high on thoſe heads, that the Court itſelf could not manage them, when any thing relating to theſe came before them. Some of them were high for the prerogative: Others high for the Church: And all the mercenary men were careful of themſelves. In oppoſition to theſe a great party was formed, who declared more heartily for the Proteſtant religion, and for the intereſt of England. The Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Shaftſbury, opened many of their eyes, and let them know the deſigns of the Court. And indeed they were then ſo viſible, that there was enough ſeen, without ſuch ſecret intelligence, to convince the moſt incredulous. Sir William Coventry had the greateſt credit of any man in the Houſe. He never meddled perſonally with any Miniſter. He had a perfect underſtanding of affairs. So he laid open the errors of the government with the more authority, becauſe he mixed no paſſion nor private reſentments with it. His brother uſually anſwered him with much life in a repartee, but not with the weight and force with which he ſpoke. Colonel Birch was a man of a peculiar character. He had been a carrier at firſt, and retained ſtill, even to an affectation, the clowniſhneſs of his education. He got up in the progreſs of the war to be a Colonel, and to be concerned

cerned in the Exciſe. And at the Reſtoration he was found to be ſo uſeful in managing the Exciſe, that he was put in a good poſt. He was the roughest and boldeſt ſpeaker in the Houſe; and talked in the language and phraſes of a carrier, but with a beauty and eloquence that was always acceptable. I heard Coventry ſay, he was the beſt ſpeaker to carry a popular aſſembly before him that he had ever known. He ſpoke always with much life and heat. But judgment was not his talent. Waller was the delight of the Houſe: And even at eighty he ſaid the livelieſt things of any among them: He was only concerned to ſay that which ſhould make him be applauded. But he never laid the buſineſs of the Houſe to heart, being a vain and empty, tho' a witty, man. He deſerves the character of being one of the great refiners of our language and poetry. He was for near ſixty years one of the beſt of all our writers that way. The two men of quality that were the moſt conſidered were, the Lord Ruſſell, and the Lord Cavendiſh. Lord Ruſſell was a man of great candor, and of a general reputation; univerſally beloved, and truſted; of a generous and obliging temper. He had given ſuch proofs of an undaunted courage, and of an unſhaken firmneſs, that I never knew any man have ſo entire a credit in the Nation as he had. He quickly got out of ſome of the diſorders into which the Court had drawn him. And ever after that his life was unblemiſh'd in all reſpects. He had from his firſt education an inclination to favour the Non-conformiſts; and wiſhed the laws could have been made eaſier to them, or they more pliant to the law. He was a ſlow man, and of little diſcourſe: But he had a true judgment, when he conſidered things at his own leiſure. His underſtanding was not defective: But his virtues were ſo eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other. 1675.

1675. other. Lord Cavendiſh, afterwards Earl, and then Duke, of Devonſhire was too much a libertine both in principle and practice. He went off from the Court at firſt upon reſentments for ſome diſappointments there. He was ambitious, and had the courage of a hero, with an unuſual proportion both of wit and knowledge. He had a great ſoftneſs in his exteriour deportment. Littleton and Powle were the men that laid the matters of the Houſe with the greateſt dexterity and care. Powle was very learned in precedents, and Parliament journals, which goes a great way in their debates: And, when he had time to prepare himſelf, he was a clear and ſtrong ſpeaker. Littleton was the ableſt and the vehementeſt arguer of them all. He commonly lay quiet till the end of a debate: And he often ended it, ſpeaking with a ſtrain of conviction and authority, that was not eaſily reſiſted. I lived the very next door to him for ſeveral years: And we ſpent a great deal of our time every day together. He told me all their management: And commonly, when he was to put his whole ſtrength to argue any point, he uſed to talk it over with me, and to ſet me to object all that I could againſt him. He lived wholly in London. So matters were moſt in his hands during the intervals of Parliament. And by his means it was, that I arrived at ſuch knowledge of their intrigues. He was a wiſe and worthy man, had ſtudied much modern hiſtory, and the preſent ſtate and intereſt of Europe. Sir Thomas Lee was a man that valued himſelf upon artifice and cunning, in which he was a great maſter, without being out of countenance when it was diſcovered. Vaughan, the chief Juſtice's ſon, was a man of great integrity, had much pride, but did great ſervice. Theſe were the chief men that preſerved the Nation from a very deceitful and practiſing Court, and from a corrupt Houſe of Commons. And by

their ſkill and firmneſs they, from a ſmall number who began the oppoſition, grew at laſt to be the majority. 1675.

All this I thought fit to lay together, and to fill as it were an empty place in my hiſtory: For, as our main buſineſs lay in preparing for, or managing a ſeſſion of Parliament, ſo we had now a long interval, of above a year, between this ſeſſion in winter 1675, and the next ſeſſion of Parliament, which was not till the ſpring in 1677. The French were much ſet on procuring a peace. And they, ſeeing how much the Parliament was ſet on engaging the King in the Alliance, prevailed with him to diſcontinue the ſeſſion; for which no doubt he had round ſums of money ſent to him. 1676.

A long interval between the ſeſſions of Parliament.

About this time Lockhart the Embaſſador in France died. The farther he ſaw into the deſigns of the Court, he grew the more uneaſy in the poſt he was in, tho' he acted in it with great ſpirit and reſolution, both with relation to his own maſter, and to the French King: Of which I will ſet down two paſſages, that may be very inſtructive to Embaſſadors. In this time of neutrality, the French privateers took many Engliſh ſhips, pretending they were Dutch only with Engliſh paſſes. One of theſe was taken by a privateer, that, as was believed, Pepys, then ſecretary to the Engliſh Admiralty, and in great favour with the Duke, had built; and, as was ſaid, out of the King's ſtores. The merchants proved in Council, that the ſhip was Engliſh. So Lockhart had an order to demand her: And he preſſed it ſo effectually, that an order was ſent from the Court of France to diſcharge her. But, before that was executed, the King was prevailed on by Pepys, to tell the French Embaſſador, that he did not concern himſelf in that ſhip: He believed merchants were rogues, and could bring

An account of ſome paſſages of Lockhart's courage in France:

1676. witneſſes to prove whatſoever they had a mind to: So the Court of France might do what they pleaſed in that matter. This was writ to Verſailles a day or two after the former order was ſent. But upon it a new one went to Dunkirk, where the ſhip lay, to ſtop her. This came before ſhe could get out. So Lockhart, being informed of that, went to Court, and complained heavily. He was told, what the King himſelf had ſaid about it. He anſwered reſolutely, that the King ſpoke to them only by him. Yet he wrote upon this to the Court of England, deſiring to be recalled, ſince he could ſerve no longer with honour, after he had been ſo diſowned. Upon this the King wrote him a letter with his own pen, excuſing the matter the beſt he could; and juſtified him in what he had done. And upon that ſecret orders were ſent, and the ſhip was diſcharged. The other was a higher point, conſidering the bigotry of the King of France. Lockhart had a French Popiſh ſervant, who was dying, and ſent for the Sacrament. Upon which it was brought with the proceſſion ordinary in ſuch caſes. Lockhart, hearing of this, ordered his gates to be ſhut. And upon that many were enflamed, and were running to force his gates: But he ordered all his family to ſtand to their arms, and, if any force was offered, to fire. There was a great noiſe made of this. But no force was offered. He reſolved to complain firſt: And ſo went to Court, and expoſtulated upon it. He ſaid, his houſe was his maſter's houſe: And here a publick triumph was attempted on his maſter's religion, and affronts were offered him: He ſaid, if a Prieſt had brought the Sacrament privately, he would have connived at it: But he aſked reparation for ſo publick an injury. The King of France ſeemed to be highly diſpleaſed at this, calling it the greateſt indignity that had ever been done to his God during his reign. Yet the point did not bear arguing:

guing: So Lockhart said nothing to that. When Lockhart went from him, Pomponne followed him, sent after him by the King; and told him, he would force the King to suffer none of his subjects to serve him. He answered, he would order his coach-man to drive the quicker to Paris, to prevent that; and left Pomponne to guess the meaning. As soon as he came to his house, he ordered all his French servants to be immediately paid off, and dismiss'd. The Court of England was forced to justify him in all this matter. A publick letter of thanks was writ to him upon it. And the Court of France thought fit to digest it. But the French King look'd on him ever after with great coldness, if not with aversion. Soon after that he fell into a languishing, which after some months carried him off. I have ever look'd on him as the greatest man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir Robert Murray. 1676.

Management in France.

The Earl of Danby began now to talk against the French interest with open mouth. Rouvigny staid but two years in England: For, though he served his master's interests but too well, yet the Popish party could not bear the want of a Chapel in the French Embassador's house. So he was recalled: And Courtin was sent in his room. Before he parted, he talked roundly with Lord Danby: He said, he was going into popular interests against those of his master's honour, who having engaged the King of France in the war, and being forced to leave him to fight it out alone, ought not to turn against him; especially, since the King of France referred every thing to him as the arbiter and mediator of the peace: He remembred him of the old Duke of Buckingham's fate, who thought to become popular by breaking the Spanish match; and it was his ruin: He said, the King of France was the King's best friend, and truest ally: And if he made the King forsake him, and depend on his Parliament, being so tempered as they were

1676. then, both the King and he might come to repent it, when it was too late: I had all this from himſelf. To this Lord Danby replied, that he ſpoke as a faithful ſervant to his own maſter, and that he himſelf would act as a faithful ſervant to his maſter. Courtin ſpoke a great deal to the ſame purpoſe, in the Prince of Condé's preſence, when I had the honour to wait on him. He told me, there was a ſtrange reverſe in things: Lord Danby was at that time ſuffering for being in the French intereſt: And Lord Montague was popular as being againſt it: Whereas, to his knowledge, during his employment in England, Lord Danby was an enemy to their intereſt, as much as Lord Montague was for it. I can ſay nothing as to one point, whether any great ſums came over from France all this while, or not. Some watched the riſing and falling of the exchange, by which men ſkilful in thoſe matters can judge, when any great ſum paſſes from one Kingdom to another, either in ſpecie, or by bill: But they could never find out any thing to make them conclude it was done. Lord Montague told me, he tried often to get into that ſecret, but in vain: He often ſaid to the King, that, if he would truſt him, he could make better bargains for him, than others had made: But the King never anſwered him a word on that head: And he believed, that what ſums ſoever came over, they were only to the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, or to the King's privy purſe; and that the French Embaſſador had the ſole managing of that matter, the King perhaps not being willing to truſt any of his own ſubjects, with ſo important and ſo dangerous a ſecret. In all companies the Earl of Danby was declaring openly againſt France, and Popery. And the See of London falling then void by Henchman's death, he brought Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton, to ſucceed him. He was made Biſhop of Oxford upon Crew's being promoted to Dureſme.

Compton

Compton carried arms for ſome years. When he was paſs'd thirty, he took orders. He was an humble and modeſt man. He applied himſelf more to his function, than Biſhops had commonly done. He went much about his dioceſe; and preached, and confirmed in many places. His preaching was without much life or learning: For he had not gone thro' his ſtudies with the exactneſs that was fitting. He was a great patron of the Converts from Popery, and of thoſe Proteſtants, whom the bad uſage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us: And by theſe means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complains to the King, and often in Council, of the inſolence of the Papiſts, and of Coleman's in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to diſmiſs Coleman out of his ſervice. Yet he continued ſtill in his confidence. But with theſe good qualities Compton was a weak man, willful and ſtrangely wedded to a party. He was a property to Lord Danby, and was turned by him as he pleaſed. The Duke hated him. But Lord Danby perſuaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any perſon, ſo the giving way to it helped to lay the jealouſies of the Church party. About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Compton was perſuaded that Lord Danby had tried with all his ſtrength to promote him to Canterbury; tho' that was never once intended. There were none of the order, that were in any ſort fitted to fill that See, whom the Court could truſt. 1676.

The character of ſome Biſhops.

Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, was raiſed to it. He was a man of ſolemn deportment, had a ſullen gravity in his looks, and was conſiderably learned. He had put on a monaſtick ſtrictneſs, and lived abſtracted from company. Theſe things, together with his living unmarried, and his being fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty, and a ſuperſtitious valuing of little things, made the Court conclude, that

1676. that he was a man, who might be entirely gained to ſerve all their ends; or, at leaſt, that he would be an unactive ſpeculative man, and give them little oppoſition in any thing that they might attempt, when they had more promiſing opportunities. He was a dry, cold man, reſerved, and peeviſh; ſo that none loved him, and few eſteemed him: Yet the high church party were well pleaſed with his promotion.

As Lord Danby thus raiſed his creatures in the Church, ſo he got all men turned out of their places, that did not entirely depend on him: And went on in his credit with the King, ſtill aſſuring him, that, if he would leave things to his conduct, he would certainly bring about the whole Cavalier party again to him. And ſuch was the corruption and poverty of that party, that, had it not been that French and Popiſh counſels were ſo viſible in the whole courſe of our affairs, he had very probably gained them to have raiſed the King's power, and to have extirpated the Diſſenters, and to have brought things very near to the ſtate they were in, in King Charles I's. time, before the war.

The Projects of the Papiſts.

All this while the Papiſts were not idle. They tried their ſtrength with the King to get the Parliament diſſolved: In which their hopes carried them ſo far, that Coleman drew a declaration for juſtifying it. Their deſign in this was, once to divide the King and his people: For they reckoned the new Parliament would not be ſo eaſy to him as this was. For how angry ſoever this was at him, and he ſometimes at them, yet they ſaw that a ſevere Act againſt Popery, or ſome ſteps made againſt France, would diſpoſe them to forget all former quarrels, and to give money. And as the King always wanted that, and loved to be eaſy, ſo the proſpect of it was ever in his view. They feared, that at ſome time or other this might make him both ſacrifice Popery, and forſake France. So they took all poſſible methods to engage

gage the King in a more entire dependance on France, and a diſtruſt of his own people. They were labouring for a general peace in all Courts, where they had any intereſt. The Prince of Orange's obſtinacy was the common ſubject of their complaints. Lord Shaftſbuty tried, upon the Duke's concurring in the vote for an addreſs to have the Parliament diſſolved, if he could ſeparate him from the Earl of Danby. And he ſent a meſſage to him by the Lord Stafford, that his voting as he did in that matter, had gained much on many who were formerly his enemies: He wiſhed he would uſe his intereſt with the King to get that brought about: And he durſt undertake, that a new Parliament ſhould be more inclinable to grant the Papiſts a toleration, than they would ever find this would prove. 1676.

Coleman's intrigues.

But the Duke and Lord Danby were too firmly united to be eaſily divided: For whatever Lord Danby gave out, he made the Duke believe, that all that he intended would really turn to his ſervice. Coleman was very buſy in writing many letters to all places, but chiefly to the Court of France. He was in all his diſpatches ſetting forth the good ſtate of the Duke's affairs, and the great ſtrength he was daily gaining. He was either very ſanguine, if he believed this himſelf, or very bold in offering to impoſe it ſo poſitively on others. He was always full of aſſurances, that, if a peace could be brought about, ſo that the King of France was ſet at liberty to aſſiſt them with his purſe, and his force, they were never in ſuch hopes of ſucceeding in the great deſign of rooting out this peſtilent hereſy, that had ſo long over-run theſe northern kingdoms. He had a friend, one Sir William Throgmorton, of whom he intended to make great uſe. He and his wife had prevailed with him and his Lady to change their religion. And ſo he ſent them over to France, recommending him to the King's confeſſor, F. Ferrier, as a man

1676. man that might do them great ſervice, if he could be made one of theirs. So Ferrier, looking on him as a man of importance, applied himſelf to turn him, which was ſoon done. And the confeſſor, to raiſe the value of his convert, ſpoke of him to the King in ſuch a ſtrain, that he was much conſidered. When his Lady abjured, the Duke of Orleans led her up to the altar. He took great ſtate on him, and ſoon ſpent all he had. He was a buſy man between the two Courts. But, before he got into any conſiderable poſt, Ferrier died: And the new confeſſor did not take ſuch care of him as his predeceſſor had done. So he was forced to quit his high living, and retire to a private houſe. And he ſent his Lady into a Monaſtery. Yet he continued ſtill to be Coleman's agent, and correſpondent. He went often to ſee an Engliſh Lady, that was of their religion, Lady Brown. And being one day with her, he received a deep wound by a knife ſtuck into his thigh, that pierced the great artery. Whether the Lady did it to defend herſelf, or he to ſhew the violence of his paſſion, was not known. It was not poſſible to ſtop the bleeding. Yet the Lady would have him carried out of her houſe. He died in the houſe of one Hollman, an eminent man of their religion, then at Paris. The whole matter was carried off in ſuch ſecrecy, that Lockhart, then at Paris, could never penetrate farther into it. I had this from his Lady after his death.

Coleman quickly found out another correſpondent, that was more uſeful to him than he whom he loſt could ever have been, F. St. German, a Jeſuit, who was ſent over with the Dutcheſs, and paſs'd for her confeſſor, tho' I have been aſſured that was a miſtake. He had all the heat of his order in him, and was apt to talk very boldly. I was ſometimes in company with him. He was complained of in Council by the Biſhop of London, for ſome practice on one that was come over a con-

a convert, whom he was between threatening and perſuaſion working on, in order to the ſending him back. This came to be diſcovered. Upon which he fled. And on him Coleman fixed for his chief correſpondent. Howard was about this time by Cardinal Altieri's means promoted to be a Cardinal. And upon that the King and Duke ſent compliments to Rome. This opened a negotiation with that Court, that was put in the hands of the Internuncio at Bruſſels. So it was propoſed, that a ſum of money ſhould be given the King, if in return of that ſome ſuitable favours for thoſe of their religion could be obtained. Coleman was ſent over by the Duke to Bruſſels, to treat about it, none being in the ſecret, but the Lord Arundell. Yet, as he underſtood it, the King himſelf knew of it. When he went thither, he found the ſum offered was ſo ſmall, and the conditions demanded were ſo high, that he made no progreſs in the negotiation. Whatſoever Coleman did in the main buſineſs, he took good care of himſelf. All his letters were full of their being able to do nothing for want of money. And he made the French Embaſſador believe, he could do his maſter great ſervice, if he was well ſupplied. He got once 2500 guineas from him, to gain his maſter ſome friends. But he applied it all to furniſh out his own expence. He was at that time ſo lifted up, that he had a mind to paſs for the head of the party. And of this I will give one inſtance, in which I my ſelf had a ſhare. 1676.

Sir Philip Terwhit, a Papiſt, had married a zealous Proteſtant, who ſuſpecting his religion, charged him with it. But he denied it before marriage; and carried that ſo far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own Church. After they were married, ſhe found that he had deceived her: And they lived untowardly together. At this time ſome ſcruples were put in her head, with which ſhe acquainted me, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied

1676. fied with the anſwers that I gave her. She came afterwards to me, and deſired, I would come to her houſe, and talk of all thoſe matters with ſome that her huſband would bring to meet us. I told her, I would not decline the thing, if deſired, though I ſeldom knew good come of ſuch conferences. She made the ſame propoſition to Dr. Stillingfleet; and he gave the ſame anſwer. So a day was ſet, and we went thither, and found ten or twelve perſons, that were not known to us. We were ſcarce ſet down, when Coleman came in, who took the whole debate upon him. I writ down a very exact account of all that paſs'd, and ſent it to them, and had their additions to it: And I printed it. The thing made a great noiſe, and was a new indication of Coleman's arrogance. Soon after that the Lady, who continued firm upon this conference, was poſſeſſed with new ſcruples about the validity of our ordinations. I got from her the paper that was put in her hand, and anſwered it: And ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with that likewiſe. But afterwards the uneaſineſs of her life prevailed more on her, than her ſcruples did; and ſhe changed her religion.

A conference between Coleman and ſome divines.

Some time after I had printed the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, which were favourably received, the reading of thoſe got me the acquaintance and friendſhip of Sir William Jones, then Attorney General. He was raiſed to that high poſt merely by merit, and by his being thought the greateſt man of the law: For, as he was no flatterer, but a man of a moroſe temper, ſo he was againſt all the meaſures that they took at Court. They were weary of him, and were raiſing Sir John King to vie with him: But he died in his riſe, which indeed went on very quick. Jones was an honeſt, and wiſe man. He had a roughneſs in his deportment, that was very diſagreeable: But he was a good natured man at bottom, and a faithful friend. He grew weary of his employment,

I undertook to write the hiſtory of our Reformation.

ment, and laid it down: And, though the Great Seal was offered him, he would not accept of it, nor return to buſineſs. The quickneſs of his thoughts carried his views far. And the ſourneſs of his temper made him too apt both to ſuſpect and to deſpiſe moſt of thoſe that came to him. My way of writing hiſtory pleaſed him: And ſo he preſſed me to undertake the hiſtory of England. But Sanders's book, that was then tranſlated into French, and cried up much in France, made all my friends preſs me to anſwer it, by writing the hiſtory of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for MSS. and ſearched into all offices. I got for ſome days into the Cotton Library. But Duke Lauderdale, hearing of my deſign, and apprehending it might ſucceed in my hands, got Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to divert Sir John Cotton from ſuffering me to ſearch into his library. He told him, I was a great enemy to the prerogative, to which Cotton was devoted, even to ſlavery. So he ſaid, I would certainly make an ill uſe of all I had found. This wrought ſo much on him, that I was no more admitted, till my firſt volume was publiſhed. And then, when he ſaw how I had compoſed it, he gave me free acceſs to it. 1676.

The Earl of Eſſex's character.

At this time the Earl of Eſſex was brought over from being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whoſe friendſhip to me was afterwards ſuch, that I think myſelf obliged to ſtop, and to give ſome account of him. He was the Lord Capell's ſon. His education was neglected by reaſon of the war. But, when he was at man's age, he made himſelf maſter of the Latin tongue, and made a great progreſs in mathematicks, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and conſtitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. He began ſoon to appear againſt the Court. The King imputed it to his reſentments: So he reſolved to make uſe of him. He ſent him Embaſſador to Denmark, where

His

1676. his behaviour in the affair of the flag, gained him much reputation: Tho' he ſaid to me there was nothing in it. That King had ordered the governour of Croonenburgh to make all ſhips that paſs'd ſtrike to him. So when Lord Eſſex was ſailing by, he ſent to him, either to ſtrike to him, or to ſail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: Otherwiſe he muſt ſhoot, firſt with powder, but next with ball. Lord Eſſex ſent him a reſolute anſwer, that the Kings of England made others ſtrike to them, but their ſhips ſtruck to none: He would not ſteal thro' in the dark, nor keep out of his reach: And if he ſhot at him, he would defend himſelf. The Governor did ſhoot him, but on deſign ſhot over him. This was thought great bravery in him: Yet he reckoned, it was impoſſible the Governor would endeavour to ſink a ſhip that brought over an Embaſſador. While he was there, the King died, which made a great change in the Court. For that King had made one of his ſervants Stadtholder; which was indeed a ſtrange thing, he himſelf being upon the place. He was but a mean perſon, and was advanced by the favour the Queen bore him. Lord Eſſex's firſt buſineſs was, to juſtify his behaviour in refuſing to ſtrike. Now at his going from England Sir John Cotton had deſired him to take ſome volumes of his library that related to Daniſh affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he ſhould have great occaſion to uſe them: But this accident made him ſearch into them. And he found very good materials to juſtify his conduct; ſince by formal treaties it had been expreſsly ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhips of war ſhould not ſtrike in the Daniſh ſeas. This raiſed his character ſo high at Court, that it was writ over to him, that he might expect every thing he ſhould pretend to at his return. The change of government that he ſaw in Denmark, and the bringing it about with ſo little difficulty, made a great

His employment in Denmark.

great impreſſion on him; ſince one of the freeſt Nations in the world was on a ſudden brought under a moſt arbitrary form of government. Many of the ancient Nobility ſeemed uneaſy under the change. And even the Chancellor himſelf, tho' raiſed by favour from very mean beginnings, could not forbear to lament even to him the change of their conſtitution. 1676.

Upon his return from Denmark, he was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He could never underſtand how he came to be raiſed to that poſt; for he had not pretended to it: And he was a violent enemy to Popery; not ſo much from any fix'd principle in religion, in which he was too looſe, as becauſe he looked on it as an invaſion made on the freedom of human nature. In his government of Ireland he exceeded all that had gone before him; and is ſtill conſidered as a pattern to all that come after him. He ſtudied to underſtand exactly well the conſtitution, and intereſt of the Nation. He read over all their Council books; and made large abſtracts out of them, to guide him, ſo as to advance every thing that had been at any time ſet on foot for the good of the Kingdom. He made ſeveral volumes of tables of the ſtate, and perſons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to ſerve the publick. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themſelves; and watched over all about him, that there ſhould be no bribes going among his ſervants. The revenue of Ireland was then in the Earl of Ranelagh's management; who was one of the ableſt men that Iſland had bred, capable of all affairs, even in the midſt of a looſe run of pleaſure, and much riot. He had the art of pleaſing maſters of very different tempers and intereſts ſo much, that he continued above thirty years in great poſts. He had undertaken to furniſh the King with money for the building of

An. gove. ment of Ireland.

1676. Windsor out of the revenue of Ireland. And it was believed the Dutchess of Portsmouth had a great yearly pension out of his office. By this means payments in Ireland were not regularly made. So the Earl of Essex complained of this. The King would not own how much he had from Lord Ranelagh, but press'd Lord Essex to pass his accounts. He answered, he could not pass them as accounts: But, if the King would forgive Lord Ranelagh, he would pass a discharge, but not an ill account. The King was not pleased with this, nor with his exactness in that government: It reproached his own too much. So he took a resolution about this time to put the Duke of Ormond in it again. Upon this occasion the Earl of Essex told me, that he knew the King did often take money into his privy purse, to defraud his Exchequer: For he reckoned that what was carried thither, was not so much his own, as his privy purse was. And Coventry told Lord Essex, that there was once a Plantation-cause at the Council board: And he was troubled to see the King espouse the worst side: And upon that he went to him, and told him secretly, that it was a vile cause which he was supporting: The King answered him, he had got good money for doing it.

About this time there was a proposition made for farming the revenue of Ireland. And Lord Danby seemed for some time to favour one set of men, who offered to farm it. But on a sudden he turned to another. The secret of this broke out, that he was to have great advantages by the second proposition. The matter was brought to the Council table: And some were examined to it upon oath. Lord Widdrington did confess that he made an offer of a round sum to Lord Danby, but said that he did not accept of it. Lord Hallifax was yet of the Council. So he observed that the Lord Treasurer had rejected that offer very mildly;

mildly; but not ſo as to diſcourage a ſecond attempt: It would be ſomewhat ſtrange, if a man ſhould aſk the uſe of another man's wife, and if the other ſhould indeed refuſe it, but with great civility. This nettled Lord Danby, who upon that got him to be diſmiſs'd from that board: At which the Duke was much pleaſed, who hated Lord Hallifax at that time, more even than the Earl of Shaftſbury himſelf; for he had fallen ſeverely on the declaration for toleration, in the Houſe of Lords. He ſaid, if we could make good the Eaſtern compliment, "O King, live for ever," he could truſt the King with every thing; but ſince that was ſo much a compliment, that it could never become real, he could not be implicite in his confidence. Thus matters went on all 1676, and to the beginning of the 1677, when another ſeſſion of Parliament was held. I have brought within this year ſeveral things that may be of uſe to enlighten the reader as to the ſtate of things, tho' perhaps of their own nature they were not important enough to deſerve to be told. But in ſo bare a year, as this proved to be, it ſeemed no impertinent digreſſion, to bring all ſuch matters into the reader's way. 1676.

I ſhall next give ſome account of Scotch affairs. The Duke of Lauderdale had maſtered the oppoſition made to him ſo entirely, that men were now ſilent, tho' not quiet. The field Conventicles increaſed mightily. Men came to them armed. And upon that great numbers were outlawed: And a writ was iſſued out, that was indeed legal, but very ſeldom uſed, called Intercommoning: Becauſe it made all that harboured ſuch perſons, or did not ſeize them, when they had it in their power, to be involved in the ſame guilt. By this means many, apprehending a ſevere proſecution, left their houſes, and went about like a ſort of Banditti, and fell into a fierce and ſavage temper. The Privy Council upon this pretended they were The affairs of Scotland.

1676. in a ſtate of war. And upon an old ſtatute, that was almoſt quite forgot, it was ſet on foot, that the King had a power to take any Caſtle, that lay convenient for his forces, and put a garriſon in it. So twelve houſes were marked out: Of which two were the chief dwelling houſes of two Peers. The reſt were the houſes of gentlemen, that had gone into the party againſt Duke Lauderdale. And, tho' theſe were houſes of no ſtrength, and not at all properly ſituated for the ſuppreſſing of Conventicles, yet they were taken. Soldiers were put in them. And the countries about were required to furniſh thoſe ſmall garriſons with all things neceſſary. This was againſt the expreſs words of the law that had lately ſettled the militia. Great oppoſition was made to it. Yet, it was kept up above a year, till the houſes were quite ruined by the rude ſoldiers, who underſtood that the more waſte they made, it would be the more acceptable. At laſt it was let fall.

Another thing happened, ſcarce worth mentioning, if it was not for the effects that followed on it. One Carſtairs, a looſe and vicious gentleman, who had ruined his eſtate, undertook to Sharp to go about in diſguiſe to ſee thoſe Conventicles, and to carry ſome with him to witneſs againſt ſuch as they ſaw at them; in which he himſelf was not to appear: But he was to have a proportion of all the fines that ſhould be ſet upon this evidence: And he was to have ſo much for every one of their teachers that he could catch. He had many different diſguiſes, and paſſed by different names in every one of them. He found Kirkton, an eminent preacher among them, who was as cautious as the reſt were bold, and had avoided all ſuſpicious and dangerous meetings. Carſtairs, ſeeing him walking in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, told him, there was a perſon that was ſick, and ſent him to beg a viſit from him. He ſuſpecting nothing

thing went with him. Carſtairs brought him to his own lodgings: And there he told him, he had a warrant againſt him, which he would execute, if he would not give him money to let him alone. Kirkton ſaid, he had not offended, and was willing to go to priſon till his innocence ſhould appear. Carſtairs really had no warrant: But, as was afterwards diſcovered, he had often taken this method, and had got money by it. So he went out to procure a warrant, and left Kirkton lock'd up in his chamber. Kirkton called to the people of the houſe: And told them, how he was trepan'd. And he got one of them to ſeek Baillie of Jerriſwood, his brother-in law, who was a Gentleman of great parts, but of much greater virtue. Carſtairs could not find nine Privy Counſellors to ſign a warrant, which were the number required by law. Yet, when he came back, he pretended he had a warrant, and would force Kirkton to go to priſon upon it. Kirkton refuſed to obey any ſuch warrant, till he ſaw it. And upon that Carſtairs ſtruggled, and pulled him to the ground, and ſate on him, the other crying out murther. At that time Baillie came to the door: And, hearing him cry out, he called to Carſtairs to open the door: And, that not being done, he forced it, and found Carſtairs ſitting upon Kirkton. He drew his ſword, and made him come off him. He then aſked him, what warrant he had to uſe him as he did. He ſaid, he had a warrant to carry him to priſon: But he refuſed to ſhew it. Baillie offered to aſſiſt in executing it, if he had any: But he perſiſted in this, that he was not bound to ſhew it. Baillie made Kirkton to go out; and followed him, no violence being uſed; for which he had many witneſſes, whom the noiſe had brought together. And he ſaid, he was reſolved to ſue Carſtairs for this riot. But before the next Council day a warrant was ſigned by nine Privy Counſellors, but antedated, for the com- 1676.

1676. mitting of Kirkton, and of ſix or ſeven more of their preachers. Lord Athol told me, he was one of thoſe who ſigned it, with that falſe date to it. So Baillie was cited before the Council: Carſtairs produced his warrant, which he pretended he had at the time that Kirkton was in his hands, but did not think fit to ſhew, ſince that would diſcover the names of others, againſt whom he was alſo to make uſe of it. Baillie brought his witneſſes to prove his behaviour. But they would not ſo much as examine them. It was ſaid, that upon Carſtair's ſaying he had a warrant, Kirkton was bound to go to jail; and that, if it had been found that he was carried thither without a warrant, the jailor would not have received him. Duke Hamilton, and Lord Kinkardin, were yet of the Council. And they argued long againſt this way of proceeding, as liker a Court of Inquiſition, than a legal government. Yet Baillie was fined 500 l. and condemn'd to a year's impriſonment. And upon this an occaſion was taken to turn Duke Hamilton and Lord Kinkardin out of the Council, as enemies to the Church, and as favourers of Conventicles.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

The AUTHOR's LIFE.

HIS Birth and Parentage Page iv
His Education vi
He is admitted into the Church ibid.
Refuſes a Preſentation to a Living vii
His father's Death, and his further purſuit of his Studies viii
His firſt Journey to England x
Delays accepting a good Benefice xi
His Travels into Holland and France ib.
Is ſettled as Miniſter at Saltoun. His Conduct there xii
Much conſulted by the Miniſtry in Scotland xiv
Is made Profeſſor of Divinity at Glaſgow ib.
His conduct in that ſtation xv
Undertakes to write Memoirs of the two Dukes of Hamilton xvi
Refuſes a Biſhoprick in Scotland xvii
His Marriage with Lady Margaret Kennedy ib.
Refuſes a Biſhoprick, with the promiſe of the firſt Archbiſhoprick vacant in Scotland xviii
His favour at Court ib.
His breach with Duke Lauderdale xix
He is forced to quit his Profeſſorſhip at Glaſgow xx
Refuſes a good Benefice at London xxi
Is made Chaplain at the Rolls, and Lecturer at St. Clements. xxii
Writes the Hiſtory of the Reformation ib.
His Converſion of Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter xxiii
Refuſes the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter xxiv
His Letter to King Charles II. ib.
His firm adherence to his Friends xxx
Refuſes a Living on the terms of not reſiding there xxxii
How he avoided being involved in Plots ib.
He is diſmiſs'd from his Lecture, and from the Rolls xxxiii
His Travels beyond Sea ib.
He is well receiv'd by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange xxxv
King James inſiſts on his being forbid that Court xxxv
He is proſecuted in Scotland and in England for High Treaſon xxxvi
The States refuſe to deliver him up ib.
Deſigns to ſeize or murder him xxxvii
His Marriage to Mrs. Mary Scott ib.
His Conduct at the Revolution xxxviii
Declines the offer of the Biſhoprick of Durham xxxix
Is made Biſhop of Saliſbury ib.
His Services to, and Correſpondence with the Houſe of Hanover xl
His Character as to Party Matters xliv
His Labours in his Dioceſe, and in the Epiſcopal Function liii
His Univerſal Principle of Toleration extends to Nonjurors lx
His Scheme for augmenting poor Livings in his own Dioceſe lxii
His Scheme for augmenting all the poor Livings in England lxiii
The Death of Queen Mary, and of Archbiſhop Tillotſon lxvii
He is one of the Commiſſion to recommend to Church Preferments lxvii
Is made Preceptor to the Duke of Glouceſter ib.
Which he endeavours to decline lxix
His Marriage with Mrs. Berkeley lxxii
He writes an Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England ib.
His Diligence in his Calling whilſt in London lxxv
Writes a Third Volume as a Supplement to the Hiſtory of the Reformation lxxvi
His Domeſtick Character ib.
His Time how employed ib.
An Affectionate Huſband lxxvii
His care of his Childrens Education ib.
His firmneſs in his Friendſhips ib.
His Conduct to thoſe in Employment under him lxxviii
His Charities ib.
His Care of the Revenue of the See lxxx
His Death ib.
His Character by the late Marquiſs of Halifax. lxxxi

BOOK

CONTENTS OF THE

BOOK I.

THE diſtractions during King James's minority Page 6
The practices of the Houſe of Guiſe 7
King James in the intereſt of England 8
A cenſure of Spotſwood's hiſtory ib.
King James ſtudies to gain the Papiſts 9
And to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England 10
That King's errors in government ib.
He ſet up Epiſcopacy in Scotland 11
With a deſign to carry matters further ib.
Errors of the Biſhops 12
Prince Henry was believed to be poiſoned ib.
The Gunpowder plot 13
King James was afraid of the Jeſuits 14
The Elector Palatine's marriage 15
The affairs of Bohemia ib.
The diſorders in Holland 16
Some paſſages of the religion of ſome Princes 18
King James parted with the cautionary towns 19
King James broke the greatneſs of the Crown ib.
Other errors in his Reign 21
His Death ib.
The Puritans gain'd ground 22
Gowry's conſpiracy 23
King Charles at firſt a friend to the Puritans 25
He deſigned to recover the Tythes and Church lands in Scotland to the Crown 26
He was crowned in Scotland 27
Balmerinoch's trial 29
He was condemned 33
But pardoned ib.
A Liturgy prepared 34
The feebleneſs of the Government 35
Saville's forgery prevailed on the Scots 36
The characters of the chief of the Covenanters 37
The Scots came into England 38
Great diſcontents in England ib.
The ill ſtate of the King's affairs 39
An account of the Earl of Strafford's being given up to the King 42
The new model of the Preſbytery in Scotland 44
The chief Miniſters of the Party 45
Their ſtudies and other methods 46
Their great ſeverity 47
Conditions offered to the Scots 48
Montroſe's undertakings 49
Good advices given to the King 51
But not followed 52
Antrim's correſpondence with the King and Queen 54
The original of the Iriſh maſſacre 56
Cromwell argues with the Scots concerning the King's death 57
The oppoſition of the general Aſſembly to the Parliament ib.
The miniſters made an inſurrection 59
The treaty in the Iſle of Wight 60
Cromwell's diſſimulation 61
The men chiefly engaged in the taking the King's life 63
The King's behaviour 64
The affair of Rochelle 65
A deſign of making the Spaniſh Netherlands a Commonwealth ib.
The ill effects of violent Counſels 67
The account of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ 69
The Scots treat with King Charles II. 70
Montroſe's offers 71
And death ib.
The defeat at Dunbar 73
Diſputes about the admiting all perſons to ſerve their country 75
Great hardſhips put on the King 77
Scotland was ſubdued by Monk 79
A body ſtood out in the Highlands ib.
Sir Robert Murray's character 80
Meſſages ſent to the King 82
The ſtate of Scotland during the Uſurpation 83
Diſputes among the Covenanters ib.
Methods taken on both ſides 86
Some of Cromwell's maxims 89
His deſign for the Kingſhip 93
Cromwell's engagement with France 97
The King turn'd Papiſt 101
Cromwell's deſign on the Weſt-Indies 102
His zeal for the proteſtant religion 105
A great deſign for the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion 106
Some paſſages in Cromwell's life 107
His moderation in Government 110
His publick ſpirit 111
All the world was afraid of him 112
The ruin of his family 113
Great diſorders followed 115
All turn to the King's ſide 118
Care taken to manage the army 120
A new Parliament 122
They call home the King without a Treaty. 123

BOOK

FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK II.

1660. Page

MANY went over to the Hague 126
The Nation was over-run with vice and drunkenneſs 127
The King's character ib.
Clarendon's character 129
Ormond's character 130
Southampton's character 131
Shaftſbury's character 132
Angleſey's character 133
Hollis's character 134
Mancheſter's character ib.
Roberts's character ib.
Clarges's character 135
Morice's character 136
Nicholas's character ib.
Arlington's character ib.
Buckingham's character 137
Briſtol's character 138
Lauderdale's character 139
Crawford's character 140
Rothes's character ib.
Tweedale's character 141
Duke Hamilton's character ib.
Kincardin's character 142
The general character of the old cavaliers 143
Primroſe's character ib.
Fletcher's character 144
Advices offer'd in Scottiſh affairs ib.
For a general indemnity ib.
Argile ſent to the Tower 146
The Citadels of Scotland demoliſhed 147
Diſputes concerning Epiſcopacy 148
A Miniſtry ſettled in Scotland 151
A Council propoſed to ſit at Court for Scotiſh affairs 152
The Committee of Eſtates meet in Scotland 154
A Parliament in Scotland 156

1661

The Lords of the Articles 157
The Acts paſt in this Seſſion 160
An Act reſcinding all Parliaments held ſince the year 1633 162
It was not liked by the King 164
The Preſbyterians in great diſorder 165
Argile's attainder 168
And execution 173
The execution of Guthry a Miniſter 174
Some others were proceeded againſt 176
Middleton gave an account of all that had paſs'd in Parliament to the King 177
It was reſolv'd to ſet up Epiſcopacy in Scotland 181
Men fought to be Biſhops 183
Biſhop Leightoun's character 186
The Scotch Biſhops conſecrated 193

1662.

The meetings of the Preſbyteries forbidden 196
The new Biſhops came down to Scotland 198
They were brought into Parliament 199
Scruples about the Oath of Supremacy 201
Debates about an act of indemnity 204
It was deſired that ſome might be incapacitated 205
Lorn condemned 207
Some incapacitated by ballot 209
The King was diſpleaſed with this 210
Great pains taken to excuſe Middleton 212
The Preſbyterian Miniſters ſilenced 213
A general character of them 217
Prejudices infus'd againſt Epiſcopacy 220

1660

The affairs of England 221
Clarendon's juſt and moderate notions 223
Venner's fury 224
Trial and execution of the Regicides 226

1661.

Vane's character 228
And execution 229
The King gave himſelf up to his pleaſures 230
The act of indemnity maintained ib.

1662.

The King's marriage 231
An alliance propoſed from France 233
The Duke of York's marriage 234
The Duke's character 235
The Dutcheſs's character 237
The Duke of Gloceſter's character 238
The proſpect of the Royal Family much changed 239
Schomberg went thro' England to Portugal 240
Dunkirk ſold to the French ib.
Tangier a part of the Queen's portion 241
The manner of the King's marriage 243
The King lived in an avow'd courſe of lewdneſs 244

1660.

The Settlement of Ireland ib.
The Biſhops who had then the greateſt credit 247
Debates concerning the uniting with the Preſbyterians 248
A treaty in the Savoy 251

1661.

The terms of conformity made harder 254
The Act of Uniformity 256
The great fines then raiſed on the Church eſtates ill applied 260
Divines called Latitudinarians 261

Hobbs's

Hobbs's Leviathan Page 262
A character of some Divines 264
The way of preaching which then prevailed 267

1662.

The Act of Uniformity executed with rigor 268
The Royal Society 269
Consultations among the Papists 270
A Declaration for Toleration 271
Designed for the Papists 272

1663.

Bristol's designs 274
He accused Clarendon in the House of Lords 275
A plot discovered 277
The design of a war with the States 278
The affairs of Scotland 280
Middleton was accused by Lauderdale ib.
And turned out of all 284
Warriston's execution ib.
An act against Conventicles 285
The constitution of a national Synod 286
An act offering an army to the King 287

1664.

Sharp drove very violently 288
Lauderdale gave way to it 289
Burnet Archbishop of Glasgow ib.
A view of the state of affairs in Holland and France 290
Sharp aspired to be Chancellor of Scotland 291
Rothes had the whole power of Scotland put in his hands 293

1665.

Illegal and severe proceedings in Scotland 294
Turner executed the Laws in a military way 296
Sharp studies to bring Middleton into business again 298
More forces raised in Scotland 299

1666.

Some eminent Clergymen offended at these procedings 301
Some of the grievances of the Clergy laid before the Bishops 304

1664.

Affairs in England 305
The Dutch war ib.

1665.

The Plague broke out at the same time 306
The victory at sea not followed ib.
An account of the affairs in Holland 308
An account of the affair of Berghen 311
The Parliament at Oxford 314
Designs of the Commonwealth party 317
The Duke of York's jealousy 318
His amours 319

1666.

The Fleet almost quite lost, and happily saved by Prince Rupert 321
The fire of London 322
It was charged on the Papists ib.
A strong presumption of it 323
Disorders in Scotland 326
A rebellion in the West 328
The defeat given the rebels at Pentland-hill 330
Severe proceedings against the prisoners 331

1667.

The King is more gentle than the Bishops 333
A change of counsel, and more moderation in the Government 335
The Dutch fleet came into the Frith 339
And went to Chatham, and burnt our fleet 340
A great change in Lauderdale's temper 343
Scotland was very well governed 345
Great complaints made of the Clergy 347
Affairs in England 349
Clarendon's disgrace ib.
Southampton's death 350
The Irish sought the protection of France 352
The Duke of Richmond's marriage 353
Bridgman made Lord Keeper 355
The French King's pretensions to Flanders 356
Clarendon's integrity 357
He was impeached in the House of Commons ib.
The King desired he would go beyond sea 359
He was banish'd by act of Parliament 360
The character of his two sons 361
The King was much offended with the Bishops 362

1668.

A treaty for a comprehension of the Presbyterians 363
The City of London rebuilt 365
Designs for putting away the Queen 366
A divorce enacted for adultery 367
A great dissolution of morals in court 368
Many libels writ by the best wits of that time 370
Sir William Coventry's character 372
The Government of Ireland changed 373
The Committee of Brook-house 374

Halifax's character Page 375

1669.

Many Parliament men gained by the Court 376
Coventry's nose was cut 378
A new prosecution of Conventicles 379
The King went commonly to the House of Lords 380
The Prince of Orange came to the King 382
The affairs of Scotland 383
A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in Scotland. 384
An indulgence proposed 387
An attempt to murder Sharp 388
Sharp proposed the indulging some ministers that did not conform 389
Propositions for the Union of the two Kingdoms 392
The King gave orders for the indulgence 393
This complained of as against law 396
A Parliament in Scotland 397
The Supremacy carried very high ib.
An act for the County-militia 399
Burnet turned out, and Leightoun made Archbishop of Glasgow 401
The State I found things in at Glasgow ib.
A Committte of Council sent round the West 402

1670.

Instructions for an accommodation 404
Leightoun's advice to his Clergy 405
A conference between Leightoun and some Presbyterians 406
New severities against Conventicles 408
The Presbyterians resolved to reject the offers made them 410
Some conferences upon that Subject 413
At last they refused to accept of the concessions 414
Censures past upon this whole matter 415

1671.

The memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton was writ by me at that time 416
A further indulgence proposed 418
Foreign affairs 419
An alliance with France set on foot ib.
Dutchess of Orleans came to Dover 420
Soon after was poysoned 421
Some of her intrigues ib.
The treaty with France negotiated 424
Lockhart sent to France 425
Pretended reasons for the Dutch war 426

1672.

The shutting up of the Exchequer 427
The attempt on the Dutch Smyrna fleet 428
A Declaration for Toleration 429
The Presbyterians gave the King thanks for the Toleration 430
The Dutchess of York died 431
The first Crisis of the Protestant Religion 433
The second Crisis 434
The third Crisis 435
The Spanish fleet came not, as at first intended 437
The fourth Crisis 438
Differences between Maurice, Prince of Orange, and Barnevelt 441
Prince Henry Frederick's wise government 443
His son's heat ib.
The errors of De Wit's government 445
The Prince of Orange made General 448
The fifth Crisis 449
The French success ib.
But followed by an ill management 450
The Dutch in great extremities 452
Embassadors sent to England 453
The tragical end of De Wit 454
Prince of Orange made Stadtholder 456
The English Embassadors were wholly in the interest of France 457
The character of Fagel 458
Prince Waldeck ib.
Dyckvelt ib.
And Halewyn 459
The Prince studied to correct the errors he fell into at first 460
Van Beuning's character 461
Errors committed by the town of Amsterdam ib.
The Prince animates the States to continue the war 463
The French King goes back to Paris 464
The Dutch saved by some extraordinary providence 466
Offory intended to surprise Helvoetsluys 467
An army from Utrecht came on the ice to Holland 468
Driven back by a sudden thaw 469
Painevine's sentence ib.
A French mistress made Duchess of Portsmouth 471
The affairs of Scotland 472
Lauderdale's great insolence ib.
He expected addresses for a Toleration 474
Designs from Holland to raise a rebellion in Scotland 475
A further indulgence 476
Leightoun resolved to retire, and to leave his see 477

BOOK

CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

1673. Page

Great jealouſies of the King 481
Schomberg brought to command the army 482
The Court was much divided 483
A ſeſſion of Parliament ib.
The Declaration was voted illegal 484
A bill for a new teſt 485
The prudence of the Diſſenters 486
Debates in the Houſe of Lords ib.
The variety of opinions in the King's Council 487
The French adviſe the King to yield to the Parliament 488
The King went into that ſuddenly 489
Clifford diſgraced ib.
Oſborn made Lord Treaſurer 490
A great ſupply was given 491
The Duke laid down all his commiſſions 492
The Duke treats for a ſecond marriage 493
A treaty opened at Cologn 495
Lord Sunderland's character ib.
The treaty broke off ib.
The affairs of Scotland 496
Lauderdale's deſign 497
The King liked my memoirs 498
And ſhewed me great favour 499
My converſation with the Duke ib.
I carried Dr. Stillingfleet to him 501
The Duke's marriage oppoſed by the Commons 505
A Parliament in Scotland 507
A party formed againſt Lauderdale 508
He offers to redreſs grievances in Council 509

1674.

A diſpute raiſed about the Lords of the Articles 510
The proceedings in the Parliament of England 511
Finch's character ib.
A peace concluded with the States 513
The King became the mediator of the peace 515
The Ducheſs's character 516
Coleman's character ib.
The affairs of Scotland 517
The Parliament was prorogued 518
Dalrimple's character ib.
The Clergy was much provoked ib.
A great diſtraction in Scotland 519
Lauderdale's proceedings there 520
I was diſgraced 521
The miniſters turn to the Church party 524
Correſpondence with Holland diſcovered 525
Jealouſies of the Prince of Orange 526
Drummond was ordered to priſon 527
The battel of Seneff 529
Arlington went to Holland 530
Temple ſent Embaſſador to Holland ib.

1675.

Affairs in England 532
I was examined by the Houſe of Commons 533
Sir Harbottle Grimſtone's character 535
Danby attacked, but in vain 537
Seimour's character 538
Debates concerning a teſt 539
A diſpute about appeals and privileges 542
The Seſſion broke upon it 543
A Seſſion of Parliament 544
The characters of ſome Parliament men 545

1676.

A long interval between the Seſſions of Parliament 549
An account of ſome paſſages of Lockhart's courage in France ib.
Management in France 551
The character of ſome Biſhops 553
The projects of the Papiſts 554
Coleman's intrigues 555
A conference between Coleman and ſome Divines 558
I undertook to write the hiſtory of our Reformation ib.
The Earl of Eſſex's character 559
His employment in Denmark 560
And his government of Ireland 561
The affairs of Scotland. 563

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.